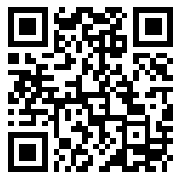

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EDITED BY
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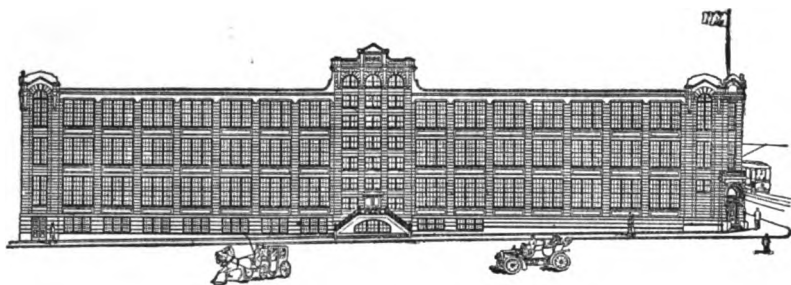
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WHOLE No. 121.

I.—SERVIANA.

In the times of the Italian Humanists Vergil and Servius were generally named together, as we see in the letters of Filelfo. Within a short time after the beginning of printing not less than six editions of Servius were struck from the press. For Vergil still maintained his canonic place in European education. Even in the generation of the maturity of Ritschl and Madvig the following fervid words were penned by Suringar: *solas Servii lucubrationes maioris pretii aestimandas esse quam coniunctas omnium reliquorum scholiastarum vigilias*. I do not intend to contribute anything here—unless *in transitu*—to the problem of the Servius *plenior* and *brevior*, or whether the additions of Daniel (1600) are from a fuller, but authentic Servius, or not.¹

As a rule the students of Vergil alone concern themselves with Servius, in our day. Among ourselves indeed, I fear not even all of them. For, to speak candidly, Vergil in America hardly anywhere emerges from the elementary place, to which the cast-iron tradition of our scholastic habits has long reduced him.

But Vergil is not, strictly speaking, fitted for children or very young people. And this is not merely my own opinion. "In Deutschland verblich sein Glanz," says Fr. Leo of Vergil (*Die Griechische u. Lateinische Literatur und Sprache*, p. 349), "mit

¹Thilo thinks that the shorter articles alone are by Servius; Ribbeck holds that both longer and shorter articles are excerpts from the genuine commentary of Servius. Nettleship is not prepared to pronounce definitely. Scaliger was of opinion that the Servius which had come down to him was but a reduced total of exegetical matter: *cuius commentariorum tantum hodie cadaver habemus monachorum barbarie et spurcitia contaminatum*—an opinion which greatly impressed Thilo.

der Entdeckung Homer's im 18. Jahrhundert; nicht in England und Frankreich. Jetzt lebt er in der Schule fort, *für die er zu schwer ist*" . . . The Seminar of Professor Minton Warren in his day, in Baltimore, made a beginning of Servian study among us, as is proved by the theses of Professors Moore (of Vassar) and Mustard. Perhaps the subjoined studies may give a renewed impulse to these pursuits: May we not, in this connection, express the hope that Thilo's labors may become available in a Teubner text form, as is Porphyrio on Horace.

I.

Is it possible to gain a close vision of the personality of Servius? Or indeed is he merely a pen, an excerptor, a summarizing librariolus and grammaticus? Or is it not perhaps possible, nay impressively clear, that he too gathered in his own soul and so reflected too, something of the times in which he lived, the times of Symmachus and St. Ambrose, of Theodosius and Praetextatus?

Nettleship speaks of these things in a general and somewhat vague manner:¹ It is plain, I think, that the commentary of Servius is the work of an adherent of the old religion. It is not merely that its author gives no sign of any leaning to christianity, or knowledge of it, but that he shows a decided fondness for the forms and antiquities of the old Roman worship. Taking the commentary as a whole, I am inclined to characterize it as one of the works which, like the Saturnalia² of Macrobius, marks the reaction in favor of the past, which took place among the Roman literati at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries A. D.

To determine the time of Servius, we will, for the present, respect the dissent of Nettleship and forbear availing ourselves of the data afforded us by Macrobius.

The latest author indeed (of whom we have knowledge), cited by our Servius (Aen. 10, 272) is 'Avienus, qui iambis scripsit Vergilii fabulas': Avienus, to whom Jerome refers as to one who wrote '*recently*'.³

¹ The Ancient Commentators on Vergil; Conington-Nettleship's Vergil, vol. 1, p. cv.

² And the treatise on the Somnium Scipionis, fully as much.

³ Teuffel, Litt.-Gesch., § 420, 2.

But there are other data, and particularly a class of references which I would now beg to present to the attention of my readers. I mean the citations of Donatus. These in the main are put forward coupled with criticism and censure, we may fairly say, they are filled with a censorious spirit. It is quite probable, nay it is evident, that of the long line of Vergilian commentators quoted by Servius, Aelius Donatus was the last. He was 'orator urbis Romae', 'grammaticus urbis Romae', in fact he was 'magister urbis', flourishing about 350 A. D., and a preceptor of Jerome himself. The introductory preface of his commentary¹ is so significant for our general theme that I must set down here a few matters implied or expressed there.

Not only could a scholar in Rome study, in that generation, pretty nearly all those (i. e. commentators) who gained mastery in Vergil, but it was possible for Donatus to set down the *very words*², and not merely their points or matters. *Verba servare* preserve the very diction and text of these commentators.

They were extant, in the libraries of Rome; e. g., the one of Apollo, on the Palatine, or in the library bearing the name of Trajan. Whether the average grammaticus, however, was not generally contented with the routine matter of the class-room,³ we may well doubt. For his pupils were young, when they read Vergil. Donatus then claimed credit for this very practice of making literal transcripts from the best Vergilian commentators; e. g., from Verrius Flaccus, Hyginus, Cornutus, Asper, the great scholar Valerius Probus of Berytus, Terentius Scaurus, Sulpicius Apollinaris who taught Gellius, down to his own times. Positive contributions to Vergilian exegesis, after the era of Hadrian and

¹ Published by E. Wölfflin, *Philologus* 24, 154 with some obvious but most necessary corrections.

² *Malimus optima fide, quorum res fuerant* (so W. corrects 'respuerant' of the Parisian MSS) *eorum etiam verba servare*.

³ *Copia rerum, quam plerique omnes litteratores pedibus inlotis praetereunt, tamquam nihil ultra verborum explanationem liceat nosse* grammatico Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1, 24, 12. Even in the time of Macrobius the pupils of the grammaticus had no copies of Vergil of their own: *videris enim mihi ita adhuc Vergilianos habere versus, qualiter eos pueri magistris praelegentibus canebamus*. Macrobius *Sat.* 1, 24, 5. Both the work of Donatus as well as, and even in a much higher degree, that of Servius, were written, not for *pueri* but for *magistri*, as well as for the cultured adherents of the older order: this last purpose, as we shall see abundantly further on, was the design and the very *raison d'être* of much in Servius particularly.

the Antonines, there do not seem to have been. At least none, that *we* would consider as such, unless there be those among us who would reverently enter into the 'adyta sacri poematis' (Macrob. Sat. 1, 24, 11) in the spirit of Symmachus, Praetextatus and Servius.

What then, we ask, is the spirit which reveals itself in the citations which Servius makes of Donatus?

(We may as well state here that Servius wrote his commentary on the Aeneid first, and that his work on Bucolics and Georgics followed, in the order named: the revelation of the best and most characteristic work of Servius must be sought in the first and greatest of his labors.) But I will let Servius speak directly: Aen. 2, 557, 'Tacet ingens litore truncus': . . . quod autem Donatus dicit, 'litus' locum esse ante aras, a litando dictum . . . *ratione caret*; nam a litando 'li' brevis est, et stare non potest versus. Clearly a blunder of Donatus. Did D. transcribe here, too? We do not know. Perhaps Servius, with a deliberation not very rare in the scholar's profession, named Donatus chiefly where the latter's hand had blundered: thus in 2, 798 where, for *exilio* Donatus proposed *ex Ilio*: D. contra metrum sensit, dicens 'ex Ilio' quasi de Ilio: nam longa est. Of the invulnerable character of the Harpies (Aen. 3, 242): quod Donatus dicit, ideo eas fuisse invulnerabiles, quia de Styge erant natae, *non probatur*. On the eye of Polyphemus 3, 636: nam *male sentit* Donatus dicens 'late patebat' contra metrum. Again 6, 339 'effusus in undis' archaismos est (i. e. for: in undas): quamquam Donatus esse ordinem velit 'dum servat sidera in undis mediis'. In 6, 535 after giving his own explanation Servius adds: Donatus tamen dicit Auroram cum quadrigis positam Solem significare. Servius in his note on 6, 623, vetitosque hymenaeos is positively captious: unde Donatus *male ait* 'natura et legibus vetitos'. Why not, indeed? In 7, 1 he rejects the explanation of Donatus. In 7, 543 he disagrees with his nearest predecessor (even when Donatus was buttressed by the authority of Probus and Asper), although in a somewhat more modest manner: *potest* tamen esse epexegetis ed.: 7, 563 unde etiam Donatus dicit Lucaniae esse qui describitur locus, circa fluvium qui Calor vocatur: quod ideo non procedit, quia ait *Italiae medio*. In 8, 333 Donatus read *pelagi* as a locative, not a genitive . . . clearly wrong, although Servius here abstains.

The application of Venus to Vulcan (8, 373) to make new armour for her son Aeneas—her son by an illicit amour, too, was one of the gravest faults¹ of Vergil's economy, according to the main trend of exegesis. Servius stands by the poet. Exactly as in Homer, so here much ingenuity was consumed in getting up an interpretation that maintained absolute moral and logical congruity. Servius here very properly disagreed with his predecessor: *nam quod dicit Donatus potuisse fieri ut cum Anchisa concumberet Venus, ante quam Vulcano nuberet, non procedit.*

In 9, 361: *post mortem . . . whose death?*² Donatus says: of Nisus and Euryalus; and Servius properly rejects this forced solution of one of the famous twelve insoluble passages of the Aeneid: *quod non procedit si diligenter advertas.*

Again, in 9, 544 of the death of a warrior who was born of a king and of a slave girl—*quem serva Licymnia furtim sustulerat vetitisque ad Troiam miserat armis*, why *vetitis*? secundum Donatum '*vetitis fato*' . . . *sed melius lege militari intellegimus, quia servi a militia prohibebantur. . .*

Further on in this same book, 9, 672 on *porta commissa*: Here the faultfinding desire betrayed Servius into a note which Conington justly calls a fancy; viz., to read *commissa* as = *clausa*, not *credita*. Mnestheus and Serestus, Servius says, were commanders here, not Pandarus and Bitias: *unde apparet quia hunc locum male intellexit Donatus, dicens, commissam esse portam id est creditam, Pandaro et Bitiae: qui duces non erant. Cornelius vere et melius sensit, dicens, etc.* Servius here, I say, is tempted by his fondness for picking flaws in Donatus to adopt a fanciful explanation. Further the passage clearly shows that Servius had always before him, and quite apart from the extracts made by Donatus, the commentaries of Vergilian editors, in full.

¹ Qui enim moriens poema suum legavit igni quid nisi famae suae vulnera posteritati subtrahenda curavit? nec immerito. Erubuit quippe de se futura indicia, si legeretur precatio deae precantis filio arma a marito cui soli nupserat nec ex eo prolem se suscepisse se noverat, vel si mille alia pudenda seu in verbis modo graecis modo barbaris seu in ipsa dispositione operis deprehenderentur. This in Macrobius Sat. I, 24, 6-7. This, however, is spoken in character. Evangelus is throughout presented in the Saturnalia as the *citricaster* and free lance, but little in harmony with the pious reverence and dogmatic awe which animates the greater part of that company.

² Ribbeck brackets: but the testimony of the 12 insoluble verses itself speaks for the genuineness of the line as well as for the unfinished character of the work left by Vergil, immature—left against his will.

But I must content myself with mere citation of the further references: 9, 760; 10, 331; 463; 497; 11, 31; 124 (frustra ait Donatus); 316 (erravit); 318 (superfluum); 762; 12, 365 (sciendum hoc loco errasse Donatum, etc.); 366 (male ait Donatus montem esse); 507; 514 (hoc non procedit); 529 (superfluum est quod ait Donatus); 585.

Clearly then Servius thus asserted himself against that work (written for young grammatici) which was in current esteem when Servius came forward.

Further, Servius is named among the correspondents of Symmachus. Otto Seeck, the learned editor of Symmachus,¹ assigns letter no. 60 in Book 8 to the year 396 A. D., and says on p. cxcix in his *Chronologia Symmachiana*: Servius fortasse a Mario Servio Honorato, Vergilii interprete, non diversus erat hunc enim Symmachi familiaritate usum esse, ex Macrobbii Saturnalibus perspicitur. In fact the assumption of two Vergilian Serviuses for the generation of St. Ambrose and Symmachus, this notion of Nettleship is, in my opinion quite untenable, and becomes quite frail the more we examine the data of tradition.

Now, further, was our Servius a mere man of learning, a mere student of classic literature, or was he not also one to whom the old order of Roman ritual, of the old culture, of certain forms of Greek philosophy were dear and precious? Is there any regard for the times of Theodosius?

It was a time of transition. On the whole the pagan Romans, who abounded particularly among the aristocracy, could not complain as to certain remnants, ritual and worship. Even at the time 384 A. D., in which Symmachus as praefectus urbis had made his famous *relatio*, Ambrose² said, in addressing Valentinian directly: *templa gentilium muneribus onerasti*. . . . Further, ib. the bishop of Milan refers to the Roman Senate thus: in *communi illo Christianorum gentiliumque concilio*. Haruspices still practice their profession (Epist. Ambros. 82, 16). There are more Christians in the Senate than gentiles (ib. § 31). In all temples are there altars, an altar even in the temple of the

¹A. Aurelii Symmachi Quae Supersunt edidit Otto Seeck, Berolini Apud Weidmannos 1883.

²St. Ambrose, Epistolae No. 68 Migne.

Victories (ib.). Is not Symmachus satisfied with having the *simulacra* of the ancient gods everywhere, in the baths, in the *porticoes*, in the streets?

The most curious feature of that last struggle of the ancient cult and culture too with the spirit of Christianity was this: to combine the lofty flights, and the undeniable elements of a noble spirituality as it was presented in the Platonism¹ and Pythagorism of that time with the observance of traditional rite and ritual.

And this characteristic attitude—the Germans would call it *Zwitterstellung*—I find revealed in Servius, too. And first as to rite and ritual. Vergil was a veritable storehouse, and even when he was not, the fervor of the old cult interpreted into him whatever was needed. Varro was the universal author of reference, although Nigidius Figulus ranked close to him. Much of the present tense in citations is due to the fact of citation. Time and again Servius goes into and brings forward the precious matter of Varro, far beyond the exegetical needs of the passage and beyond the elucidation of his *lemma*. The word *theologia*, and the *theologi* as a definite class of writers and authorities, recur a great deal both in Servius as well as in Macrobius.

So even Varro, as the great antiquarian authority, is ranked; e. g., Aen. 10, 175 (on divination): Nigidius Figulus autem solus est post Varronem, *licet Varro praeccellat in theologia*, hic in communibus litteris: nam uterque utrumque scripserunt. Thus Varro, who in his own person seems to have followed the allegorizing rationalism of his Stoic teachers and sources, could be classed with Orpheus and the Orphica, with Hesiod, or with Zeno, Kleantes and Chrysippus, for that matter.

Servius everywhere seems to have recorded and preserved the old myths and legends with remarkable fulness and great detail, without believing them, or in them, at all; it is the interpretation thereof which contains the precious truth. To illustrate: Aen. 1, 743: *Unde hominum genus: si fabulam respicis*, a Prometheo intellege, vel a Deucalione et Pyrrha; *si autem veritatem respicis*, varia est opinio philosophorum.

¹ We say Neoplatonism, from our point of view. But Macrobius; e. g., (the most fervid of them all in his time and generation, in our tradition) speaks of *Platonici*, *Platonica secta*, *diversi sectatoris Platonis*: Plotinus inter philosophiae professores cum Platone princeps, Somn. Scip. 1, 8, 8. It must be admitted that the Neoplatonists took Plato much more seriously, in a dogmatic and transcendental way, than did the Academy of Athens, Old, Middle and New.

Iuno and Aeolus, Aen. 1, 78: *rediit ad physicam rationem, nam motus aëris, id est Iunonis, ventos creat, quibus Aeolus praest.* On Ceres: Aen. 1, 306: *unde et alma Ceres, quod nos alat; nam physici dicunt omnia per diem crescere; or again Aen. 2, 610 Neptunus muros hoc quidem habet fabula, quod Neptunus cum Apolline Troiae fabricati sunt muros. Sed constat etc.; i. e., Laomedon used certain funds which he had vowed, to build walls with, instead. Interdum pro aëre Iuno, pro aethere Iuppiter ponitur, Georg. 2, 325; aliquotiens et pro aëre et pro aethere Iuppiter, ib. Like all didactic people he iterates his phrase in such matters. Kronos (Saturn) emasculating Uranos (Caelus) Georg. 2, 406: *quod ideo fingitur, quia, nisi umor de caelo in terras descenderit, nihil creatur.* The ivory shoulder of Pelops: (Georg. 3, 7) *quod ideo fingitur, quia Ceres ipsa est terra, quae corpora universa consumit, ossa tantum reservans.* The expounding of *Pan* on Buc. 2, 31 reads almost like a reminiscence from Cornutus c. 27. *Athena sprung from head of Zeus: sed quia dea est artium et ingenii, ideo ista finguntur* (Buc. 2, 61).*

So too Prometheus and Caucasus, etc. (Bucol. 6, 42)—a mixture of Euhemerism and Stoic lore. Oracles from doves in Epirus: *quod ideo fingitur, quia lingua Thessala Peliades et columbae et vaticinatrices vocantur* (Buc. 9, 13). The eagle of Zeus who furnished the thunderbolts against the Gigantes: *quod ideo fingitur, quia per naturam nimis est caloris, adeo ut etiam ova quibus supersidet possit coquere* (Aen. 1, 394). So frail and transparent is everything that one marvels as to what could remain in these symbolisms that could really be brought into any connection with religion at all. One more illustration must suffice: (Aen. 4, 201): *Excubias Divum Aeternas definitio est aeterni ignis. Quid est ignis pervigil? excubiae deorum, et sciendum non vacare ratione, ut in aliquibus templis sit ignis pervigil: nam potestates aut terrenae sunt, aut aerae, aut aetheriae; sed quia aether ignis est, ideo in aetheriarum potestatum templis ignis est, ut reddatur eis imago sui elementi, est autem in templo Iovis, qui aether est et Minervae, quae supra aethera est: unde de patris capite procreata esse dicitur.*—An eruditional attitude, then, in the main.

As for the question of the actualities of the old ritual and worship in Rome in his time there is some evidence. The word 'Christian' indeed cannot be discovered in the Servius which we have, and still some curtailing and some evanescence of religious

usages seems tangible here and there. Aen. 7, 397: sicut in *Liberalibus fiebat*. Bucol. 3, 76: causa natalis diei in cuius tantum sacrificio *licebat* voluptatibus operam dare; nam in aliis sacrificiis *erat* castitatis observatio, quas praesentia sua pontifices . . . *celebrabant*, Georg. 1, 344.¹ Now the system of Neoplatonism had reserved a place, not a high place but still a place, for these *numina* of old. God indeed, the First or Primal Essence is above all, but man³ must not pass over the intermediate emanations which conduct him to the higher one: besides the Primal Essence he must worship *Noûs* and the Soul of the World, the visible gods and the demons. . . . All are entitled to worship, which becomes less material and more purely intellectual or intuitive as we rise from the lowest emanations upward. It was the time of *θεοκρατία*: Osiris and Isis, Serapis and Apollo, all were more or less identified and in many interpretations finally merged in the Sun.

So too our Servius (Aen. 6, 859) identifies Quirinus and Mars; Hercules and Mars (Aen. 8, 275 nam et stellam unam habere dicuntur). Numenius, Plotinus, Porphyry, Iamblichus: all were from the East, and they were active in this process of simplification and identification, this fusion of gods and legends, this furnishing of a broader basis to the cult of *simulacra* and *ἡγέματα*.

There was such a trend even in the mythological treatises of the Stoics who now gained a new period of study and of acceptance. Et sciendum, says Servius (Aen. 4, 638), Stoicos dicere unum esse deum, cui nomina variantur pro actibus et officiis; unde etiam duplicis sexus numina esse dicuntur, ut, cum in actu, mares sint, feminae, cum patiendi habent naturam . . . etc. So the Stoici in that era of Servius and Symmachus and Praetextatus were classified as *physici*.

Vergil as a bearer of philosophy or of philosophical erudition: here there is a broad difference between the scholar Servius, and between Macrobius. The latter with a fervid intensity which is all his own, claims for the national Roman poet a veritable omniscience and universality comparable only to the attitude which the members of the Saturnalian dinner parties (with a few

¹ On Iupercal: spelunca (Aen. 8, 343), in qua de capro *luebat*, id est *sacrificabatur*.

³ Zeller, Philos. d. Griechen 3, 2. Third edition, 1881, p. 669.

exceptions) bestowed on Homer himself. To Symmachus and his friends then Vergil was a veritable book of revelation: Maro omnium disciplinarum peritus (Macrob. Sat. 1, 16, 12): Homerus vester Mantuanus (1, 16, 43) Vergilius sciens Liberum patrem Solem esse, et Cererem Lunam (1, 18, 23) haec est . . . Maronis gloria, ut nullius laudibus crescat, nullius vituperatione minuatur (1, 24, 8). Astrologia totaque philosophia (1, 24, 18), poeta tam scientia profundus quam amoenus ingenio (3, 2, 10), suo more, velut aliud *agendo*¹ implet *arcana* (3, 4, 6), idque non mortali sed divino ingenio praevidisse (5, 1, 18), Homericae per omnia perfectionis imitator Maro (Somn. Scip. 1, 7, 7), poeta naturae ipsius conscius (Som. 1, 16, 5).

Servius, I say is more cool and sober; i. e., in his estimation of the philosophical strains, ideas, notions, allusions, in Vergil, than is Macrobius.

He is perfectly aware of the fact that Vergil, in Aen. VI has not been himself converted to Platonism. With unflagging industry Servius notes whether here Vergil 'follows' the Epicureans, or there the Stoics, or elsewhere again, the Pythagoreans, even in a slight phrase. Servius treats Vergil as one who was grounded on Epicureanism, a pupil of Siro, and holds that, in the Inferno, Bk. VI, the Roman poet merely resorted to metempsychosis as a device which would enable him to introduce a prospective survey of Roman greatness and grandees: v. especially on Aen. 6, 752: ante dicta de reversione animarum probatio huc tetendit, ut celebret Romanos et praecipue Augustum . . . *au reste* Servius says of Vergil himself (Aen. 6, 264): Sciens ergo de deorum imperio varias esse opiniones, prudentissime tenuit generalitatem. Ex maiore autem parte Sironem, id est magistrum suum Epicureum sequitur; *huius autem sectae homines novimus superficiem rerum tractare, nunquam altiora disquirere*.² There is some scorn here, some valuation too of the loftier things to which those materialists did not aspire. Clearly Servius himself treasures these *altiora*.³

¹ For *agens*. This crowding of the gerund on the participle is one of the earmarks of the Latinity of Macrobius and of Servius. Thus the latter almost uniformly says *dicendo* for *dicens* of earlier latinity.

² Hoc autem de animis etiam Lucretius adserit, *sed non tam veritati studet, quam sectae Epicureae*. Aen. 5, 81.

³ Ubertate doctrinae *altioris*, Macrob. Sat. 3, 12, 5: Multa per *altam* scientiam philosophorum, theologorum, Aegyptiorum, etc. Servius in the introduction of his commentary on Aen. VI.

And now let us see what these were to him. It is quite clear to the student of Servius that he is a Platonist or as we say a *Neoplatonist*, also that the doctrine of the Spheres and other *Pythagorean* lore, long incorporated with Platonism, were held by Servius as a personal matter of serious conviction, and not merely as a curiosity of erudition.

Plotinus is not quoted very often in Servius, but he does appear; e. g., in Aen. 9, 182: *Apud Plotinum philosophum et alios quaeritur, utrum mentis nostrae acies per se ad cupiditates et consilia moveatur, an impulsu alicuius numinis? et primo dixerunt mentes humanas moveri sua sponte; deprehenderunt tamen ad omnia honesta impelli nos genio et numine quodam familiari, quod nobis nascentibus datur, etc.* Possibly here Servius has in mind the Platonic doctrine set forth by Plotinus in *Enneades* 3, 4: *περὶ τοῦ εὐληχότος ἡμᾶς δαίμονος*.

But the character of these studies will, I trust, permit me to abstain from any attempt to rebuild the system, or construct any exhaustive survey of it, out of Servius. Enough, however, will be presented to characterize his deepest convictions.

(Dido) 'excuses (Aen. 4, 653, 'vixi') the snapping short of life *because* Plato says that with a great penalty are visited the souls of those who leave life before the time'.

Ib. Not Nature but Fate. For by three things is human life limited: by *nature*, to which not more than one hundred and twenty solar years are granted; by *fate*, for which ninety years, that is, three courses of Saturn, cause destruction, unless perchance the kindness of other stars¹ overcomes even its third course; by *fortune*; i. e., by chance, which has to do with all things which are beyond ourselves (*extrinsecus, τὰ ἔξω*, Stoic phrase?) . . .

Similarly, of influence of constellations (Aen. VI 129): *quos diligit Iuppiter, hoc est, quos in ortu benignus siderum aspectus inradiat*.

Again: What indeed is that portion of ourselves (Aen. 4, 654) which goes to the Lower World? "For we consist of three things, of soul which is from above (*superna est*) and seeks its origin; the body, which gives out on earth; the shade, which Lucretius thus defines, etc. 'And (Aen. VI 136) under the image of myths she (i. e. the Sibyl) teaches the straightest road,

¹ ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἥλιος θεός, ὅτι ἐμψυχός, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἄστρον· Plotinus, *Enn.* 5, 1 2.

through which return to heaven (ad superos) is granted to souls'. 'We know (novimus) that Pythagoras of Samos divided the life of man in the fashion of the letter Y, namely, because the first period of life is indefinite, because it has not as yet given itself over to vices nor to virtues: but that the bifurcation of the letter Y begins with youth, at which time men follow either vices, that is the left part, or virtues, that is the right part?' . . .

Incarnation, according to the doctrine of the school: diis autem geniti (Aen. VI 129), quia corporibus se infundebant¹ potestates supernae, unde heroës procreabantur.

Still, with all his undeniable and broad learning, differing as he does from the dogmatic fervor of his fellow-disciple Macrobius, our Vergilian commentator here and there in his exegesis is positively carried away by his Neoplatonism. I find a clear case in VI 129 sqq.

Pauci, quos aequus amavit
Iuppiter, aut ardens exexit ad aethera virtus,
Dis geniti, potuere.

Clearly Vergil thinks of types such as Herakles, as Dionysos, but Servius: *quos prudentia* (he means philosophia) *sublevat*.² He has in mind that approximation to *the One* and to *the First*, which is particularly reserved for the philosopher of Platonism.

To this we may add a passage from the note on VI 127 because the *doctrine of the Spheres* is embraced there also: ergo hanc terram in qua vivimus, inferos esse voluerunt, quia est omnium circulorum infima, planetarum scilicet septem, Saturni, Iovis, Martis, Solis, Veneris, Mercurii, Lunae et duorum magnorum Ergo omnia quae de inferis finguntur, suis locis *hic* esse comprobabimus. And in Aen. 2, 25: Nam circuli septem sunt, Saturni, Iovis, Martis, Solis, Veneris, Mercurii, Lunae. Et primus, hoc est Saturni, vehementer sonat, reliqui secundum ordinem minus, sicut audimus in cithara. Ergo (sic) *tacita* luna est, cuius circulus, terrae vicinus immobili, minus sonat aliorum comparatione. It is obviously quite doubtful whether the slowly composing master of the villa on the Posilipo, continually leaped in and out of such doctrinal purpose, and Servius, as exegetes

¹ οὕτω τοι καὶ ψυχὴ ἐλθοῦσα εἰς σῶμα κ. τ. λ. Plotinus, Enn. V 1, 2.

² ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἀληθινώτερον ἀναβὰς κάκει πάντα ἰδέτω νοητὰ καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ αἰδία. Plotinus, Enn. V 1, 4.

will do, reveals *himself* rather than his author, reveals, I say, the times which Heinrich Ritter (Hist. of Ancient Philosophy, last vol. Engl. version, p. 634) admirably sketches: The diligence which the pagans now showed in the preservation of ancient literature in general; which appeared to the philosophers as the appropriate means for maintaining the divine revelations in their purity, and giving a becoming exposition of them. In these efforts, moreover, the Greeks and Romans were in no slight degree animated by a devotion to ancestral institutions and a pride in the olden renown of their state¹ and people, all of which seemed to be endangered by the new religion.

But I must address myself to bringing this section to a conclusion. I will therefore content myself with a mere enumeration of further points of Neoplatonic doctrine.

The forms of Soul: anima vitalis, a. sensualis, intellectualis, and that of plant-life,² four grades in all (Aen. 5, 81): Elysian fields in lunar sphere (Aen. 6, 638); Eternity of Soul (6, 727); different lot of souls after death (Aen. 6, 745). The *First* and *the One*: invocat autem Summum Bonum, quod in silentio constare manifestum est (Aen. 6, 264). The enormous note on metempsychosis (Aen. 6, 724).

Reincarnation of Souls (Aen. 6, 703). To these references I add a few from the notes on the minor poems: ex insertis *altioribus rebus*, Bucol. praef., harmoniam caeli, in qua septem soni sunt, ib; novimus autem eandem esse Proserpinam quam Dianam 3, 26; qui summos circulos et caeli secreta conscendit 5, 57; sed constat secundum *Porphirii* librum, quem solem appellat, triplicem esse Apollinis potestatem, et eundem esse Solem apud Superos, Liberum Patrem in terris, Apollinem apud inferos (Buc. 5, 66). Add the note on 'numero deus impare gaudet' (8, 75); facie rubra pingitur Pan propter aetheris similitudinem: aether

¹ Illa quippe saecula sunt, quae hoc imperium vel sanguine vel sudore pepererunt, Macrob. Sat. 3, 14, 2.

² Here clearly the MSS of Servius should be changed from *φυσική* to *φυτική*: esse etiam quartam infra omnes, quae *φυτική* (MSS *φυσική*) vocatur . . . ut est in herbis et arboribus. The copyists of Servius in Italy in the XV and even more in the preceding centuries knew but very little Greek indeed. Cf. also Plotinus Enn. 3, 4, 2: διὸ φέγγειν δεῖ πρὸς τὸ ἄνω, ἵνα μὴ εἰς τὴν αἰσθητικὴν ἐπακολουθοῦντες τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς εἰδώλους, μηδὲ εἰς τὴν φυτικὴν, etc., etc., ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ νοερὸν καὶ νοῦν καὶ θεὸν θέωμεν. Add Macrobius Somn. Scip. I, 14, 7: λογικὴν, αἰσθητικὴν, φυτικὴν.

autem est Iuppiter (10, 27); quod dicerent philosophi, recedentes hinc animas illic alia corpora sortiri I, 243. Add 4, 399.

A little above the name of Porphyry occurred to us: And is it not obvious that the numerous works of Porphyry dealing with Homer and with Homeric exegesis¹ should have been studied and treasured by Neoplatonists such as were Servius and Macrobius. There is, e. g., the overwhelming almost literal identity of the whole manner in which myths and mythical matters are expounded—identity or strong resemblance, I say between Porphyry and Servius. Cf. on Homer Il. A, 399 (the binding of Zeus): *δεῖ τοίνυν φυσικόν τινα μᾶλλον ἐν τούτοις ὑπονοεῖν λόγον. Δία γάρ φησι τὴν ἄκρατον θερμασίαν, τὴν καὶ τοῦ ζῆν καὶ τοῦ εἶναι ἡμᾶς αἰτίαν, ἥραν τὸν αἶρα, κ. τ. εἰ.*

Again, from Porphyry's *de Abstinence* ed. Nauck, 1860, e. g., p. 178. *τῆς δὲ Φερρεφάτης παρὰ τὸ φέρβειν τὴν φάτταν φασιν οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦνομα τῶν θεολόγων.* It is the same theory, the same exegetical procedure.

II.

It remains for me to say something of Servius as a grammaticus and rhetor.

But the bristling, teeming, mass of data is before me: how can I serve the readers of this Journal? Clearly only in one way, that is in proceeding to an election. I therefore beg to offer some survey of three things.

1. The data furnished by Valerius Probus.
2. The technical terms of grammatico-rhetorical nomenclature.
3. The injection of Rhetorical Theory into the appreciation of Vergil.

I.

One might perhaps say that there is nothing to be added to the exposition of Nettleship (*The Ancient Commentators on Vergil LXIV–LXVIII*). The keen and sober manner of Nettleship in arriving at conclusions is familiar to students of Vergil and of the tradition of the Latin grammatici. But still there is, I believe, some aftermath in our Servius.

Servius read Probus' own copy of Vergil which was accessible in some library at Rome: Probus ranked foremost as a literary scholar among all the grammatici who gained renown in the

¹Schrader, *Porphyrii Quaestiones Homericae ad Iliadem pertinentem reliquiae*, Lipsiae, 1880, p. 2, II ad Odysseam, p. 2, 189.

profession: with him, or near him there ranked but one other name, that of Terentius Scaurus,¹ comparable to the renown of Aristarchus and of Zenodotus.

As Suetonius (De Grammaticis 24) tells, Probus wrote no *ars*: What then made him so famous? 'multaque exemplaria contracta *emendare ac distinguere et adnotare* curavit. As we learn (Reifferscheidt, p. 138) from Suetonius, Probus applied the critical symbols of Aristarchus to the settling of the text of Roman authors such as Vergil, Horace, Lucretius. Still his chief aim was the study of the pre-classical authors: Suetonius (Gram. 29) emphasizes his persistence in this archaic criticism, non-productive though it was of fame or fortune. He found it not easy even to secure MSS—*hos cum diligentius repeteret*—they were almost lost or forgotten: *atque alios deinceps cognoscere cuperet*, etc.; we may think of Naevius, Plautus, Ennius, Lucilius, Pacuvius, Accius, Terence, Caecilius and the like. I am quite positive that no one of the later grammatici rivalled or equalled him in this familiarity with the *veteres*.

What made Probus so positive that he claimed to know the precise way in which Plautus and Ennius pronounced certain words (Gell. 4, 7, 1), scil. Hannibālem, Hamilcārem, Hasdrubālem. Now this curious *anecdote* of Gellius' is significant in another way: Probus insisted on practicing this pronunciation *himself*, insisted on opposing the actual pronunciation which prevailed all around him. To such an extent was he steeped in, and soaked with, the *sermo antiquus*.² That 'silva observationum sermonis antiqui'. What was it?

Is it not exceedingly probable, that he appended parallels of diction, phrase, vocabulary, to those MSS which he traversed critically? Did he not thus add to his copy of Vergil, e. g.? Teuffel in dealing with Probus on Vergil, is content to copy the assumptions of Steup (Tffl. Litt. G. 300, 3): The allusions to Probus in Charisius, Diomedes, *Servius* and Priscian are doubtless *all at third hand*, probably due to the commentary of Flavius Caper. As for *Servius*, doubtless they are due to that direct and eager study, which made him and his fellows and co-religionists

¹ Et nomen grammatici merui non tam grande quidem, quo gloria nostra subiret, Aemiliam aut Scaurum, Berytiumve Probum. Ausonius ed. Peiper, p. 2; also p. 63: Scaurum Probumque corde callens intimo; also p. 66.

² Possibly Quintilian had Probus in mind when he wrote X 1, 43: *nam quidam solos veteres legendos putant*, etc., etc.

ransack the libraries with anxious industry and consuming interest. And I have no hesitation in claiming that they were made *at first hand* as were those to Varro; e. g., direct reading, citation of authors who were indeed authorities, this was the very fad even, if I may say so, among the Romans led by Praetextatus and Symmachus.¹ In those circles hard reading and direct quotation were positively demanded. The more *antiquus* or *vetustus* an author was the greater his authority there. And so too the Servius of Macrobius cites Verrius Flaccus 1, 4, 7; Asinius Pollio, 1, 4, 12; Varro, 1, 4, 14; Ennius, 1, 4, 17; Claudius Quadrigarius, 1, 4, 18; the Twelve Tables, 1, 4, 19, etc. But to return to Probus. Servius says on Aen. 1, 21: in Probi (scil. exemplari Vergilii Aeneidis) adpuncti sunt (scil. *obelo*) et adnotatum: hi duo si eximantur, nihilo minus sensus integer est. In 1, 44 ('*transfixo pectore*') Probus read *tempore*. In 3, 3 Probus proposed *fumâ't* = fumâvit syncopated. Frequently Probus quite fearlessly challenges, if I may so put it, the very Latinity of Vergil; as, 3, 83, 'iungimus hospitio dextras', or on 4, 359, 'nemo *haurit* vocem'. 'Adnotavit' also we read of, Probus, 4, 418. Close, it seems, was the consultation extended to Probus.

I would like to ask whence Servius derived the parallels of older latinity; e. g., on *colere* of an inferior by a superior: (Plautus in Poenulo) 1, 16; or, 1, 140: quod autem dixit 'saxa immania, vestras domos' de Pseudolo Plauti tractum est etc.; 1, 191, for a use of *turba*, Cicero Verrines, and Plautus Amphitruo are cited; 1, 233, *ob* Italiam = juxta: Plautus in Milite and Terence, are cited for this; 1, 378 on *pîus* = religiosus, parallels from Sallust and Plautus; 1, 435 (ignavum pecus: Plautus *clurinum* pecus simiam dixit; or was there such vigorous reading of Plautus still practiced by the grammatici? The name of Probus is never mentioned in these parallels; cf. also I 480, 543, 636, 703, 724, 738; II 51, 62, 206, 357; III 42 *scelerare* polluere: et est sermo Plautinus quo hodie non utimur. Even more abundant than to the usage of Plautus are the references to that of *Terence*. There are a few to Afranius, about twenty-three to Lucilius, to

¹ Cum omnes quasi vetustatis promptuarium Albini memoriam laudavissent, Macrob. Sat. 1, 4, 1. At Vettius' the company meets in his library 1, 6, 1; vir plurimae lectionis 3, 6, 7; repperi 3, 9, 6 sq.; quod mihi *magistra* lectione compertum est, publicabo, 3, 11, 5; quae tibi memoria crebrae lectionis occurrunt, 3, 18, 1; ex *antiquiorum* lectione, 6, 1, 2; etc., etc.

Naevius about eight ; to Ennius, about sixty-eight. Still it would be rash to say that Servius owed this matter to Probus alone, or particularly, even. It is more likely that here too we come upon that ransacking of libraries and that renewal of older reading far beyond the beaten path of the needs of the grammaticus.

I must append here a note as to the personal manner of Servius. Scaliger presumes much condensation of S. by the mediaeval copyists. On the other hand Servius' personal usage and didactic phrase seems to have been quite well preserved. Here there stands forth the phrase *lectum est* (or *legitur*), as the formula of citation and, we may add, demonstration of authority. E. g., *lectum est* in naturali historia Plinii 1, 174; l. e. in historia Poenorum et in Livio 1, 343; *licet* in Sallustio l. sit 1, 380; in ornithogonia 1, 393; in artibus, 1, 535; ut in Bacchidibus (of Eurip.) l. e. 2, 13; in tragoedia *legitur* 2, 20; *habemus* in Livio II 148; de morte Priami varie l. e. 2, 506; *licet* in historia *lectum sit* 2, 615; in Petronio 3, 57; apud chorographos 3, 104; sicut in rhetoricis *legimus* 4, 284; de Anna et Aenea, apud Varronem: et *licet* . . . plurimum tempus intersit, *lectum tamen est*; quod nusquam *lectum est* 5, 822; nusquam *legimus* 6, 529; *lectum est* in philologis 7, 1; in iure *lectum est* 7, 38; *lectum non est* 7, 231; omnis lectio docet 8, 638; in Pindaro *lectum est tantum* 10, 312; *lectum est* in disciplina militari 10, 428; usquam l. e. 12, 514; *frenum* raro *lectum est* 12, 568.

2.

The simplest way to present Servius as grammaticus and rhetor would be to present an index prepared for this paper, out of the text of Thilo, of his technical nomenclature. The figures are from the Aeneid.

ab eo quod est (ἀπὸ τοῦ) I 20; 95; 185; 428; 480; 537; II 145. *absolute* I 494; IV 184; V 108.

abusive I 43; 400; 466; 543; 607; III 357, 438; IV 495; 543; V 682; 721; VI 299; VII 282; IX 175; X 23; 24; opp. *proprie* XI 644; *abusus* I 433; *abutitur* I 194; *καταχρηστικῶς* I 260; 577; II 379; *κατάχρησις* VII 164.

acyrologia I 198; II 628; III 226; IV 419; VII 622; 804.

amphibolia III 398; IV 371; VII 637; VIII 76; 299; *ἀμφιβολία* II 31; *ἀμφιβολικῶς* I 267; *amphibolon* I 492; III 711; IV 178; V 439.

- ἀνακόλουθον* III 478; 541; V 66; 281.
antapodosis (decima) IX 452.
ἀντικατηγορία X 36.
antiphrasis I, 139; *ἀντίφρασις* I 22; III 63; VI 299.
antiplosis I 120; 573; 734; V 609; VI 727.
antiqui I 12; 147; antique IV 575; VI 468; IX 399; X 807;
 XII 263; vetuste IV 244; XII 517.
antistoechon I 421; antistoichon I 726.
antonomasia I 23; VII 115; antonomasivum II 171; 615; III
 251; IV 276; X 668.
aphaeresis I 59; 203; 542; 665; III 50; IV 16; XII 285; 372.
apocope I 156; II 661.
aposiopesis II 100; 105; *ἀποσιώπησις* I 135.
archaismos I 3; 23; II 541; IV 98; X 387; XI 686; XII 316.
apostropha II 56; V 123; XII 503.
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cacosyntheton IX 606.
celeuma III 128 (Cretam proavosque petamus).
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δεικτικῶς I 672; II 289; III 45; XI 115; 734; XII 176;
dicticῶς I 106.
δημοκρατικῶς I 21.
derivatio I 686.
diasyrtice II 142; oratio diasyrtica II 80; inrisorie III 272.
dilemma, id est complexio quae adversarium ab utraque parte
 concludit II 675.
diminutive I 256.
diphthongos I 697.
distinguere (to punctuate) I 475, 548, 607; II 149, 156; 274,
 294, 394, 705; III 145, 379; IV 660; V 81.
ectasis I 343; X 473.
ellipsis I 65; IV 598; eclipsis IX 51.
elocutio (expression, phrase) I 47; honesta 147; reciproca
 409; bona II 135; nota 765; soluta III 173; cf. IV 234;
 373; 494, 536; VII 541; VIII 107, 114, 509; IX 60, 63,
 166, 272; X 94; vitiosa 586.
emphasis I 37; II 394; 657; III 201; *ἐμφατικῶς* II 374; 404,
 643; eloquenter, *ἐμφατικῶς* IV 103; 440; V 12.
ἐν δὲ δυνοῖν V 410; VII 15; XI 22, 571; II 627; III 148; 467.

Epanalepsis II 394.

epenthesis VI 385.

epitheton I 4; 23; 51; 53, 118, 127; proprium 224; 323, 355, 444, 464; II 137, 171; perpetuum 250; 335; 510, 593; III 16, 70, 398; IV 5, 180, 190, 345; V 17, 816; VI 202; VII 31.

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exochê I 740; II 556; κατ' ἐξοχήν III 159.

figura (cf. schema) I 6, 22, 41, 65, 75, 77, 104, 146, 206, 241, 561, 579, 589, 658, 669, 713 (Graeca f. II 407); II 478; III 426; honesta IV 401; V 120, 447, 720; VI 239; VII 184; figurate I 212; III 14, 426, 428; IV 219; VI 435; X 135; XI 76; figuratus IV 529; figuratum II 218; figuratis coloribus V 687; Graeca figura I 320; 328; V 285; VI 313.

homonymium II 333.

hypallage I 9, 392, 518; II 173 (ὑπαλλαγή II 64); II 231, 361, 508; III 62, 362, 418, 424; IV 506; V 137, 458, 507, 589; VI 100, 268, 419, 559; VII 73; VIII 71, 125; IX 529; X 113, 660, 681; XI 18, 458 (= metonymy); XII 187, 340, 621, 690, 739, 859.

hyperbaton (v. ordo) III 662; VII 346; VIII 127; longum h. XII 161.

hyperbole I 119; III 565; 567, 624 (exaggeratio IV 181); IV 211, 298; V 144; IX 599, 697; XII 856; ὑπερβολικῶς II 501; VII 43.

hysterologia II 11; 162; IV 14, 33; IX 813.

hysteroptereron I 78, 179; 264; figura ab eo quod praecedit id quod sequitur II 48; 134; 162, 353, 731; III 300; IV 7, 588; VII 813; VIII 85, 201, 593; IX 70, 83.

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κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ V 21.

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locutio I 161; l. graeca III 594.

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oeconomia I 170; (prooeconomia I 226); 312; II 298; 620, 681, 733; (dispensat III 19); (prooec. 491); IV 555; V 27, 45; VI 180; IX 1, 267, 466, 715, 757; XI 486, 489, 511; (praestruxisset 593); XII 15, 124, 266.

ὁμοιοτέλευτον I 30, 220; II 56; III 663; IV 558; V 391; VIII 435; homoeoteleuton IX 606; X 571; XII 341.

ordo I 53, 65 (servavit ordinem I 76); I 109, 133, 144, 181, 195, 198, 261; ordo autem est longissimus, nam aliter non procedit 'sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli magnanimum Aeneam, tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit aestas, 265; 308, 411, 430, 603; II 40, 128, 143, 220; ordo talis est: invenes, fortissima pectora, frustra succurritis urbi incensae, quia excesserunt omnes dii: unde si vobis cupido certa est, me sequi audentem extrema, moriamur et in media arma ruamus, obscuritatem autem facit hoc loco et *synchysis* id est *hyperbati* longa confusio, et falsa lectio etc. II 348; 355; 384, 535, 738; III 43, 73, 161, 221, 310, 348, 362, 374, 415, 686; IV 105, 174, 211, 393, 520; V 290, 389; est autem *εἰρμός*, id est longissimum hyperbaton, VI 66; 339; *hirmos* est hoc loco, id est, unus sensus protentus per multos versus, 703; VII 120; 346; VIII 15, 174; si ordinaveris, 299; 344; 383; IX 235, 258, 759; X 10, 244, 324, 345, 454, 605, 615, 797, 908; XI 232, 400, 481, 509, 559, 658; XII 64; longum *hyperbaton* 161; 273; 488, 895, 935.

oxymorum VII 295.

parecbasis X 653.

παρίκλον I 207.

parenthesis I 65, 308; II 77; VII 73; IX 693.

periphrasis id est, circumlocutio I 65; 312; III 134; circumlocutio IV 6; 514; V 695; VI 405; VII 120.

perissologia I 658; II 40; V 467; VI 11.

phantasia IV 576.

pleonasmos I 208, 614; II 524; XI 535; pleonasmus IV 359.

poetica licentia I 142, 159; V 553.

πολυσύνδετος XI 634.

principalitas I 686

prolepsis IV 42; VI 900.

pronuntiandum I 113, 363, 507; III 367; IV 19, 627; IX 56;

XI 163, 258; XII 577; 800.

proprietas I 410; p. verborum, 435.

prosa X 481

prosphonesis IV 408.

protentio II 268.

rhetorice (adv.) I 539.

sarcasmos II 547; X 557; XII 359.

scansio III 292.

schema I 135; bonum II 529; IV 233; IX 85; 771.

semiterene loquitur IV 677.

signate III 317; VII 66; 299; 802; VIII 237.

σιωπόμενον, κατὰ τὸ I 407; V 282; VI 346; 696.

soloecismus XII 5; soloicophanes I 176; VIII 260; σολοικο-

φανές IV 355; σολοικοειδής X 10.

σωματοποιία IV 175.

subaudire I 159, 190, 219, 231, 310, 402; (extrinsecus accipere

IV 98); IV 109.

syllipsis I 553, 573, 583; V 108; IX 60, 285.

synaeresis II 379; IV 16, 327; VI 104.

synalipha VII 740.

synchysis (cf. ordo, hyperbaton) II 348.

syncope I 26; quae fit, cum de media parte verbi syllaba sub-

ducitur I 200; 538; II 147.

synecdoche I 724; II 254; VII 159.

synizesis I 332, 353.

systole VI 644.

tapirosis I 118, 465; II 20, 46, 482; II 197; III 624; VIII

242; X 763; attenuatio 9, 780.

tautologia III 524.

imesis I 412; II 642; V 440, 603; VI 343; IX 337.

topographia I 159.

topothesia I 159.

translatio (v. metaphora) I 53, 63; (t. reciproca I 92) 149, 224,

239, 430, 582; II 286 IV 356; VII 572; permansit in

translatione XII 248.

tropus I 114; II 256.

ὑπερθεσις V 5.

ὑποκρίσις X 75.

ὑφ' ἑ I 198; V 35; hyphen IV 8.

usurpatio (arbitrary writing) I 587; V 233; cf. VII 289; usur-

patum est II 513; VII 188; IV 687; X 63; usurpative (opp. naturaliter) I 121, 458; III 539; XI 522.

veteres I 155, 211.

vetuste I 6, 378.

zeugma I 120; III 133, 260; IX 530; XII 316, 436; XII 576.

We see the technical side of literary scholarship in the classroom of the Latin grammaticus remained what it had been from the beginning, not the child merely of Greek, but the veritable creature of the same. A comparison with the range of Porphyrio on Horace would be interesting, but there is no space here for such.

Whenever Servius strives to give a good equivalent in phrase or term he generally draws on the Greek outright: e. g., 'animis' τοῖς θυμοῖς I 11; colonia ἀποικία I 12; laeti πρόθυμοι I 35; sonoras: ut θάλασσά τε ἡγήεσσα I 53; et graeci φρικτὰ dicunt quae sunt timenda I 92; vada, τὰ βράχια I 112; pronus πρηγής I 115; quod Graeci τρικυμῖαν appellant I 116; hiems χειμῶν I 125. Cymothoë ἀπὸ τοῦ θέλει τὸ κύμα I 144; aëna χάλκα I 213; virtute τῇ δυνάμει; alibi τῇ βίᾳ I 270, etc. Urbicus at Burdigala was a 'Grammaticus Latinus et Graecus' (Ausonius Peiper, p. 67). And Ausonius, the correspondent of Symmachus, recognizes these further categories in the teacher's profession: Rhetor, Grammaticus, Grammaticus Graecus, Grammaticus Latinus, Philologus Grammaticus et Rhetor, subdoctor, orator (highest honor of all).

3.

That Servius had the attainments of a rhetor I will presently set forth. Of the ancillary and artificial relation which fine literature had to the professional study of rhetoric I need not speak. It began probably with Tisias and Corax. So Homer and all the school classics were analysed to furnish material for the rhetor's τέχνη. In the first lessons came regularly the Homeric description of the different manner of discourse as exhibited by Menelaus and by Odysseus. Il. 3, 212 sqq., ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μύθους καὶ μῆδαι πᾶσιν ὑφαίνον κ. τ. ἴ., where the scholion: τρεῖς τρόπους ῥητορείας οἶδεν Ὅμηρος, etc., the type of Lysias, of Demosthenes and of Isocrates. For 'copia verborum', and φράσαιν facere (Quintil. X 1, 42) was not the only use of literature. And so the somewhat overrated valuations of Quintilian, of Dionysius, of the author περὶ ὑψους all labor from that professional bias.

Thus then we find that Servius is a master of this field, too; he cites two professionals: 'Titianus et Calvus, *qui themata omnia de Vergilio elicuerunt et deformarunt, in exemplo controversiarum*, has duas posuerunt adlocutiones', X 18.

Let me endeavor to cite the rhetorical notes of Servius with some regard for the system, the *ρίχη*: tria genera dicendi, humile, medium, grandiloquum, Aen. pref., p. 4; humilis character, qui *λοχρὸς* dicitur, I 701; Venus medio usa est genere loquendi X 60; servavit τὸ πρῶτον I 92; 738; III 9; 472; VIII 127; IX 775; XII 443; τὸ πρῶτον IV 170; et hoc principium quidem *acephalon* dicunt I 94; exordium in duo dividitur IV 284; et est rhetorica persuasio, nam principium ab utriusque persona sumpsit VIII 127; solent enim graviora in principiis et in fine secundum artem rhetoricam poni X 38; insinuatione utetur XI 411; bonum principium XII 11; et bene servat circa hunc rhetoricam definitionem orator enim est vir bonus, dicendi peritus I 151; benevolentia in the exordium I 522; est argumentum ab impossibili I 223; argumentum ab impossibili I 529; *loci* of laudatio I 606; commendat ex loci difficultate I 647; utile II 289; honestum 291; possibile 294; a tempore: ab invitis diis II 638; laus a maioribus, l. a. cognatione II 787; excusatio a voluntate III 25; argumentum a facili III 116; a. a necessitate III 161; a necessario et utili III 188; rhetorica esse argumenta, quae a contrariis laudant III 476; a verisimili IV 352; declamavit per contrarium IV 373; vituperatio Troianorum, in qua utitur argumentis quae in rhetoricis commemorat Cicero IX 611; declamatorie hos versus explicuit X 230; argumentatur a facili X 375; a fortiore X 541; oratorie agit XI 343, 378; laudat ex gente XI 432; elements of *laus* XII 277; argumentum a necessario XII 637; rhetoricum (i. e. in the genus deliberativum) est, in omni petitione hoc observare, et est controversiae schema II 69; cf. 135; nota omnes suasoriae partes hoc loco contineri II 288 rhetorica suasio II 638; notandum sane quia controversiarum more epilogos dedit sex istis prioribus libris quos et esse *bioticos* voluit III 718; suasoria est omni parte plena IV 31; haec oratio rhetorica suasio est VIII 374; et est *color* qui in *coniecturali statu* saepe requiritur II 150; veniali utitur *statu* IV 333; remoto ingrati crimine descendit ad causam IV 337; quasi *status* finis latens IV 339; invectio quae semper *statu* caret IV 364; *ῥπος βλαος*, argumentatur enim V 383; veniali (scil. statu) utitur VI 456; de qualitate transit ad finem VII 367; statum esse absolu-

tum X 31; est status finitivus X 68; agit coniectura XI 392; et finita oratione subiungit epilogos II 141; *πάθος* III 364; IV 1; I 26; misericordia captatur a luco III 646, movet miserationem ab aetate VII 531; pathos fecit VII 374; paene omnes partes habet de misericordia commovenda a Cicerone in rhetoricis positas IX 479; pathos per personam poetae proferendum IX 725; pathos ex aetate movit IX 748; nam hoc praecipit ars rhetorica ut epilogi, etc. X 55; locis omnibus (*τόποις* EGS.) commovet commiserationem, ab aetate, a tempore, a vulnere, a spe parentis XI 42; 243; ex aetate *πάθος* movit XII 611; haec et vicem epilogi possunt obtinere III 314; *σχῆμα διαβολάς* II 413; oratorie ibi finivit, ubi vis argumenti constet IV 361; bono colore IV 613; hoc colore futuram orationem ostendit IX 124: color est IV 128; Statius hinc trahens colorem IX 212; hinc traxit colorem Iuvenalis IX 495; ad *auxesin* illius qui occidendus fuerat IX 702.

Note. Public worship in the temples of the pagans, during day-time or night, either, was prohibited by Theodosius in 381, v. Clinton *Fasti Romani*, vol. 1, p. 503, column 3. Gregorovius is ill pleased with him for this. James Russell Lowell's phrase of 'murdered paganism' is not felicitous, however sententious, and not at all historically profound. There are two passages in Servius and in Macrobius, which seem to imply that cremation of human corpses was forbidden by an imperial constitution. Serv. 6, Aen. 224, "Per noctem autem urebantur (why not uruntur) unde et permansit ut mortuos faces antecedant". Add on Aen. III 68 'Romani contra faciebant, comburentes cadavera' To this add Macrobi. Sat. 7, 7, 4: deinde licet urendi corpora defunctorum usus nostro saeculo nullus sit, lectio tamen docet. . . .

E. G. SIHLER.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, March 30, 1909.

II.—LATIN INSCRIPTIONS AT THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

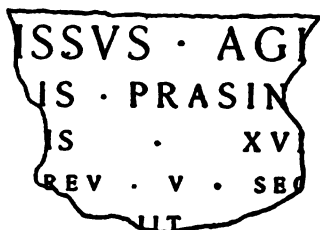
IV.

The preceding articles of this series appeared in this Journal, XXVIII, 1907, pp. 450 ff., XXX, 1909, pp. 61 ff. and 153 ff. The present paper is devoted to two inscriptions of *agilatores circenses*, one of a *servus publicus* and several of *officiales et artifices* either of emperors or of private individuals.

22. Small columbarium tablet (*ansata*) of white marble, measuring m. 0,25 wide and 0,14 high. It was recently discovered at Rome, outside the Porta Salaria. The holes at the sides preserve the rusted remains of the nails by which the tablet was attached to the wall. The inscription is rather poorly cut in a somewhat vulgar style.

EVHEMERVS
AGITATOR
OLLAS III

23. Fragment of the sepulchral inscription of a jockey from the circus. The stone comes from Rome and measures in its largest dimensions m. 0,123 in width and 0,125 in height. The text, so far as preserved, is as follows:



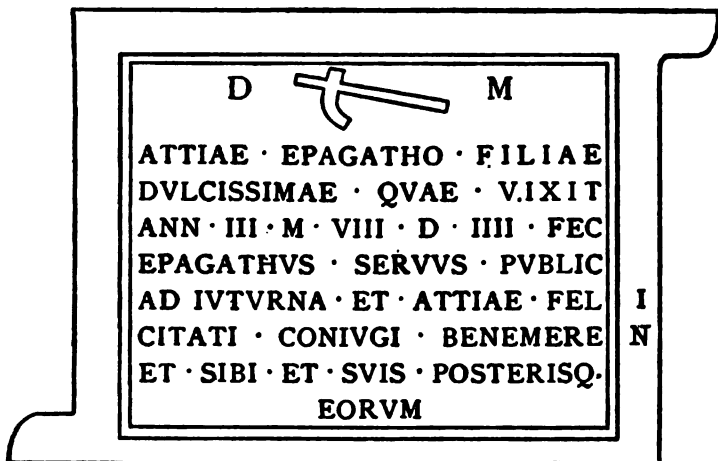
.... issus agi[tator | faction]is prasin[ae] | is xvi
..... | rev(ocatus quinquies), sec | [tu]lit.

The obvious supplements at the end of the first line and at the beginning of the second make it easy to estimate approximately the measurements of the missing parts, namely, about m. 0,07 on the left side and 0,10 on the right. Among the names that suggest themselves for the beginning of the first line, e. g., Cyparissus, Melissus, and Narcissus, the last is both most suitable for the available space and the most common as a name for slaves and freedmen. Traces of I after XV at the end of the third line show that the numeral was at least XVI and may have been even XVIII. As the jockeys of the circus often met early and presumably violent deaths,¹ it is not unlikely that this number represents the length of life in this case. The unused space, too, in the third line sets it apart from the record of achievements, in which the words are abbreviated and crowded. The probable restoration, therefore, is [Narc]issus, agi[tator | faction]is prasin[ae vixit | ann]is XVI[III(?) | vic(it toties)], rev(ocatus quinquies), sec[und(as toties) | tert(ias toties) tu]lit. Other examples of *revocatus* used in this connection are found in C. I. L., VI, 10051, 33950, and A. J. Arch., X, 1906, p. 157.

24. The stone next to be considered was probably intended to be placed above the door of a tomb and, like number seven (A. J. P., XXX, 1909, p. 153), was furnished with two narrow perpendicular openings to admit the light and to give ventilation.² The projecting corners on the right at the top and on the left at the bottom together with the roughly broken surfaces at the other corners make this perfectly clear. The tablet, which was found about three years ago outside the porta Salaria, now measures m. 0,445 in width and 0,315 in height, and has cut upon it the inscription, which is enclosed by a frame or cornice. Two of the letters, however, run over on the margin. The text is as follows:

¹ C. I. L., VI, 10059, at 18 years; ib. 10049, *δ*, at 20 years; ib. 10050 at 22 years; ib. 33950, at 24 years.

² In addition to Bartoli's illustration referred to under number 7, see Canina, Edifici di Roma, IV, pl. cclxxxii, where a columbarium on the via Aurelia is represented with such a stone over the entrance. Compare also C. I. L., VI, 29034.



D(is) M(anibus). Attiae Epagatho, filiae dulcissimae, quae vixit ann(is) tribus, m(ensibus) octo, d(iebus) quattuor, fec(it) Epagathus, servus public(us) ad Iuturna(e), et Attiae Felicitati, coniugi benemerenti, et sibi et suis posterisque eorum.

It is a well-known fact that the slaves of the state were employed in public buildings in such functions as that of caretaker.¹ When attached to a temple they were usually known as *aeditui*, though the *aedituus* was as likely to be a freedman as a slave.² Thus our *servus publicus ad Iuturnae* might also have been called *aedituus a sacrario Iuturnae*. In C. I. L., VI, 2330 Successus Valerius is *publicus a sacrario* and *publicus aedituus a sacrario divi Augusti*. In addition to the temple of Augustus and the sanctuary of Iuturna, the temple of Vesta also was guarded by a slave of the state who had quarters there.³ Contrary to the usual custom, Epagathus has only one name, though the *servus publicus* usually had two, the second being derived from that of his former master.⁴ Other examples, however, of the single name occur, as in C. I. L., VI, 2331, 2332, 2334, 2360, and 2374. Another interesting point in this case is that the

¹ E. g., C. I. L., VI, 2348, *servus publicus de porticu Octaviae a bibliotheca Graeca*. Cf. Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserliche Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian*, p. 304.

² De Ruggiero, *Dizion. Epig.*, I, p. 272.

³ Tac., *Hist.*, I, 43.

⁴ Mommsen, *St. R.*, I⁴, p. 323, n. 3.

name of the father was conferred on the daughter as a cognomen in the feminine form Epagatho. As a rule the wife of the *publicus*, almost always called *coniux* on the stones, is a freed-woman and the children of such unions regularly have the *nomen* of the mother but no name to suggest their paternity.¹ In one case, indeed, the marriage is regarded as illegal and the son put down as fatherless, though the name of his father actually appears on the stone.² In rare instances, however, the child of a slave of the state was given as a cognomen either the father's name or, as here, a feminine form of it. For example, in C. I. L., VI, 2316 Vivenia L. f. Helias is the daughter of Helius Afinianus publicus, ib. 2334 C. Vibius Threptus is the son of Threptus publicus and Vibia Epiteuxis, and ib. 2374 Ti. Claudius Threptus is the son of Threptus publicus and Claudia Spes. The feminine Epagatho was usually inflected in Latin as an *-n* stem; e. g., C. I. L., VI, 21848, Magniae Epagathoni coniugi; here, however, we have a Latinized form of the Greek dative, which even in Greek inscriptions occasionally appears without the iota; e. g., C. I. G., III, 4287, 'Εραγαθῶ.

This adds one more to the very small number of Italian examples of the *ascia* carved on the tombstone.³ It is well known that the representation of this tool, with or without such phrases as *sub ascia dedicare* is characteristic of the sepulchral inscriptions of Gaul, especially of Gallia Narbonensis. Its original significance is by no means clear. In the opinion of many scholars it indicated that the structure was new and not yet complete at the time of dedication, but it seems quite as likely that it was a sacred symbol, carved on the tombs in accordance with some very ancient Celtic custom to place them under divine protection and warn violators of the wrath of the gods.⁴

¹ Mommsen, St. R., I², p. 324, n. 5.

² C. I. L., VI, 2310, M. Herennius, Sp. f., Esq., Fatalis (son of Herennia Bonitas and Andronicus Fulvianus, publicus).

³ See list of occurrences in De Ruggiero, Dizion. Epig., I, 713. There are three more examples in the Johns Hopkins University collection, two carved at the top of an inscription as in the present case, and one below a sepulchral relief without inscription.

⁴ This is the view of Hirschfeld in C. I. L., XIII, p. 256. For other theories, see Mau, in Pauly-Wissowa (s. v.) and De Ruggiero, l. c.

25. Tablet of white marble (m. 0.575 wide × 0.55 high) surrounded by the conventional moulding or cornice: found at Rome in the early part of 1909. The inscription reads as follows:

TI · CLAVDIO · AVG · L · EVNO
 NERONIS · AVG · CVNARIO
 TI · IVLIO · AVG · L · SECVNDO
 MEDICO · AVRICVLARIO
 CLAVDIAE · AVG · L · CEDNE · MAMMAE
 CLAVDIAE · HERMIONE · VERNAE · SVAE
 TI · IVLIVS · EVNVS · TI · CLAVDIVS
 DEVTER · FECERVNT · PARENTIBVS · SVIS
 TI · CLAVDIO · FELICI · VERNAE · SVO

LIBERTIS · LIBERTABVSQVE · POSTERIS · SVIS

The letters are cut with great care in a good monumental style of the first century, though they are somewhat crowded especially in the latter part. After the completion of eight lines the concluding words were placed at the very bottom of the stone, leaving a space of about three lines for the subsequent addition of other names. Only one such name was added (line 9) and that by a less skilful hand in a style which approaches the *scriptura actuaria*.

Most of the proper names which are found on this stone are fairly common. Deuter usually appears in the form Deuterus, though Deuter does occur, as for example in C. I. L., V, 2611, M. Cominius, M. l., Deuter. Cedne is a peculiarly appropriate name for a good woman (*cedna*), but I have not met with it elsewhere. The chief interest of this inscription, however, lies in the titles of the two husbands of Claudia Cedne, one of them like herself manumitted by the emperor Claudius, the other a freedman of Tiberius. The word *cunarius* comes to light here for the first time, though the feminine form is known from C. I. L., VI, 27134, D(is) M(anibus) Teiae Threpte soror(is) piissimae, cunariae Rufinae V(irginis) V(estalis), etc. Mommsen's note on this

point is "*Cunariae vocabulum videtur derivatum a communione cunae, idemque fere significare ac collactaneae*", and this definition is accepted in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (s. v.). But the new example shows clearly that Mommsen's view is untenable and gives support to the suggestion already made by De Ruggiero (*Dizion. Epig.* s. v.), namely that *cunaria*, and so also now *cunarius*, designates the slave who had charge of the child in its earliest years. "The hand that rocks the cradle" has another good ancient equivalent in Martial, XI, 39, 1, *Cunarum fueras motor*, Charideme, *meorum Et pueri custos adsiduusque comes*. The other title, *medicus auricularius*, gives further evidence for the well known fact that medical specialists are not peculiar to our own times. This appears also from Ulpian (*Dig. L.* 13, 1, 3), *medicos fortassis quis accipiet etiam eos, qui alicuius partis corporis vel certi doloris sanitatem pollicentur: ut puta si auricularius, si fistulae vel dentium*. Another *medicus auricularius* occurs in C. I. L., VI, 8908, *medici ocularii* ib. 3987, 8909, 8910, 9605-9609, and 33880, and *medici chirurgi* ib. 3986, 4350, and 33882.

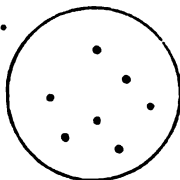
The instances of *mamma*, the children's word for *mater*, are so numerous in the inscriptions and elsewhere that this one calls for no comment.

26. The other inscription of this class connected with the imperial household is engraved on a rectangular tablet of marble m. 0,195 wide and 0,18 high, which was used as the cover of a cinerary urn. In the centre is the usual cup-like cavity (m. 0,085 in diameter) with seven perforations in the bottom, through which the libations to the dead could be poured. It was found about three years ago outside the porta Salaria. The text reads as follows:

TIGRVTI · CAESA
RIS · VNCTORI

V · A ·

XXX



CLAVDIA · SOTERIS
BENE · MERENTI

The name in the first line, *Tigruti*, is quite new to me and may perhaps be of oriental origin. If it is to be associated in any way with *Tigris*, the formation is unnatural. It has occurred to me that it might possibly be a vulgar spelling for *Tigridi*, the dative of *Tigris*, which is found as a man's name in inscriptions; e. g., C. I. L., III, 10531. But the accuracy of the text in all other respects as well as the rather careful cutting and comparatively early date of the inscription (second century?) are against such an assumption. The name *Soteris* is very common: even a Claudia Soteris occurs in C. I. L., VI, 15596. Other *unctores Caesaris* are found in C. I. L., VI, 9093 ff.

27. Small tablet of grey marble made from an architectural molding: found about three years ago (1906) outside the porta Salaria. The left side of it is missing but the extant portion, measuring m. 0.17 in width at the bottom and 0.085 in height, has the following inscription carved in a somewhat vulgar style of a rather late period (third century?):

CLAVDIVS · SABINVS
fecIT · PATRI SVO
ARMAMENTARIO (sic)

Available information about the *armamentarii* is very meagre, but at Rome they were probably in charge of the arsenal at the praetorian camp.¹ *Scribae armamentarii* made a dedication to Antoninus Pius in the year 138 (C. I. L., VI, 999) and a *decuria armamentaria* is mentioned in V, 1883 as well as an *architectus armamentarii* in VI, 2725.² Other inscriptions bearing on the subject are given in De Ruggiero, *Dizion. Epig.*, s. v.

28. Our next inscription is engraved on a marble tablet (m. 0.37 wide and 0.115 high) which is said to have come to light outside of the porta Salaria about three years ago (1906). It is clearly from a columbarium and the two nails by which it was fastened to the wall, are still preserved. The stone was broken into three pieces, of which one has disappeared carrying

¹ Seneca, *Dial.*, IX, 3, 5 (among military duties) qui—armamentario praest

² Cf. A. von Domaszewski, *Die Rangordnung des röm. Heeres*, p. 25.

with it at least one letter and part of a second from the last line.
The text is as follows:

THELXIS · COTTIA · ^vCHELVS · COTTIAE
SORORES · GEMELLAE · AMANTISSIMAE
CANTRICES · CĀRAE · VTRAEQVE SVEIS

The letters are well and regularly formed and evidently belong to a good period, probably to the first century. The use of EI for long I in SVEIS, a phenomenon which is rare after 50 A. D., and the apex on CĀRAE are to be noted. The small v added above the first line doubtless stands for *viva*¹ and indicates that Chelys, a slave of Cottia,² while still living, purchased the niche for her dead sister and for herself. The two names Θελξς and Χελυς are peculiarly appropriate and suggestive for musicians,³ though neither of them seems to be attested as a proper name in Greek. One of the Sirens, however, was Θελξίπεια and one of the four Muses was Θελξινόη, so that the connection is obvious.⁴ Thelxis as a proper name in Latin has not come to my notice elsewhere: Thelge serva of C. I. L., VI, 27349 is the nearest approach to it. But with Chelys the case is quite different. A word which was so commonly used by the Roman poets of the empire for the lyre, was in all probability frequently taken as a personal name; e. g., C. I. L., VI, 5014, Rantia Chelys and ib. 19365 Chelys mater. Other *cantrices* are Peloris in C. I. L., VI, 9230; Quintia, ib. 33794; and Chrysanthē, ib. 7285.

29. From Rome also comes a small columbarium tablet (m. 0,20 wide and 0,145 high) with a hole at the left side for one of the nails that fastened it to the wall. The right side of the

¹ Such cases are not rare: e. g., see C. I. L., VI, 27131.

² Cottia Galla is the name of the daughter of A. Cottius, proconsul of Spain in C. I. L., VI, 1396.

³ The names of female slaves and in general of women of the lower classes are often suggestive in this way. Examples are Ovid, Am. I, 8, 2 f., *Dipsas* . . . *ex re nomen habet* and Iuv. 10, 238, *Phiale*.

⁴ Pape, griech. Eigennamen, s. vv. Cf. Cic., N. D., III, 54 with Mayor's note.

stone with part of the inscription is missing and if we may assume that the single word of the second line was symmetrically placed in the middle—a perfectly fair assumption in the case of a well cut inscription of the first century—then the lost portion was exactly five centimeters in width and had space for such restorations as I have added below.

P O P I L L I A E ·	∩ ·	lib(ertae)
I V C V N D A E		
CLEMENS · SEXTILIA	e	ser(vus)
DISPENSAT · SORORI		suae
LOCVM · ET · OLLAM · DED		it

An interesting possibility arises in connection with this inscription, namely, that Sextilia, the mistress of Clemens, may be none other than the mother of the emperor Vitellius, whom Suetonius describes as *probatissima nec ignobilis femina*¹ and Tacitus characterizes as *antiqui moris*.² In the inscriptions we meet with *dispensatores* of Livia, of Antonia, the wife of Drusus, of Agrippina the younger, of Messallina, of Octavia, the wife of Nero, and of other prominent women in the imperial circles of the first century.³ The *gens Popillia*, too, is well attested and the forms of the letters, though somewhat influenced by the *scriptura vulgaris*, are perfectly suitable to the period. There is therefore no inherent improbability in the assumption that this Sextilia was the wife of the consul L. Vitellius and mother of the emperor, though, of course, such identifications do not admit of proof. Clemens and Iucunda are very common as *cognomina*: even a Popillia Iucunda occurs in C. I. L., VI, 5918.⁴

30. In the Notizie degli Scavi, 1905, p. 82, Gatti described a small columbarium then recently discovered during the excavations connected with the construction of a sewer in the vicinity of the new Corso di porta Pinciana. In this columbarium were the usual semicircular niches with two urns, a rectangular niche with five urns, and in the middle of the north wall, facing the entrance,

¹ Vitell. 3.

² Hist. II, 64.

³ C. I., L., VI, 3965 f. 4332. 8720. 8840. 8827.

⁴ For a general treatment of the *dispensatores*, see Liebenam's article in Pauly-Wissowa, s. v.

a small shrine (m. 0,37 wide and 0,75 high) with traces of painted stucco still adhering to the bricks. Below the shrine, fastened in its place, was a small tablet of marble (m. 0,325 wide and 0,187 high) bearing the following finely carved inscription, which is now in Baltimore in my possession.¹

Q · CAECILIVS · CAECILIAE
 CRASSI · L · HILARVS · MEDIO ·
 CAECILIA · DVARVM
 SCRIBONIARVM · L
 ELEUTHERIS
 EX · PARTEM · DIMIDIAE · SIBI · E · SVI s (sic)

Two other inscribed tablets, attached to niches in the same wall, record the names of other members of the same *familia*, namely, NICAEPHOR · CAECILIAES | CRASSI · ARGENTARIVS | ET · CALPIS · FILIA and Q · CAECILIVS · Q · L | ATTALVS. From these inscriptions it is clear that one half² of the columbarium belonged to freedmen and slaves of Caecilia Metella, daughter of Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus, consul in the year 69 B. C., and wife of Crassus, probably M. Crassus, the second son of the triumvir.³ The only other extant inscription in which her name appears is that which is still attached to the outer wall of her huge tomb on the Via Appia.⁴ One of her freedmen, Q. Caecilius Hilarus, seems to have had as his wife Caecilia Eleutheris, who was a freedwoman of two Scriboniae.⁵ These may well have been, as Gatti suggests,⁶ the two most famous women of this name,⁷ Scribonia, the first wife of

¹ This inscription has been published also in Bull. Com., 1905, p. 168 and in L'Année Épig., 1905, p. 51, no. 204.

² Inscriptions which show similar partnership in tombs are common; e. g., Notizie degli Scavi, 1904, p. 441, ex parte dimi(dia); C. I. L., XIV, 1135, ex parte tōta, and ib. indices, p. 602.

³ Drumann, Geschichte Roms, II¹, p. 45 and Huelsen, Neue Heidelb. Jahrbücher, VI, 50 ff.

⁴ C. I. L., VI, 1274, CAECILIA · Q · CRETICI · F · CRASSI.



⁵ The wife in this case gave up the name of her patronesses and apparently took that of her husband: cf. Marquardt-Mau, Privatleben, p. 18, notes 1 and 4.

⁶ Bull. Com., 1905, p. 169.

⁷ Stemma in Pros. Imp. Rom., III, p. 185.

Octavianus, divorced in 39 B. C., and her niece, the wife of Sextus Pompeius. Chronologically, this is perfectly possible, but the name was common and the identification is correspondingly uncertain. Exact parallels to the fully expressed *duarum Scriboniarum Libertæ* are found in Notizie degli Scavi, 1902, p. 381, [Pr]iscus duor(um) | [D]omitiorum (servus) and ib. 1905, p. 16, Liciniae, duorum Licin(iorum l.) Saturninae. It is well known that the physicians at Rome were usually slaves or freedmen : see the inscriptions of *medici* in C. I. L., VI, 9568 ff.

31. Small marble altar (m. 0,24 wide, 0,50 high and 0,17 thick) with the usual moldings, volutes at the top, and *urceus* and *palera* on the sides. It is said to have been discovered at Rome outside the Porta Salaria. The text, cut in fairly good letters probably of the second century, runs as follows :

D  M
C · COMISIO · SVCCESSE
NEGOTIANTI · PORTO
VINARIO · LAGONARI
urceus COMISIA · FECVNDÆ *palera*
CONIVGI · ET · CONLIBER
TO · B  M · FECIT
ET · SIBI · POSTERISQVE
SVORVM

This adds one more to the very few inscriptions in which the *gens Comisia* is attested. The ordinary books of reference and the indices of the Corpus record only four persons of this name : V, 3441, Comisia Ariadne; ib. 7823, Comisia Tranquillina; VI, 16055, C. Comisius Helpistus and Comisia C. f. *Negotians* or *negotiator* with a second title to give closer definition is not unusual, e. g., VI, 9677 *negotians salsarius*, XI, 1620, *negotians materiarius*, and III, 2131, *negotiator vinarius*. Sometimes, too, as in this case, a local name is added, e. g., XIV, 409, *negotiatores vinarii ab urbe*; ib. 318, *qq. corporis vin(ariorum) urb(anorum) et Ost(iensium)*; IX, 4680, *negotiator vinarius a septem Caesaribus*; VI, 9993, *vinarius de Velabro*. The -o- stem ablative of

portus occurs again on a stamped brick, XV, 409, de Porto Parrae.

More interesting is the use of *lagonaris*, which, so far as I am aware, is a word hitherto unknown from the inscriptions, though its meaning in this connection is perfectly clear. In fact, the only recorded example of its use seems to be the one cited by Forcellini from the *Gromatici Veteres* (p. 344, 25), *Terminus laguenaris vel orcularis, id est laguna vel orcula, distant a se in ped. LIII*, which is explained by *id. p. 346, 19, laguenas et orculas in finibus posuimus*. According to the rule laid down by Charisius (Keil, p. 76) we should have expected *lagonarius* rather than *lagonaris* in this inscription, but such distinctions were little observed in the more popular spheres of the language and the mental transfer from *vinum lagonare* to *vinarius lagonaris* is easy and natural.

32. From the same region outside the porta Salaria comes a small tablet (m. 0,275 wide and 0,14 high) with the following inscription cut deeply but in a somewhat vulgar style. The letters still preserve traces of minium.

O S S A
ARISTARCHI · L(*iberti*)
NOMENCLAT(*oris*)

The name Aristarchus does not appear in the sixth volume of the *Corpus* and rarely elsewhere in the inscriptions, but it is common in Greek and must have been fairly common as a slave's name in Latin. The inscriptions of *nomenclatores* are found in C. I. L., VI, 8930-8940. 33782 (*Augusti*) and *ib. 9687-9703 (privatorum)*: to these may be added one recently published in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1907, p. 288. The existence of a professional corporation among the *nomenclatores* has lately been shown by B. L. Ullman from an inscription which he found along with others copied in a fifteenth century manuscript, *Vaticanus-Ottobonianus 1550*.¹ This inscription mentions the *collegium salutare nomenclatorum* and makes possible the restoration of the same *collegium* in C. I. L., VI, 1013.

33. Probably from the same region outside the porta Salaria comes part of a marble tablet, which appeared in Rome in the

¹ *Classical Philology*, IV, 1909, p. 193.

year 1906. A fragment of about fifteen centimeters in width is missing at the right side, but the extant portion (m. 0,255 wide, 0,25 high, and 0,08 thick) preserves most of the inscription, which was enclosed by the usual sculptured frame or cornice. The text together with suggested restorations is as follows :

SEX · TE|DIV	|s	Sex. l.
ÁNTE	|ros	
TE|DIA · SEX	|l.	
OPSTETRI	|x	

In the second line a trace of the perpendicular hasta of R is visible at the bottom and in the third line the cognomen of Teidia is needed to fill out the space. The apex on Ánteros is striking and adds a new example to the short list of vowels with the apex before NT given by Christiansen.¹ The letters are well formed in a monumental style of the first century. It is therefore probable that we have here a freedman and a freedwoman of Sex. Teidius Valerius Catullus, who was *consul suffectus* in the year 31 A. D.² In C. I. L., VI, 21363 there is a [PAVLL]A(?) TEIDIA · SEX · F, whom Borghesi³ took to be the daughter of this consul, and ib. 36408, TEIDIAE · SEX · L | DORAE seems to refer to one of his freedwomen. The spelling Teidius for the consul's name is better attested in the inscriptions,⁴ though it appears as Tedi- in C. I. L., XIV, 2466. As in this case, so almost always the *obstetrix* is a freedwoman: compare C. I. L., VI, 9720-9725 (note). 8947-8949.

34. Another inscription from Rome is engraved on a tablet of marble—now broken into two parts—the bottom of which was cut in the form of a curve to fit the arched top of the niche beneath it in the tomb. At each side of the tablet is a hole for one of the nails which fastened it to the wall and the corroded remains of one nail still adhere to the stone on the left side. The inscription is enclosed by deeply cut lines in the form of the ordinary *tabula ansata*. These lines as well as the letters them-

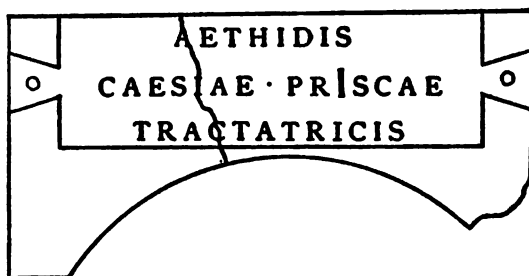
¹ De apicibus, etc., pp. 57 f.

² Pros. Imp. Rom., III, p. 299.

³ Oeuvres, V, p. 336. Dessau, however, thinks the inscription too early for this identification.

⁴ C. I. L., I², p. 71; X, 1233.

selves still show abundant traces of minium. The tablet is m. 0,295 in width and 0,127 in height at the middle, 0,19 at the left side, and the text, which is cut in a somewhat vulgar style, reads as follows :



A *tractator* is already known from C. I. L., VI, 32775, (=33131) Ti. Iulio, Aug. lib., | Xantho, tractatori | Ti. Caesaris et | divi Claudii, but a *tractatrix*, so far as I have observed, occurs here for the first time on the stones. If there were any doubt as to her particular functions, it would be cleared up by Martial, III, 82, 13 f.

Percurrit agili corpus arte tractatrix
Manumque doctam spargit omnibus membris.

Similarly, though in a less definite fashion, Seneca describes the functions of the *tractator* (Ep. VII, 4 (66), 53).

The name Aethis does not seem to be attested elsewhere either in Latin or in Greek, but it is evidently of Greek origin (*αἴθω*) and bears the same relation to *αἴθω* and *αἴθη* as *Δαφνίς* to *δάφνη* and *Δάφνη*. Such feminines in *-is* are sometimes diminutive in force,¹ so that Aethis seems most appropriate as the name of a favorite slave of a Roman lady. The *gens Caesia* is well known from an early period onward and even several Caesii Prisci are on record. For example, a Caesius Priscus was once governor of Syria (C. I. G., 4460), P. Caesius, Sex. f., Pom., Priscus occurs in an inscription from the *ager Atinas* (C. I. L., X, 387), M. Caesius, Q. f., Ani., Priscus, a soldier, raised a stone to his wife at Aquileia (ib. V, 902), and a Caesius Priscus from Rome is to be found below in number 37. One Caesia Prisca, too, appears at Beneventum (ib. IX, 1700) and another at Septempeda (ib. IX,

¹ Bechtel, Die attischen Frauennamen, p. 102, n. 2.

5594), but there is no reason to identify either of them with the lady of our inscription.

35. In C. I. L., VI, 10001/2 Bormann published two inscriptions from a monument erected near the Via Salaria by Domitia Plecusa to her husband, C. Popillius Anthus. With the exception of slight differences in reading and in the division into lines, the two stones bear exactly the same text. Another copy of this inscription was found about three years ago in the same neighborhood and doubtless belonged to the same monument. It is engraved on a marble tablet, which measures m. 0,335 in width and 0,41 in height, and is enclosed by the usual molding. The text, which corresponds so closely to number 10002 that at first sight I took it to be the same, covers the upper portion of the stone¹ and reads as follows:

DOMITIA · D · L · PLECVSA
 MONVMENTVM · FECIT
 C · POPILLIO · ANTHO
 VNGVENTARIO · VIRO · SVO
 CVM · QVO · VIXIT · ANNOS · XXXV
 ET · C · POPILLIVS · C · C · L · HERMER
 LIBERTVS

The variant readings of number 10002 are VIXIT and XXXV (l. 5) and HERMEROS (l. 6) and points of the leaf form which occur in six places (ll. 2, 3, and 5). The persons mentioned cannot be definitely identified, though it seems quite likely that this Domitia Plecusa bears some relation to the Domitia Plecusa of that most perplexing inscription, C. I. L., VI, 16988. The two stones were found in the same place (in vinea ss. Praedicatorum ad viam Salaria), but the period to which the Baltimore inscription belongs is probably much later than the time of Domitia Calvina, the daughter of Bibulus.² Still, on account of

¹ Space for two or three more lines was left at the bottom. At my request Dr. R. V. D. Magoffin visited the German Institute in Rome in August, 1909, and copied the two previously published inscriptions, which are still in the garden there.

² Pros. Imp. Rom., no. 158; cf. note on C. I. L., VI, 16988.

437, nondum bis ternos aetas compleverat annos.¹ The verses then should read as follows:

nondum bis denos [aetas] compleverat annos,
tristia praetulerunt cum mihi fata necem.
discite, mortales, in spem non vivere longam,
uti quod volvit tempore; tempus abit.

The freedman Pinus, according to other inscriptions from the same columbarium, was C. Cestilius Pinus, who not only employed the slave Ephyre and the freedwoman Chreste as *vestispicae* but had Chloe, another slave of Cestilia, as *sumptuaria*. The *gens Cestilia* is rarely attested. C. Cestilius, tribunus plebis in 57 B. C., is mentioned by Cicero (post red. 21), Cestilia J. l. Euphrosyne occurs in VI, 1495 and Cestilia regina Pompeianorum is found in a scratched inscription at Pompeii (IV, 2413, h). Other *vestispicae* are met with in VI, 9912 and L'Ann. Épig., 1907, No. 85. This office is briefly treated by F. Leo in *Mélanges Boissier*, p. 355.

37. The last of the inscriptions which may be classed under the head of *artifices et officiales*, is cut on a tablet of which the left side and the two corners on the right side are missing. The extant portion (m. 0,20 wide and 0,14 high) is broken into two parts and has the following inscription carved in well formed letters of a good period:

S · PRISCI · CAESI
VILIC · V · A · XXXII
RIMIGENIA ·
NTVBERNALI ·
SVO

.... s, Prisci Caesi | [ser(vus)], vilic(us), v(ixit) a(nnos triginta duos). | [P]rimigenia | [co]ntubernali | suo.

In the first line only a part of the final S of the proper name is preserved: probably three or four letters are missing. In the second line the three letters SER · or possibly LIB · seem to be required and in the third and fourth lines the gaps are easily filled. The *gens Caesia* and the *Caesii Prisci* in particular have

¹ This inscription is now in the Johns Hopkins University collection.

been mentioned above in connection with number 34: here the most interesting point is the order of the names. Instances of such inversion are not rare in inscriptions; e. g., C. I. L., X, 8048, 16, Prisci, Afri Domiti (servi).¹

In conclusion I avail myself of this opportunity in connection with the inscription of T. Flavius Ianuarius Mus, which was published in the second article of this series (A. J. P., XXX, p. 67, no. 3) to refer to another occurrence of Mus as a cognomen. This most striking example of all had escaped my notice but was recently called to my attention by Professor H. Dessau of Berlin. In *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1904, p. 107 Gatti published the sepulchral inscription of M. Gavius Amphion Mus, which is of especial interest because the figure of a mouse nibbling a piece of bread is sculptured at the top of the stone.

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¹ See indices of various volumes of the Corpus under *notabilia varia, nomenclum ratio*.

III.—THE NUMBER OF THE DRAMATIC COMPANY IN THE PERIOD OF THE TECHNITAE.

The writer has recently¹ endeavored to show that in the classical period there was no limit to the number of actors employed to bring out a play, so far as we are informed or permitted by the evidence of ancient authorities to assume. That the tradition of the three-actor rule should have become so firmly established is due to the following causes: 1) A misunderstanding of the old gloss in Hesychius s. *νεμήσεις ὑποκριτῶν*. This must be interpreted in the light of the didascalic inscriptions like IG. II 973: that to each of the three competing tragic poets was assigned by lot one protagonist. The old theory, therefore, that the three actors employed by each poet is meant is quite untenable. 2) A misinterpretation of Aristotle's *Poetics* 1449a, where the philosopher is discussing the origin and development of tragedy. It is certain that Aristotle had in mind here, not the practical matters which the stage-manager had to meet, but merely the aesthetic conditions of tragedy as an art form. As a literary critic he cites the three-actor scene as meeting the demands of the most perfect art, thus rendering impossible further improvement in this regard. 3) The failure to distinguish between two distinct periods in the history of dramatic performances in Greece and to take into due consideration the place and circumstances under which plays had to be exhibited. At the great festivals of Dionysus at Athens it is quite likely that even in the post-classical period the number of actors that a poet might use suffered no reduction, unless possibly in times of financial depression. But when in the third and fourth centuries troupes of technitae began to exhibit the plays of the great Athenian poets in rural theatres and to make tours throughout all Greece, then it was that the practical matters of economy and convenience may have led, and probably in the provincial theatres did lead, to the reduction of the number in a dramatic

¹The So-called Rule of Three-Actors in the Classical Greek Drama, Chicago, 1908.

company. The thrifty actor-manager soon learned that the structure of the drama offered him a splendid opportunity for such a reduction, for by a few changes in the text and a little clever manipulation the great majority of the plays could be presented with three actors.

The literary evidence bearing on the practice of actors' guilds in the employment of only three actors for the production of a play was treated somewhat briefly on pp. 69 ff. of the above-named monograph. Without entering into a detailed discussion of the passages involved, the results there reached are as follows: While it is nowhere explicitly stated that three actors only were used to perform a play, yet there are several passages in late writers which indicate that in the writer's time, or, conceivably, in the writer's opinion, even in the classical period, the usual number of actors employed in the production of a play was three. These passages were classified in the following way: 1) Actors are spoken of as appearing in more than one rôle in the same play. It is not implied, however, that three actors carried all the rôles, but only that the doubling of rôles was practiced. 2) The invention of the term "*parachoregema*"¹ in application to an

No.	τραγῳδοί, No. of troupes.	τραγῳδοί, No. in each troupe.	διδάσκαλοι for each troupe.	αἰληταί for each troupe.	κομμοδοί, No. of troupes.	κομμοδοί, No. in each troupe.	διδάσκαλοι for each troupe.	αἰληταί for each troupe.	χορευταὶ κομμοδοί
2563	3	3	1	1	4	3	1 ^a	1	7
2564	3	3	1	1	2	3	1	1	8
2565	2	3	1	1	3	3	1	1	7
2566	2	3	1	1	3	3	1	1 ^b	7

^a The didascalus for one of the troupes is lacking (cf. l. 52); see Baunack, p. 742, and p. 47 below.

^b Teachers and fluteplayers are not given with the second and third troupes.

¹ See my article on the meaning of this term in *Class. Phil.* II (1907), pp. 387

extra; i. e., to a fourth speaking actor, is based on the idea of extra expense. If more than three actors were employed no such extra expense would be involved by the use of a fourth speaking person on the scene. The use of the term, therefore, implies for the period in which it occurs the usual limitation to three of the number of actors. 3) In a few passages the classification of actors into three classes implies a limitation of their number in a performance.

Our inscriptional evidence on the conduct of the *technitai* in the matter of limiting their dramatic troupes to any definite or fixed number of actors reduces itself to one document, the four Soteric Inscriptions¹ of the years 272, 271, 270, 269 B. C. A tabulated list of the dramatic companies registered in these inscriptions is given above. The names of all the participants² are entered under the general heading *οἱδε ἡγωνίσαντο τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Σωτηρίων*. The heading itself seems to show that the lists are complete and include the names of all the performers. There is a further indication of this in the fact that the individual members of the comic chorus for each year are named, and the costumers. The regularity and uniformity with which the different performers in successive years are recorded bears witness to the extreme care and precision exercised by the compiler. We observe in the first place that under the headings *τραγῳδοὶ* or *κωμῳδοὶ* the names of the actors are invariably arranged in groups of three and with each group is named the *didascalus* and flute-player. The omission in these records of the names of *χορευταὶ τραγικοί* does not imply, necessarily, that the tragic chorus was dispensed with altogether. It has been plausibly suggested by Jan³ and Körte⁴ that the *ἄνδρες χορευταί*, in addition to their duties

¹ Reëdited by Baunack in Collitz' *Sammlung d. gr. Dialekt-Inscripfen*, II. 6, Nos. 2563-66. In referring to the inscriptions I have made use of Baunack's numbers. The dates are those of Pomtow, on which see O'Connor, *Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece*, p. 70. The Delphic decrees in honor of the Athenian *technitai*, of the latter part of the second century B. C., published by Colin in *BCH.* XXX (1906) pp. 272 ff., also give the names of all the performers with the capacity in which each participated. But the different companies are not enumerated separately.

² Besides the dramatic troupes, there are recorded in each list *ραψῳδοί*, *κιθαρισταί*, *κιθαρῳδοί*, *παῖδες χορευταί*, *ἄνδρες χορευταί*, *αὐληταί* (i. e., for the choruses of men and boys), and *ἱματιομόθοι*.

³ *Jan Verh. d. XXXIX Phil. Versamml.*, p. 87.

⁴ Körte *N. Jahrb. f. kl. Alt.* III (1900), p. 86.

in the choral competitions, rendered this service. There is still the further recourse to the χορευταὶ κωμικοί (cf. χορῶ τῇ γενομένῃ τοῖς κωμικοῖς καὶ τῇ τραγῳδῇ Δράκοντι). At all events, the occurrence of the names of one flute-player and a didascalus with each troupe almost forces us to assume the employment of tragic choruses, whether this function was assumed by the choruses of men or by the comic choruses. The didascalus and flute-player are concerned with the chorus and chorus alone. On any other assumption their presence with the dramatic companies is not easy to explain. Richards¹ correctly interprets the function of the didascalus in general, that is, to teach the chorus singing and dancing, but he is, of course, quite wrong in his contention that the τραγῳδοί and κωμικοί mean singers whom the didascali trained in the songs and dances just as they would have trained the choruses had there been such.

Erroneous also is the suggestion² that the didascali are the managers of the companies. There are several indications against this supposition. In the first place, the didascali are men of no reputation whatsoever; their names are not found elsewhere in any important official capacity. The names of only two³ of them

¹ Class. Rev. XIV (1900), pp. 201 ff.

² O'Connor, Actors and Acting, p. 15, n. 1. In his exposition of the meaning of the terms κωμικός and τραγικός O'Connor finds some difficulty in the fact that these terms are used to designate all the actors in the Delphic records. The usual meaning of τραγικός (κωμικός) for this period is 'actor-manager', 'the leader of a small troupe', 'the protagonist in the production of old plays'. But to assign this meaning to the terms in these lists would force us to assume that the three actors named in the companies are the heads of separate troupes. This is, of course, out of the question, as we shall see later. O'Connor finds the solution of the difficulty in the assumption that "the companies consisted of protagonists—all star casts—and brought out old plays". The explanation seems rather forced and, I fancy, will not meet with approval. It is not at all probable that such an array of famous actors came together in these games. But granting that such was the case, at all events, one in each troupe must have been looked upon as the protagonist in the production of plays on this particular occasion. Might not the headings τραγικοί and κωμικοί refer to the first actors in each group, it being understood that the first actor in each troupe was manager? We must remember that the headings τραγικοί and κωμικοί are not repeated with each company, but serve for the three companies of three actors each.

³ Moschion, didascalus in 270 B. C. (2565.61) can hardly be identical with the Moschion who was twice victor at the Lenaea. For Moschion's date see now O'Connor, whose lists, loc. cit., pp. 61 ff. supply a much needed chronological basis for prosopographical work on the Athenian comic actors.

occur under another title. Thyrsus, didascalus in 2566.64 (269 B. C.), is registered among the *χορευταὶ κωμικοὶ* two years earlier (271 B. C.). Cephisodorus, who was a didascalus in 272 B. C., is a *χορευτὴς κωμικός* in 269 B. C. We may infer from this that the didascalus was little, if any, above the ordinary *χορευτὴς* in rank. The records of the *τραγῳδοὶ* and *κωμῳδοὶ*, on the other hand, fully justify their claim to the honor of managing the companies. For example, Lyciscus *κωμῳδός* (2564.61) was protagonist at Athens (see table, p. 51); Dracon *τραγῳδός* (2564.50) was manager of a company at Delos in 285 B. C. (see table, p. 51); Autolycus won the prize for acting at Athens (see table, p. 51); Telestes (2565.58) was actor-manager at Delos in 289 B. C.; Philonides (2563.48) was victorious protagonist at Athens (see table, p. 51), and was the manager of a troupe at Delos in 268 B. C. If these famous actors were the managers of their companies on these occasions, should we not be inclined to assign to them this function here? Finally, on the assumption that the teachers are mere subordinates of the *τραγῳδοὶ* or *κωμῳδοὶ* we are enabled to account for some very important omissions in the lists. Lyciscus' troupe has Cephisodorus as teacher in 2564.65. The same company is entered without a teacher in 2566.68. The omission also of the didascalus with the famous actor-manager Philonides' troupe in 2563.48 has been a puzzle to scholars, but the solution is easy. It is clearly implied that both of these actor-managers on these occasions assumed direct supervision not only of the actors, but of the chorus as well; cf. the phrase *χορευταὶ κωμῳδοῦ* and the case of Dracon (BCH. XIV, 1890, p. 396) who was in charge of a chorus as well as actors. The fact that Lyciscus employs a didascalus in the contests of one year, but, in the following, with practically the same troupe, dispenses with him, seems to indicate that it was purely an arbitrary matter whether or not the *κωμῳδός* or *τραγῳδός* employ a didascalus.¹ If a managing-actor felt incompetent to fit out and train a chorus, or if his funds were plentiful, he would doubtless employ a trainer. But if, on the other hand, he felt capable of performing this work equally well or better than the ordinary didascalus, he would of course take charge of the chorus personally as a matter of economy. It

¹ There is another fact connected with the omission of the didascalus with this troupe which may be significant. The same Cephisodorus who was the teacher in 271 B. C. is here recorded as one of the *χορευταὶ κωμικοὶ*. Perhaps the manager deemed it unnecessary to employ a teacher since there was such an efficient and experienced trainer in the chorus.

seems to me, therefore, much more probable that the eminent actors such as Telestes, Autolycus, Lyciscus, Dracon, and Philonides were the managers of their individual troupes than the otherwise unknown teachers. The dicascali are nothing more than the hired trainers of the *κωμῳδοὶ* or *τραγῳδοὶ*.

There are other interesting points, hitherto unobserved, on the arrangement of the names of individual actors in the several groups. If the same actor appears in two or more groups, he occupies the same relative position among the other actors of the group. For example, Dionysius (2563.53) appears second in the enumeration of the company. His name is also second in 2566.66. So when the same group is found in two different catalogues, the names of the actors occur in the same relative order, as in 2563.42 and 2564.45. In 2564.61 the first two actors of the company are in the same order as the first two in 2566.68. There is still another rule, adhered to in the arrangement of the names in each troupe, which has a very especial bearing on the question we are considering, viz., whether these records contain the names of all the actors in each troupe, i. e., protagonist, deuteragonist, and tritagonist (or, to use the common formula, *ὁ τραγῳδὸς* (or *κωμῳδὸς*) *καὶ οἱ συναγωνισταί*), or protagonists only. I refer to the consistent placing of the name of the protagonist, or actor-manager, first in each troupe. To state the matter differently, the first actors in each troupe can be shown to be protagonists in a sufficiently large number of cases to justify our generalizing as to the rest, while the last two actors named in each troupe are, for the most part, quite unknown from any other source. But before proceeding further with this point it will be necessary to consider the agonistic lists in the Delian choregic inscriptions.

These inscriptions¹ are the records of musical and dramatic

¹ BCH. VII (1883), pp. 103 ff., IX (1885), pp. 146 ff., and the inscription of the year not much before 255 B. C. recently published by Schulhof; cf. *ibid.* XXXII (1908), pp. 58 ff. The dates here given are those required by the recent discovery of Schulhof, BCH. XXXII (1908), pp. 474 ff. The new Delian archons found by him make it necessary to place each of our first seven inscriptions three years earlier than Homolle's earlier reckoning (see Dittenberger *Syl.*, no. 692) and five years earlier than his revised chronology. I have availed myself of the textual corrections of actors' names contributed mainly by Capps TAPA. XXXI (1900), pp. 113 ff. For a full bibliography cf. Schulhof, *l. c.*, p. 58. The names in the list for 175-171 B. C. are too badly broken to be useful for the present purpose; so the record for 194 B. C., published by Dürrbach BCH XXIX (1905), p. 520.

contests held at Delos, dating from 289 B. C. down to 171 B. C. The performers were furnished by the Athenian guild. From the table below it will be noticed that the records were, apparently, somewhat carelessly compiled and we fail to find the regularity that characterized the Soteric records. The number ¹ of τραγωδοί and κωμικοί varied greatly from year to year, probably due to matters of a practical nature. In the record VI (268 B. C.) only one τραγωδός is named, two τραγωδοί in I (289 B. C.), and two κωμικοί in II (287 B. C.). In IX (203 B. C.) we have entered under the heading κωμικός Εὐδήμος τρίς.² This expression can

		τραγωδοί.	κωμικοί.	αἰληταί.
I	289 B. C.	2	6	2
II	287 "	3	2	1
III	285 "	5	7	2
IV	284 "	5	4	1
V	273 "	4	5	2
VI	268 "	1	6	1
VII	264 "	3	7	2 (?)
VIII	ca. 255 "	8	8	..
IX	203 "	..	3	..
X	171 "	7	3	3

only mean that Eudemus, the manager, gave three performances with his company. A fuller manner of expressing the same fact is found in the new inscription of ca. 255 B. C. which Schulhof publishes; e. g., 'Αλέξανδρος ἡμέρας δύο. By such an arrangement the program for the festival was enlarged and made attractive at a considerably less expenditure than the employment of two or more additional companies would have entailed. Another illustration of what was done in the case at Delos is found in the Iasus inscriptions³ where the comic actor Athenodorus is furnished five times for the same festival by five rich citizens.

¹ An actor who appeared twice or thrice is counted accordingly; e. g., 289 five κωμικοί and Σαννίων δίς, 284 four τραγωδοί and Νικόλαος δίς, 264 two τραγωδοί and Σωτίων δίς, ca. 255 six κωμικοί and Menecles and Telestes each ἡμέρας δύο, six τραγωδοί and Alexandrus and νερός ἡμέρας δύο, 203 Εὐδήμος τρίς.

² Cf. also BCH. XXIX (1905), p. 520 where δίς and τρίς are similarly used.

³ Lebas. Wad. III, 257; see O'Connor, l. c., s. 'Αθηνόδωρος for the facts.

So in VII (264 B. C.) only two different *τραγωδοί*, Sotion (*δίσ*) and Paramonus, are entered. It is evident, then, that in the records of these five years each *τραγωδός* or *κωμικός* was the actor-manager of a troupe; in neither case is the number sufficiently large to produce a play. This would, of course, be following the usual method of designating a troupe; i. e., by the name of the leading actor. Such is the case in the Corcyrean inscription IG. IX (CIG. 1845), where a rich citizen provides in his will that a certain amount should be set aside for dramatic performances every two years. The testator further specifies that with the said amount should be employed three *τραγωδοί*, three *κωμικοί*, and three *αἰληταί*. Lüders has pointed out that under the title *τραγωδός* or *κωμικός* must be understood a little dramatic company.¹ Athenaeus also (XII. 539 a), in reference to the contests given by Alexander to celebrate his wedding, mentions three *τραγωδοί*, Thettalus, Athenodorus, and Aristocritus, and three *κωμικοί*, Lycon, Phormion, and Ariston. These are all famous actors and each represents a company. The same explanation applies to the two *τραγωδοί*, two *κωμικοί*, and two *αἰληταί* mentioned in a decree of the Tean guild of technitae (Le Bas, *As. Min.* n. 281; Lüders 91). Other instances of this use of *τραγωδός* and *κωμικός* are cited by O'Connor (*History of Actors and Acting*, p. 14). It would be, therefore, quite in harmony with the usual practice of the period if the Delion records also recorded the names of only protagonists.²

But we have still further evidence that such a practice was followed in these lists. In III (285 B. C.) under the heading *κωμικοί* are entered the names of Polycles, Menecles, and Hieronymus. This Hieronymus has been identified with the actor of the same name who is credited with four victories at the Lenaea (IG. II 977 *u v*). Polycles and Menecles are also victorious protagonists (IG. II 977 *u v* and *f'w*). Thus in *one* catalogue we have three protagonists. It follows then beyond any reasonable doubt that the Delian inscriptions do not contain the names of all the actors in each troupe, but only protagonists.

¹ Welcker *Gr. Tr.*, p. 1287, was of the opinion that actors were meant: "Also gerade so viel um das Stück zu geben"; so Richards *Class. Rev.* XIV (1900), p. 210.

² So in the Athenian didascalical inscriptions IG. II 972, 973, etc., one actor is mentioned for each poet; so in the Magnesian inscriptions; Kern, *Inscr.* v. Magn. no. 88.

Delos.	Delphi.	Athens.
Telestes, 289 B. C., ca. 255 B. C.	2565 (272 B. C.), l. 58.	I. G. II, 977 δ (Wilh., p. 168).
Theodoros, 289, 287, 278, 268	.....	I. G. II, 972, 288 B. C.
Cephalus, 287, 284 B. C.	.....	I. G. II, 977 w and 972, ca. 295 B. C., 289.
Dracon, 285 B. C. 254	2564 (271 B. C.), l. 50.	I. G. II, 977 w and $f' w$, ca. 275, 278.
Hieronimus, 285, 273.	.....	I. G. II, 977 w and $f' w$, ca. 275, 278.
Menecles, 285, ca. 255	.....	I. G. II, 977 w and $f' w$, ca. 275, 278.
Polycles, 285.	.....	I. G. II, 977 w and $f' w$, ca. 275, 278.
Cleoxenus, 273.	2563 (272 B. C.), l. 62.	I. G. II, 977 i (Wilh., p. 168).
Ociades, 273	2568 (272 B. C.), l. 32.	I. G. II, 977 w and $f' w$, ca. 285, 276.
Philonides, 268.	2563 (272 B. C.), l. 48.	I. G. II, 977 g (Wilh., p. 140).
Alexandrus, ca. 255.	2566 (269 B. C.), l. 50.	I. G. II, 975 e , ca. 170.
Creon, ca. 255.	2565 (270 B. C.), l. 53.	I. G. II, 977 z (Wilh., p. 153).
Polyxenus, 171.	.....	I. G. II, 977 y (Wilh., p. 153).
	Lyciscus { 2566 (269 B. C.), l. 68. }	
	Autolycus { 2564 (271 B. C.), l. 61. }	
	Autolycus { 2564 (271 B. C.), l. 66. }	
	Autolycus { 2565 (270 B. C.), l. 68. }	

Since, then, the Delian inscriptions record the names of the actor-managers only, we may now consider how far this fact will enable us to determine the significance of the arrangement of the actors in the Delphic troupes. A comparison of the Delian and Soteric inscriptions with each other and with the Athenian inscriptions has shown that a number of actors who participated in the Soteria are found in the Delian Apollonia and also in the Athenian Victors' lists.¹ The Athenian lists give only the victorious protagonists. In the table I have given the names of only the actors whose identification seems certain.

Seven actors in the Delian lists are identical with actors in the Soteria, eight with like-named actors in the Athenian didascalie inscriptions. The Soteric catalogues contain four actors who are credited with victories at the Athenian festivals. Almost every actor in the Soteric inscriptions who is known from the Delian or Athenian records as a protagonist stands first in order in the company at Delphi. Conversely, the names of the last two actors in each group of three in the Delphic records are not, as a rule, found in other inscriptions. Even the proposed identifications of the second and third actors in the Delphic troupes with protagonists in other lists are insignificant as compared with the large number of instances where the first actor is beyond any doubt a protagonist. But such identifications are very doubtful. For example, to cite the cases of a few actors whose identifications seem least uncertain, Ἡράκ[λειτος] IG. II 977 *q* (Wilhelm, *Dram. Urk.*, p. 140) = Heracleitus,² Soteric, 269 B. C., l. 51 and 272 B. C., l. 39; [Φιλοκ]ύδης IG. II 977 *m* (Wilhelm, p. 164) = Philocydes, Soteric 271 B. C., l. 67; [Δη]μέας IG. II 977 *b* (Capps *AJA.* IV, p. 82 and Wilhelm, p. 156) = Demeas, Soteric 270 B. C., l. 64. The three actors here named stand second in order in the Delphic companies. But it happens that in these three troupes the well-

¹The scholars to whom the identifications are due will be found in O'Connor's *Prosopographia*, except the names of the new list for ca. 255 B. C. Of these Alexandrus, Menecles, Telestes, and Creon are known from the Athenian or Delphian lists. In giving the approximate Athenian dates, I have followed O'Connor.

²Heracleitus is registered in 2563, l. 39, as Ἡράκλειτος Δίωνος Ἀργεῖος, but Ἀθηναῖος 2566, l. 51. Preuner (*Ein delphisches Weihgeschenk*, p. 76) observed the change of the ethnon. But the fact that the name is third in the company in 2563, l. 39, but second in 2566, l. 51, might increase the doubt as to their identity.

known actors, Alexandrus, Autolycus, and Lysimachus stand first in order. These actors are undoubtedly protagonists, their identification with like-named actors in the Athenian inscriptions being certain (see table above). There are several possible explanations of the difficulty: 1) Certain troupes at Delphi may be composed of more than one protagonist; 2) Only heads of troupes may be recorded; 3) The identification of the Athenian actors with the Delphic may be wrong. (1) Of course it is not improbable that in exceptional cases troupes were composed of *all star casts*. (2) The assumption that each actor is a leader of a troupe offers no reasonable explanation for the one flute-player and the one didascalus. One didascalus is not capable of training three companies (see also p. 46 above). (3) That the identification of these actors is wrong seems probable for the following reasons: 1) The restoration of the names of Philocydes and Heracleitus is not absolutely certain and the list (IG. II 977 a, frag. m') which contains the name of Philocydes is now doubtful; it is even uncertain whether the names on this fragment are comic actors or not.¹ 2) Demeas won at Athens ca. 289 B. C.; he appears at Delphi in 269 B. C. The date of his success at Athens makes it improbable that he is identical with the Demeas who is registered at Delphi twenty years later. If the two actors are identical, we may reasonably infer that Demeas did not retain his faculties unimpaired in old age and for this reason was placed in the *συραγωναῖοι* rank. What has just been said about Demeas would apply also to the case of Heracleitus.

It is obvious, then, that the arrangement of the names in the Delphic companies is not accidental, but is the result of fixed formula observed by the recorder of entering the name of the actor manager first.

Our inscriptional evidence may be thus summarized: The Delian inscriptions record the names of the actor-managers only, not all the actors of the company. The same is true of other inscriptions which have to do with companies of *technitai*; no

¹ See O'Connor, loc. cit., p. 66. Besides Philocydes this frag. contains the names of the following actors whom Wilhelm would identify with Delphic actors: [Διον]ύσιος = Dionysius, Soteric 272 B. C., l. 53. Dionysius is second in his company. [. . .]ν and [. . . .]ν = Nicon and Philon, Soteric, 270 B. C., ll. 59, 60. Telestes, protagonist stands at the head of this troupe, Nicon and Philon, second and third respectively.

² Heracleitus won at Athens ca. 278 B. C.; he appeared at Delphi 269 B. C.

deduction may be made relative to the number of performers in each company, since only the leaders of companies are mentioned. Sometimes their assistants (*οἱ συναγωνισταί*) are mentioned, but the number is not usually specified. The Soteric lists are unique in this regard; they record the names of all the performers. It is upon this fact that we must base our conclusion that in the period of the guilds the normal dramatic company was composed of three actors (*ὁ τραγῳδὸς καὶ δύο συναγωνισταί*).¹

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¹Of course the guild was prepared to furnish more actors if necessary; the tragic troupe belonging to the Ptolemais guild consisted of one *τραγῳδὸς* and four *συναγωνισταί*, Ditt., *Orient. Gr. Insc.* No. 51.

IV.—LINGUISTIC NOTES ON THE SHĀHBĀZGARHI AND MANSEHRA REDACTIONS OF ASOKA'S FOURTEEN-EDICTS.

THIRD PART.

THE HISTORY OF INDIC γ CONTINUED.

We have now to consider the history of Indic γ when not immediately preceded by a labial. In his edition of the Mansehra version in ZDMG. xliii, Buehler read *driḡhra-* at vii. 33; but in WZKM. viii, p. 201, he said that this was a misreading, and that *diḡhra-* was the true reading; in his edition in EI. ii he reads *driḡhra-*. Now WZKM. viii and EI. ii appeared in the same year. The question is whether Buehler returned to his earlier reading or whether WZKM. viii appeared after EI. ii. The fact that in WZKM. he refers to his edition in ZDMG. and not also to his ed. in EI. would seem to indicate that in EI. he returned to his earlier reading, considering his opinion expressed in WZKM. wrong. In his additions and corrections to all the Asoka-inscriptions (ZDMG. xlviii) he is silent on the matter. By a curious coincidence these appeared in the same year as WZKM. viii and EI. ii. If it were certain that ZDMG. xlviii appeared after WZKM. viii and EI. ii, it might fairly be inferred that Buehler had finally decided that *driḡhra-* was the correct reading. But if *driḡhra-* be the actual reading of the inscription, there can be no reasonable doubt but that it is a blunder for *driḡha-* or *diḡhra-* (see Buehler's editions of the text in both ZDMG. and EI.), in either case being merely graphic for *dirḡha-*. (A good parallel is *bhataprurvam* of the Girnār text at v. 4; on the word see Michelson, AJP., XXX, p. 184). Now *dirḡha-* corresponds to Sanskrit *ḍṛḡha-* as is shown by *daḡha-* of the Girnār redaction. It is true that in the Indic period the γ was long, but there is no reason why the $\tilde{\gamma}$ may not have become $\tilde{\gamma}$ as in Classical Sanskrit (cf. Bartholomae, ZDMG. l, p. 682 ff.), and subsequently *ir*. The etymology of Mans. *driḡhra-* given above is the accepted one, and the one which I myself think is correct;

but it is not out of place to note that if *driḡhra-* be the true reading (and not *diḡhra-*), connection with Sanskrit *ḍṛḡhra-* is not out of the question. It is true that in this case we would then expect a Gīrnār **dadhra-*; but by straining a trifle we might declare the *ḡh* of Mans. *driḡhra-* to be a 'Māgadhism', and the word to be a blend of native **dridhra-* (i. e. **dirdhra-*) and 'Māgadhan' *diḡha-* (so the Kālsī recension). We then should separate the Mansehra word from Gīrnār *daḡha*¹ and Kālsī *diḡha-* which must come from **ḍṛḡha-* (Skt. *ḍṛḡha-*). But that is not a fatal objection. Or we may consider the Mansehra word the true native one if it be a cross between **dridhra-* (Sanskrit *ḍṛḡhra-*), i. e. **dirdhra-*, and **diḡhra-* (Sanskrit *ḍṛḡha-*), i. e. **dirḡha-*. Such crosses are common enough, and are found on some inscriptions of Asoka; for two recently found examples, see Michelson, IF. xxiii, p. 254 ff., p. 256 ff. In this case we then would consider Mans. *driḡhra-* as a lexicographical peculiarity. . . . If *driḡhra-* is taken as the equivalent of Skt. *ḍṛḡhra-*, then of course the *ri*, i. e. *ir* represents Indic *ṛ*, not *ṝ*. But in any case Shāhbāzgarhi *diḡha*² is a 'Māgadhism'. . . . To sum up, I believe that Indic *ṛ* developed in our dialects ordinarily as *ir*, but after labials as *ur*, and that an immediately following dental mute is not thereby converted to a lingual. The last two propositions, I think, I have established above; but in support of the first I have only cited an example that is not absolutely satisfactory. As proof positive I offer *vistriḡena* at xiv. 13 of the Shāhbāzgarhi text. This comes from an Indic prototype **vistṛta-* (not **vistīrta-*) as is shown by the correspondents of the other versions: Gīrnār *vistatana* (read *-ena*), Kālsī *viṭhaṡena*, Jaugaḍa *viṭh(a)ṡena*. *Vistriḡena* is of course merely graphical for *vistīrṡena*; for the position of the *r* cf. Mans. *kraṡaviye*, *viyapraṡa*, and *vruḡhi*. It is scarcely necessary to add that the lingual *ṡ* for dental *t* is due to the influence of the 'Māgadhan' original. It may be objected that the Indic prototype given above is not phonetic. That I grant, but I see no reason why we should not allow analogical forms in the Indic parent-language. Sanskrit *vistṛta-* points distinctly in the same direction. If the Indic prototype were phonetic, we would then have Sanskrit **viṡṡṛta-*, Gīrnār **viṡṡata-*, Kālsī and Jaugaḍa **viṡṡhaṡa-*. The *st* of Shb. *vistriḡena* is not decisive one way or the other: see my

¹ Cf. Pāli *dalha-*.

² Also at xiii. 5.

exposition of the history of the Indic sibilants, AJP. XXX, p. 291.

We next have to consider the correspondents to Indic **kṛta*- (Sanskrit *kṛta*-) in our dialects. As in the case with the correspondents to Sanskrit *vyāpṛta*-, we find a great variety of forms, and Mans. and Shb. show a wide divergence in these forms. The correspondents are: in Mans., *kaṭa*-, *kiṭa*-, *karṭa*-; in Shb. *kaṭa*-, *kiṭra*-, *kiṭa*-. (For the forms actually quotable, see Johansson, l. c. i, pp. 138, 139, 24 and 25 respectively of the reprint.) *Kaṭa*- is found 5 times in Mans., though but once in Shb.; *kiṭra*- is found 5 times in Shb., but never in Mans.; *kiṭa*- occurs twice in both; *karṭa*- is met once in Mans. In eight corresponding passages Mans. and Shb. agree in having the same form twice only (*kaṭa*- once, *kiṭa*- once). That these are all phonetic is incredible. Contrast with this diversity the invariable *kata*- of the Gīrnār redaction and *kaṭa*- of the Dhāuli recension of the Fourteen-Edicts and all the versions of the Pillar-Edicts save the Rāmpurva text in which lacunas are found in all corresponding passages. We can at once dismiss *kaṭa*- in Mans. and Shb. as a 'Magadhim' of the most patent sort (AJP. XXX, p. 421). We may legitimately infer that the native form in both Mans. and Shb. should be **kirta*- and this only, exactly as we inferred above that the true native correspondent to Sanskrit *vyāpṛta*- should be **vapṛta*-. Shāhbāzgarhi *kiṭra*- comes very near this; it is a blend of the *aṭhra*-, *kiṭri*- type, and is merely graphical for *kirṭa*-; for the position of the *r*, *viyapaṭra* may be compared. But a decisive argument that *kiṭra*- is merely graphical for *kirṭa*- is to be found in Mans. *karṭa*-: in this we have 'Māgadhan' *a* (after the initial *k*) for native *i*, as well as 'Māgadhan' *ṭ* for native *ṭ*. We have here the *r* preceding the consonant, and this shows that the position of the *r* in *kiṭra*- is merely graphic. Mans. *viyapaṭa* and Shb. *viyapaṭra* may be compared with *karṭa*- in so far as they both are for *viyapaṭa*. And *karṭa*- indirectly is useful in showing that *vistriṭena* is for *vistirṭena*, though we should infer this anyhow as we would otherwise have to assume that Indic *ṛ* had a divergent history before the same sound in *kiṭra*-. We have a 'Magadhim' of the *aṭha*-, *kiṭi*- type in *kiṭa*-; *vapaṭa* is on the same par as *kiṭa*-. Incidentally I add that *kiṭanata* at Mans. vii. 33 is helpful in establishing the fact that the *ṭ* of *kiṭa*- is a 'Magadhim' as the dental *n* for native palatal *ṇ* is also one (cf. Shb. *kiṭraṇata*). As I stated

above Franke was on the right track; but he errs in assuming that the vowel *i* alone is the product of Indic *ṛ* in the dialects of the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra redactions of the Fourteen-Edicts in the word *kiṭa-*, though I think he is right in considering the isolated *kiṭa-* of the Kālsī recension as true to the native dialect, and thereby assuming that the ordinary *kaṭa-* in this text is a 'Māgadhism'. . . . Bartholomae, IF. iii, p. 186, says if *kiṭa-* alone is phonetic, then the *a* of *kaṭa-*, *kata-* must be analogical. But *kiṭa-* is not phonetic except in the dialect of K; *kaṭa-* and *kata-* are native to different dialects (AJP., l. c.), and it should be observed that in these dialects *kiṭa-* is not found; accordingly *kaṭa-* and *kata-* are phonetic.

The etymology of Shāhbāzgarhi *pranatika* (iv. 9) and Mansehra *paṇatika* (iv. 16) in the corresponding passage is not definitely settled. According to Johansson, Der dialect der sogenannten Shāhbāzgarhi redaktion, i, p. 140 (26 of the reprint) the prototype may have been **praṇāptṛka-*, **praṇāptrika-*, or **praṇāptika-*,¹ apparently thinking that the Kālsī correspondent *pan[āti]kyā* (his *panātiḥā*) especially favored the last. That the prototype was **praṇāptṛka-*, and this only, is shown by Dhāuli *natipana[ti]ṭ[kā]*.² This is the equivalent of a Sanskrit **nap-ṭṛpraṇāptṛkās*, a copulative compound, as is clear from the correspondence of the other versions, Gīrnār *potrā ca prapotrā*, Shāhbāzgarhi *nataro ca pranatika*, Mansehra *natare ca paṇatika*, Kālsī *natāle cā pan[āti]kyā*. For it will be remembered that in the dialects of the Dhāuli, Jaugaḍa, and Kālsī redactions of the Fourteen-Edicts that the Indic *r*-stems have become *i*-stems in several of the cases, e. g. Dhāuli *mālāpiti(i)su*, iii. 10, *bhāt(i)naṭ*, v. 25, (*p*)*it(i)nā*, *bhātinā*, both at ix. 9; Jaugaḍa (*p*)*it(i)nā*, *bhātinā*, both at ix. 17; Kālsī *mālāpitisu*, iv. 11, *pitinā*, *bhātinā*, both at ix. 25 and xi. 30, *bhātināṭ*, v. 16. Similarly also in the dialect of the Delhi-Sivalik version of the Pillar-Edicts, e. g. *mālāpitisu*, vii.³ 8. Now Mansehra *paṇatika* in any case has 'Māgadhan' initial *p-* for native *pr-*; and Shāhbāzgarhi *pranatika* has 'Māgadhan' dental *n* for native lingual *ṇ* as in *Tambāṇ ni* and *Pititika-* (see my discussion of *Vajri*, AJP. XXX, p. 426). Hence, it is not difficult to believe that the *i* of both is also a 'Māgadhism'. According to Johansson, l. c., i, p. 166 (52 of the

¹ ii, p. 14, he says; "wohl aus **napṭṛka-*"; misprint for *nā-*?

² The *-kā* is conjectural, but certain.

reprint), the *n* of Shb. *pranatika* is analogical (and not a 'Māgadhism'). This is possible, but improbable in view of the lingual *ṇ* of Mans. *paṇatika*. For it will be recalled that it is agreed that the dialects of the two texts are practically the same.¹

It is hardly worth while reminding the reader once more that lingual *ṇ* is lacking in the dialect of Dh.; this accounts for the *-pana[t]ikā* of *natipānati[kā]* as contrasted with the *ṇ* of *paṇatika*.

The suffix in Kālī *pan[āti]kyā* is the same as in *akālikye*, etc., whether this is phonetic for *ika-* (as Franke thinks) or a different suffix from *ika-* (as Johansson thinks). If *ikya* is phonetic for *ika* in the dialect of the Kālī text, then the few cases in which *ika* remains must be 'Māgadhisms'. If we have to deal with a phonetic process, the change of *ika* to *ikya* must be subsequent to the transfer of the *ṛ*-stems to *i*-stems at all events (cf. the transfer of *ṛ*-stems in the dialects of J., Dh. but the invariable retention of *ika*). The point of departure for the transfer of the *ṛ*-stems to *i*-stems in the dialects cited, was in the locative pl.: *-ṛṣu* phonetically became *-īsu*, thus coinciding with the loc. pl. of *i*-stems.

Let us turn now to the correspondents to Sanskrit *-dr̥ṣa-*. We naturally should expect **-driṣa-* (which would be written *driṣa-*; cf. *draṣana-*) according to our theory. As a matter of fact, however, we find *-diṣa-* and this only in both Mans. and Shb.

¹ There are a few minor points concerning Dhauri *natipāna[s]i[kā]* that may be considered here. It would seem that the combination *āpt* became *at*, written *at*, in the dialect of the Dhauri redaction of the Fourteen-Edicts: note (*asa*)*māti* (with unusual *-i* for *-e*) at xiv. 19 as contrasted with Gīrnār *asamātoth* (Sanskrit *asamāptam*). From Kālī *pan[āti]kyā* it would seem as though in the dialect of this recension, *āpt* became *āt*. But *asamāti* at xiv. 22, 23 makes a difficulty. It would be safe enough to declare this a mere blunder for **asamāti* (cf. *anūtheru*, etc., cited above in my exposition of the history of Indic *ṛth*) were it not for Dhauri *asamāti*. For if Kālī *asamāti* is a blunder for **asamāti*, we are tempted to say the same of Dhauri *asamāti*. We then should think it probable that Dhauri *natipāna[s]i[kā]* was an error for **natipānātikā*, the second *nā* being due to the first *nā* which is in any case proper. Against this assumption is a weighty consideration, that in the Dhauri redaction there are no other examples of *ā* occurring as a blunder for *ā*, whereas these are not rare in the Kālī recension. But if we consider Kālī *asamāti* only as a blunder, we have a perfect right to say that the dialects of K. and Dh. differ in the treatment of *āpt*; cf. the change of *vy* (which remains in K.) to *vīy* in the dialect of Dh. It is also possible that Kālī *asamāti* is really 'Māgadhan': but the fact that the blunder *mādhukīyāye* is in the same edict, is rather against this assumption.

Now *tadiše* at Shb. iv. 8, Mans. iv. 14 has 'Māgadhan' -*e* for native -*aṁ* in any case (*tādiše* Kālsī, iv. 10; Dhauli iv. 14); [*h*]*edišani* at Shb. viii. 17 'Māgadhan' initial *h*- (*heḍisān*[*i*], Kālsī viii. 22); [*a*]*dīše* at Mans. iv. 14 the 'Māgadhan' loss of initial *y*- as well as 'Māgadhan' final -*e* (*ādise*, Jaugaḍa iv. 16; *ād(i)se*, Dhauli iv. 14; *ādis*[*e*], Kālsī iv. 10); *adiše* at Mans. xi. 12 the same 'Māgadhisms'; *ediše* at Mans. ix. 5 'Māgadhan' final -*e* (note that we have no correspondent in the Shb. text): so that it is natural to suspect that in these forms the *i* is likewise a 'Māgadhisim' inasmuch as the correspondents of the Kālsī, Jaugaḍa, and Dhauli redactions invariably have *i* for Indic ṛ. Generalizing from these cases, we need have no scruple in declaring the *i* of -*dīša*- in the few remaining forms which do not otherwise betray 'Māgadhan' influence—to be also a 'Māgadhisim'. For a parallel instance in which the palatal sibilant is the sole trace of the native word, I offer *pavaḍhayiṣamīti*, Mans. iv. 16: this stands for a native **pravadhreṣamīti*; cf. Dhauli *pavaḍhayiṣamīti*, Jaugaḍa *pava(vaḍhayiṣamīti)*, Kālsī [*pa*]*vaḍhayiṣamīti*. The Shāhbāzgarhi correspondent [*vaḍhe*]-*ṣamīti* preserves the original vocalism; per contra note that *draṣayitu* at Shb. iv. 8 is for *draṣeti* (so the Mansehra version) altered by 'Māgadhan' *dasayitu* (so the Kālsī and Jaugaḍa redactions): but note that the original vocalism is maintained in *aloceti* at Shb. xiv. 14 (Kālsī *alocayitu*).¹ The initial *pa*- of *pavaḍhayiṣamīti* is a generally recognized 'Māgadhisim'; for *qh* (i. e. *qḍh*) taking the place of native *dhr* (i. e. *rdh*), see my exposition of the history of Indic *rdh* above. I do not understand *ediṣiy*, i. e. *ediṣiye*, at Shb. ix. 18, and would emend it to *ediṣaye*; cf. Mansehra [*edi*]ṣa[*ye*], Kālsī *ediṣāye*, Dhauli *hed(i)-sāye*, Jaugaḍa *he(d)isāye*: as a parallel we can adduce *oṣa[qhī]ni* at Mans. ii. 7 which surely is unintelligible, and must be altered to -*ani*.² . . . According to Johansson, l. c., i, p. 140 (26 of the reprint), wherever we find *i* for Indic ṛ in the dialects of the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra redactions of the Fourteen-Edicts, such forms have been generalized from cases in which an *i* existed in the preceding or following syllable. No support to this theory can be gained from the dialects of the other recensions of said edicts; and hence it is to be rejected. For why should these two dialects alone possess a number of forms

¹ See JAOS XXX, p. 90.

² *Ediṣiye* is from an *i*-stem. Correction Feb.

corresponding to Sanskrit *kṛta-* and *vyāpṛta-*? As has been shown before Mans. and Shb. *kaṭa-* is a 'Māgadhism' of the most patent kind; and the remaining correspondents all show more or less 'Māgadhan' influence.

It should be pointed out that forms as Shb. *matapitūṣu* and *ḍhratunāṣ*, etc., do not correspond to Sanskrit *-pitṛṇu*, *ḍhrāṭṛṇām*, etc., respectively as Johansson assumes (l. c., i, p. 140, 26 of the reprint): there *u* is without doubt long as in Pāli (vowel-quantities are not distinguished in the alphabet in which Shb. and Mans. are written); that is, the forms are analogical transfers to the *u*-declension. The starting point was certainly the genitive singular: Indic **pitur* (Sanskrit *pitur*) phonetically became *pītu* (cf. Pāli *pītu*), but the analogy of the *a*-stems added *-ssa*, thus Pāli *pītussa*, Ardhamāgadhī Prakrit *piussa*); now as this coincided with one form of the gen. sing. of *u*-stems (Pāli and AMg. Pkt. *ḍhikkhussa*, per contra note Skt. *ḍhikṣos*, analogically we find the other form (Pāli *ḍhikkhuno*, AMg. Pkt. *ḍhikkhuṇo* with *ṇ* by specific Prakrit law) also, e. g. Pāli *pītuno*, AMg. *piuṇo* (with *ṇ* as above). Then forms proper to the *u*-declension spread. If Mansehra *matupitūṣu* (iv. 15) is not an error for *mata-*, *matu-* represents the transfer-stem *matu-* and not Indic **mātr-* exactly as Pāli *mātu-*, *mātugāmo pītusoko*, *pītupitāmāhā*: per contra note Pāli *pītigottāṣ* and *mātigottāṣ*. It is possible that these last two phonetically correspond to Sanskrit *pitr̥gotram* and *mātr̥gotraṣ* respectively; but it is also possible that they only represent an analogical transfer-stem in *i-* which was phonetic in the locative plural: cf. the dialects of the Dhāuli, Jaugaḍa, and Kālsī recensions of the Fourteen-Edicts as well as the Delhi-Sivalik redaction of the Pillar-Edicts.¹

Bhatana at Mans. v. 24 is a mere blunder for *ḍhatuna* (*bh* for *ḍhr* is a 'Māgadhism'; and final *ṇ* is graphically omitted) as is shown by Shb. *ḍhratunāṣ*, Shb. *spasunāṣ*, Mans. *spasuna* (Skt. *svasar-*). A parallel is to be found in *vadhrana* at Mans. viii. 35: see AJP. XXX, p. 424.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to say that if *pītina* at Mans. ix. 5 be the true reading (which is at least doubtful), it is cer-

¹ In short *r* before a sibilant becomes *i* in certain dialects; e. g. Pāli *isi-* = Skt. *ṛṣi-*; *tādīsa-* = Skt. *tādr̥ṣa-*; *diṭṭha-* = Skt. *dyṭṭha-*. The Pāli genitive *mātuyā* comes from *mātu* (Skt. *mātur*) with the addition of the *-yā* of the feminine *ā*-stems, whence a general transfer to these stems took place.

tainly a 'Māgadhism': cf. *pituna* at xi. 13, and see Franke, Pali und Sanskrit, p. 123.

According to Johansson, l. c., i, p. 139 (25 of the reprint), Shb. and Mans. *mala-* in *matapitusu* is either for Indic *mālā* or Indic *mātr-*. It is not worth while to elaborately refute the second alternative as Johansson himself has given the best arguments against it; and few will take it seriously into consideration.

We have next to deal with Shahbāzgarhi *graha-* in *graha-[ṭha]ni*, xii. 1, *gra[ḥa]ṭha*, xiii. 4. The simplest solution is the suggestion of Johansson (l. c., p. 139, 25 of the reprint) that it is graphical for *garha-* (I. E. **ghordho-*), and is in ablaut-relation with Sanskrit *gr̥ha-*. Some may object that in this case we would rather expect **garaha-* by the analogy of Shb., Mans. *garahati* = Skt. *garhati*. But this objection is not valid because the *h* of Skt. *garhati*, etc., is for I. E. *ǵh*, while the *h* of Shb. *graha-* (and for that matter Skt. *gr̥ha-*) is for I. E. *dh*. Now the change of Aryan *ǵh* (I. E. *ǵh*) to *h* is Proto-Indic, but the change of Aryan *dh* (I. E. *dh*) is not Proto-Indic but (under unknown conditions) is Pan-Indic. It is not difficult to assume that the change of Indic *rh* to *rah* was prior to the change of Proto-Indic *rdh* to *rh*. . . . Another suggestion of Johansson is that *graha-* is for **garha-*, and that this is a phonetic development of Indic **gr̥dha-* (Skt. *gr̥ha-*). That *graha-*, i. e. *garha-*, can stand for Indic **gr̥dha-*, I readily admit, but I deny that it can be shown to be a phonetic development. In short we should expect **griha-*, i. e. **girha-*, as the phonetic correspondent to Sanskrit *gr̥ha-* by the analogy of Mans. *diḍhra-* (*driḍhra-*), Shb. *vistriṭena*. Native **griha-*, i. e. **girha-*, may easily have been altered to *graha-* by the influence of 'Māgadhan' *gaha-* (cf. Kālsī *gaha-*); as parallels we have Mansehra *viyapraṭa* (*ra* for *ru*), *mrige* (*ri* for *ru*), *vadhri* (for **vudhri*, i. e. **vurdhi*), *karṭa-* (for *kirta-*) AJP. XXX, pp. 424, 427, 428, XXXI, p. 57. But whether *graha-* be the true native word or a partial 'Māgadhism' from the two isolated occurrences is impossible to say with certainty. Yet the fact that the *ṭh* of *graha[ṭha]ni* and the *th* of *gra[ḥa]ṭha* are undoubted 'Māgadhisms' (see Johansson, l. c., ii, p. 17) distinctly favor the supposition that the *ra* of the two words is for *ri* (i. e. *ir*) altered by 'Māgadhan' *a*.¹ I add that Johansson's² explanation of Pali,

¹ Kālsī *gihithā* (Skt. *gyheṭhās* (in the thirteenth edict is an indirect support to our assumption that **girha-* is the true native word of both Shb. and Mans

Prākrit, Asokan (Girnār), etc., *ghara-*, namely that it comes from **garha-* with a shift of the *h* appears to me improbable; Pischel, BB. iii, p. 248, undoubtedly was correct in connecting *ghara-* with *ghr* of the *Dhātupāṭha*; even if his etymology of this is wrong.

The etymology of *Rastikanam*, Shb. v. 12 is uncertain. The Dhauli correspondent is *Laṭhika-* (in a compound). According to Buehler the word corresponds to Sanskrit *Rṣṭika-*, according to others to a Sanskrit **Rāṣṭrika-*. There are no other test-cases to show the history of initial Indic *ṛ-* in either Shb. or Dh., but I know of no parallel in either Pali or Prākrit for the change of *ṛ-* to *ra-* (the *la-* of Dh. is secondary); and am therefore sceptical as to whether we have the equivalents of *Rṣṭika-*: cf, also Johansson, l. c., i, p. 140 (26 of the reprint), footnote 1. Scholars are not agreed as to whether the Girnār correspondent is *Riṣṭika-* or *Rāṣṭika-*. The symbol for the syllable is not unlike that for *ra* in *gharastāni*, xii. 1 or *Turamāyo*, xiii. 8, and resembles less closely the *ri* of *aparigodhāya*, v. 6. If *Riṣṭika-* be the true reading, on the surface it would favor the derivation from *Rṣṭika-*, for we have parallels in Prākrit for the change of *ṛ-* to *ri-*. But it is only on the surface: even if *Riṣṭika-* be accepted, it might easily be a blunder for *Rā-*; cf. *dati*, xiii. 9—an admitted blunder for *datā*. The difference between an *ā*-stroke and an *i*-stroke may be very small: for example *P[ī]riṇḍesu*, xiii. 9 might nearly as well be read *Pā-*; and it is uncertain whether *Aṃtekinā* or *Aṃtekinī* is the correct reading at xiii. 8. So that the initial syllable of the Girnār correspondent is not a decisive argument. But there is a difficulty in assuming a *Rāṣṭrika-* the prototype. For phonetically we should then expect a Shāhbāzgarhi **Rastrikanam* and a Girnār **Rāṣṭrika-* (*Riṣṭika-* or *Rāṣṭika-* is in a compound). We cannot assume any direct 'Māgadhan' influence to account for the divergence of the actual forms: cf. Dhauli *Laṭhika-*. And I think most scholars will hesitate to ascribe a hyper-Māgadhim in the same

For Kālsī *kiṭa-* bears the same relation (as far as the history of Indic *ḷ* is concerned) to **kirta-* (see above) as *giḥa-* to **girha-*.

¹ Wackernagel, Ai Gr. i, p. 276, apparently follows Johansson, though not without misgivings. See also Torp, Flexion, p. 11. I remark that if a Sanskrit word *graha-* 'house' were well attested, we should regard Shāhbāzgarhi *graha-* as identical with it: but it is not, and probably is a mere blunder for *gr̥ha-*: see BR. and OB.

word of Shb. and G. The Mansehra correspondent *Raṭṛaka-*, according to Johansson, confirms finely the equation with a Skt. **Rāṣṭrika-*. I do not see how, quite aside from the fact that it is considered a mere blunder for *Rastika-* by Buehler. With great reservation I suggest that the prototype was **Rāṣṭrika*¹, a derivative from the prototype of Vedic *rāṣṭa-* (Sanskrit *rāṣṭra-*), on which see Wackernagel, *Ai Gr.*, §§ 145 b, 168, Brugmann, *K. verg. Gr.*, p. 119. This will phonetically satisfy all requirements. I add that the Kālsī version has no correspondent, and that the Jaugada redaction has a lacuna where we otherwise would find a correspondent, and this would be **Laṣṭhika-*; for it is a well-recognized fact that the Dhāuli and Jaugada recensions are practically the same in both language and contents.

Shb. *d. khati* and Mans. *kha.*, whether read *dekhati* or *dakhati* are 'Māgadhisms'; and so we are not concerned with them; cf. Johansson, *l. c.*, ii, p. 23 ff.

The above exhausts the material² from which we can make our deductions as to the history of Indic *ṛ* in the dialects of the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra recensions of the Fourteen-Edicts. As stated in the beginning of this paper, our material is not very satisfactory. But not to such an extent as to vitiate our conclusions which are that Indic *ṛ* ordinarily develops as *ir* in our dialects, but as *ur* after labials. Here again Franke was on the right track (*Pāli und Sanskrit*, p. 110), but was wrong in limiting the phenomenon in our dialects to special cases only. His exact words are "Spezielle Faelle der Vertretung des skt. *ṛ* durch eine Silbe mit *r* in grosser Menge in Kharoṣṭhī-Pāli". Thus implies that ordinarily we should expect a vowel by itself as the product of *ṛ*; unless indeed he wishes merely to record empirical facts: for his immediate purpose he may not have been concerned phonetically. It should be here mentioned that Franke avoids deciding the question as to whether the writing *dhrama-*, etc., represents the actual pronunciation. If I have succeeded

¹ Leaving aside the question whether the change of Aryan *ṛ* to *ṣ* was Proto-Indic or Pan-Indic. Shāhbāzgarhi *ṣ* favors the latter view. See also my exposition of the history of the Indic sibilants above.

² For absolute completeness the following should be added to the list in *AJP.* XXX, p. 421: Shb. *dasabhaṭakasa*, ix. 19, Mans. *dasabhaṭakasi* ('Māgadhan' -*asi* for native -*aspi*), ix. 4; Shb. *dasabhaṭakanath*, xi. 23, Mans. *dasa[ḍha]ṭa-sa*, xi. 12; Shb. *[da]sabha[ṭa]kanath*, xiii. 5. Compare the correspondents in Dh. and K.; note also Delhi-Sivalik *dāsabhaṭakeru*.

in showing that *ir*, and *ur* after labials, is the true phonetic product and not *ri*, *ru*, and correctly unraveled the tangle of *vapuṣa*, *viyapraṣa*, *mrige*, *vadhri*, etc., I am satisfied.¹

If in treating these problems I have come to very different conclusions than Johansson in his treatise, it is not surprising; for it will be remembered that Johansson wrote over fifteen years ago; and since then, no one has taken up systematically the investigations we have just concluded. Great praise should be given the treatise of Johansson, for it was the first treatment of any dialect of the inscriptions of Asoka by a thoroughly competent comparative philologist. That he did not solve every problem that confronted him was natural; for in attacking the dialect of the Shāhbāzgarhi redaction of the Fourteen-Edicts (and incidentally that of the Mansehra version), he chose the most difficult dialect of all the Asokan inscriptions to understand.

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¹ Final additions and corrections made February. The pages cited are in AJP. XXX.—286: Franke previously recognized *-asi* as a 'Māgadhism', and apparently denies the existence of *-aspi*. Senart before also made the same observation on *-asi*. 287: Franke correctly has noted that Shb. and Mans. *iyath* is a 'Māgadhism' and I have shown in JAOS. xxx, p. 90, cf. 91, that *-ayi-* is also; so there is abundant proof of 'Māgadhan' influence in the vocalism of other than final syllables. 289: It is now possible to cite the reference to JAOS. xxx by page number; it is 89. 290: Read Skt. *vargṇa*. 291: For the points of contact between the dialects of Shb., Mans., and G. see JAOS. xxx, pp. 87-89. On *hevath* see Michelson, IF. xxiii, p. 128. 295: Read 'not' for 'but' in the last sentence of the third paragraph. 422: For *ṛ* read *ṛ* (so in the proofs). Analogical *n* for *ṇ* is almost universal in Pāli case-endings, and is frequent in suffixes; examples are *rūpena*, *dharmena*, *sahassāni*, *oropana*, *kubbāna*-, etc. See my essay on Skt. *puṇya*-, to appear in TAPA. 40. On Skt. *prāpnoti* with analogical *n* see Michelson, IF. xxiv, p. 54. 424: Read *vṛddhi*- (so in the proofs) for *vṛddhi*-. 426: Read *Petenikūnath*. The asterisk at the beginning of the last line, though present in the proofs, has broken off. For *Vṛji*- read *Vṛji*- (which is in the reprint).

V.—CICERO DE OFFICIIS 2. 10.

Book II of the *De Officiis* begins with a resumé, in a single sentence, of Book I. Cicero then states, in another sentence, whose text at the close is disputed,¹ the theme of Book II. Paragraph two (§ 2) should begin here, not where the tradition makes it begin (see Knapp, A. J. P. XXVIII 58, n.). In §§ 2-6 Cicero explains why he has devoted himself to philosophy; in §§ 7-8 he defends his Academic attitude.

In § 9 he addresses himself to the real business of Book II. He reminds us that duty may be investigated under five heads (§§ 9-10). Of these, two deal with *decus honestasque*, two with *commoda vitae*; the fifth is concerned with the criterion by which we shall determine what we ought to do if there is an (apparent²) conflict between the right and the expedient. Of these five heads two have formed the theme of Book I; Book II is to deal with the expedient, in two aspects. Then follow the words to which I would call especial attention, as follows (§§ 9-10):³

In quo verbo (i. e. *utile*) lapsa consuetudo deflexit de via sensimque eo deducta est ut honestatem ab utilitate secernens constitueret esse honestum aliquid quod utile non esset et utile quod non honestum, qua nulla perniciēs maior hominum vitae potuit afferri. Summa quidem auctoritate philosophi severe sane atque honeste haec tria genera confusa cogitatione distinguunt. Quicquid enim iustum sit id etiam utile esse censent itemque quod honestum idem iustum, ex quo efficitur ut quicquid honestum sit idem sit utile. Quod qui parum perspiciunt, ii saepe versutos homines et callidos admirantes malitiam sapientiam iudicant.

The points I wish to make are these: (1) no part of this passage need be bracketed save *tria*; (2) if any part of *Summa quidem . . . sit utile* is to be bracketed, all should be bracketed,

¹ See below, p. 73.

² Throughout, but especially in Book III, Cicero insists that there can be no real conflict between *honestum* and *utile*.

³ I give at first C. F. W. Müller's text (Teubner, 1898); the punctuation is my own.

or, what amounts to the same thing, should be treated, if genuine, as a parenthetical remark or as in effect a footnote; (3) in any event *tria* should be bracketed; (4) the insertion of *re* after *genera*, though not necessary, would much improve the passage.

What is the force of *quidem* in *Summa quidem auctoritate*? We have here, I think, even if somewhat disguised, the common use of *quidem* to make an admission which is at once more or less fully offset (= *quamvis* or *quamquam* . . . *sed, nūc* . . . *dē*). *Quidem* . . . *autem, quidem* . . . *sed* are the forms used in such cases when the writer gives his thought in full detail, but the correlating conjunction or particle is not necessary. Authorities on this point are needless; however, reference may be made to Reisig-Haase, *Vorlesungen* 3. 272-273, especially N. 428, c on p. 273; Nägelsbach, *Lateinische Stilistik*⁴, 195, c. Here, if the contrasting thought has found expression in words at all, it has done so at *cogitatione*. The sense then is: 'To be sure philosophers . . . do distinguish these (three) things, but it is in theory (in imagination, abstractly) only'. On the other hand we may interpret thus: 'To be sure philosophers . . . distinguish in theory these things so closely intertwined (but such distinction is futile)'. I prefer the former interpretation. If the latter interpretation is the more correct, *Summa quidem* . . . *sit utile* = a 'corrective' *quamquam*- or a 'corrective' *etsi*-clause (cf. again Reisig-Haase and Nägelsbach as cited above),¹ and constitute a quasi-footnote.

¹ *Quidem* has not been fairly dealt with by the editors. Crowell, Dettweiler, Müller (annotated edition, 1882), Heine, Von Gruber say nothing about it. Holden translates thus: 'there are philosophers . . . who in theory . . . make a distinction between these three several kinds of excellence . . . , yet it will be allowed (*sane*) they do so upon strict and conscientious principles'. This rendering brings out another contrast imbedded in our passage, that between *severe* . . . *honeste* and *distinguunt*, but, so far as I can see, leaves *quidem* untouched. Possibly, however, Holden felt *quidem* and *sane* to be correlatives; that view, to my mind, gives a wrong force to the passage as a whole. Holden concludes by saying that Nägelsbach, p. 229, gave to *quidem* the force of *ποῦν*, 'at all events'. The reference to Nägelsbach must be to some old edition; it does not apply to the eighth edition (1888) which antedates Mr. Holden's seventh edition (1891): but Mr. Holden quite often in this edition failed to adapt references to latest editions of other works. In any case the sense supposed to have been given by Nägelsbach to *quidem* will not fit. Beier (1820) has this wrong note: "*Quidem*, cui Degen vim concedendi tribuit, hic i. potius valet, q. *certe*, scilicet, ut volgi opinio illa elevetur."

If my interpretation is right, Cicero has expressed his thought in one respect too fully; *confusa* is needless. Further, its presence disturbs the smoothness of the passage. Cicero was apparently seeking to repeat just before *cogitatione* the effect conveyed by *quidem*. The dislocation would be removed were we to insert *re* after *genera* (*genera re* could easily, by a form of haplography, become *genera*) or if we were to read *genere* for *genera* (with Beier, Von Gruber, Müller, Dettweiler).¹

In the words *In quo verbo . . . distinguunt* Cicero has been saying, somewhat awkwardly, this: 'Though common usage and philosophers of the first rank . . . alike have distinguished *honestum* and *utile*, no such distinction exists in fact'. What room is there here for *tria* with *haec genera*? The actual

¹ If we insert *re* after *genera*, we may compare with our passage De Off. 1. 95 Est enim quiddam idque intellegitur in omni virtute quod deceat; quod cogitatione magis a virtute potest quam re separari; De Orat. 2. 177 ut re distinguantur, verbis confusa esse videantur. If we refrain from inserting *re* we may compare Cic. De Fin. 5. 67 atque haec coniunctio confusioque virtutum tamen a philosophis ratione quadam distinguuntur; *ratione quadam* of this passage corresponds to *cogitatione* in ours. Cic. Tusc. 1. 23 utrum igitur inter has sententias diiudicare malumus an ad propositum redire? Cuperem equidem utrumque, si posset, sed est difficile confundere, often cited as parallel to our passage, is quite different, for there the reference is not to things in reality indistinguishable, but rather to two things so sharply separable that they cannot be combined.

It might indeed be argued that the De Finibus passage makes against the insertion of *re* after *genere* in our passage. It may be said in reply that, whereas *coniunctio confusioque virtutum* is an entirely natural phrase, (*tria genera confusa*, without the addition of *re* (= *re vera*) is awkward. If Cicero wrote that, he missed a chance for an effective antithesis that would have added materially to the clear presentation of his idea.

Those who wrote *genere* for *genera* viewed the passage at this point essentially as I have done. They compare Cic. Tusc. 5. 22 genere (i. e. *re*, propria vi sua), non numero cernerentur; De Off. 2. 60 genere vitiosa, temporibus necessaria.

Beier bracketed no part of our passage (so, too, Stuerenberg, text edition, 1834). Beier objected to attempts of various editors to explain *tria* out of the following clause as *iustum*, *honestum*, *utile* by noting that *honestum* and *iustum* are not different. He therefore thought *tria* a gloss. He then added: "Non tamen sollicito propter l. 1." I suppose he is referring to Cic. De Fin. 5. 3. 71 previously cited by him: gravissimeque et severissime defenditur numquam aequitatem ab utilitate posse seiungi et quidquid aequum iustumque esset id etiam honestum vicissimque quidquid esset honestum id iustum etiam atque aequum fore. But surely here too we have two, not three, *genera*: why then should this passage deter one from ejecting *tria* from our text.

discussion of Book II began just thirteen lines above that in which *tria* stands. Of these thirteen lines six are concerned with a restatement of I §§ 9-10, concerning the ways in which duty may be investigated. One more line announces the theme of Book II. We must find the *tria genera*, if anywhere, in the sentence beginning with *In quo verbo*. In that sentence we can naturally find but *two* things, *honestas* and *utilitas*; if we find more than two we must find four, thus: two *honestas* (*honestum quod re vera utile est, honestum quod non utile est*), and, by parity of reasoning, two *utilia* (*utile quod honestum est, utile quod non honestum est*). Finding four things involves verbal jugglery, as we can see by paraphrasing thus: *honestum et utile, honestum sed non utile, utile et honestum, utile sed non honestum*. Three things it is impossible to find, naturally. Nor is it possible here to explain *haec*, even theoretically, by what follows. When a writer condemns in one clause, as Cicero does in *In quo verbo*, etc., the separation of certain things and then in the very next clause talks about the differentiation of these things, his *haec* must refer backward, not forward, or else it becomes a waste of time to seek to interpret language at all. The logical mind, then, can find but two things discussed or named in the words preceding *haec*; those two things are *honestas* and *utilitas*. There is therefore no room for *tria* and the word should be bracketed.¹

¹ If we wish ample further proof that *tria* is impossible we may find it in the efforts of recent editors (except Von Gruber) to explain it.

Müller (1882) explains *tria genera* as "das bloss sittliche, das bloss nützliche, das sowohl sittliche als nützliche". Holden (1891) borrowed his explanation from Müller; he calls the three things *honestum, utile, utile et honestum*. These are mere words; if *honestum et utile* is to find a place, we must find room also for *utile et honestum*, and we come out again at four things, reducible to two, as shown above. Heine (1885) wrote thus: "*Haec tria genera* könnte man auch, wenn der Beweis (on the syllogism see below, p. 71) echt wäre, nicht auf *honestum, iustum, utile* beziehen, denn das *iusustum*, dessen sich Cic. nur als Mitglied für den Beweis bedient, kann er nicht als besondere Art anführen". These are waste words if I am right in maintaining that *haec* [*tria*] *genera* must have a backward, not a forward reference. Heine then suggested that the *tria* are "*honestum an sich, das zugleich nützlich, honestum quod non esset utile, utile quod non esset honestum*". This avails not; it relegates to a subordinate position one of the two things with which Cicero is supremely concerned, the *utile* (*utile quod honestum est*). Heine's three things are thus again really four (reducible to two, *honestum, utile*). Stickney (1885) ventured no view of his own. To Heine's explanation he objected that there has been

Up to this point I have worked independently.

In pursuing my examination of the editions, I came upon that of J. von Gruber¹ (Teubner, 1874), to find that my view had been in part anticipated.¹

Von Gruber printed as follows: . . . [tria] genera confusa . . . [Quidquid enim . . . sit utile]. In his notes, however, he began badly, in that he defines *haec tria* (*haec* is now left unbracketed) by *iustum*, *utile*, *honestum*; of this error I have said enough. But he redeems himself speedily, in his note on *quidquid . . . utile*: "Dass diese Wörter eine Interpolation sind oder enthalten, zu der auch das vorhergehende *tria* gehört, ist kaum zweifelhaft, denn das *honestum* und *iustum* als 2 genera (Gattungsbegriffe) zu unterscheiden ist Cicero gewiss nie eingefallen (vgl. III, 7, 6); und zumal an dieser Stelle gar keine Veranlassung das *iustum* herbeizuziehen. Vielleicht war die ursprüngliche Lesart: *haec genera re confusa*, vgl. I, 27, 8."

Here we have another example of the unhappy way in which the truth is set forth by some one, in a form and place readily accessible, only to be disregarded by contemporary and later students. See the last words of my paper in the Proceedings of the American Philological Association XXV (1894), p. xxx, in which I note that Maclean had rightly interpreted Horace C. 3. 30. 10-14 only to yield at once to the traditional view of the passage. In The Classical Review X. 365-368 I defended at length an interpretation of Catullus 62. 45 which had been championed by Quintilian only to be disregarded by most modern editors. So in Vergil Eclogues 4. 62 I believe that Quintilian was right in reading *qui*.²

no previous mention of two *honesti*; to the view that *tria* is to be explained by *honestum*, *iustum*, *utile* of the following clause (the syllogism), he objects, as Heine had done, that there is no real difference between *honestum* and *utile*, so that here again we have two things, not three. He says nothing of the logical impossibility of explaining *haec* here by what follows. Dettweiler (1890) and Crowell (1873, 1882) take the same view as Heine; Dettweiler accounts for the "Unklarheit" of the passage by "die ganze Hast der Abfassung während einer höchst aufgeregten Zeit."

¹ Cf. also Beier (cited in end of note to page 68).

² I have read with much satisfaction the remarks on this passage by Professor Postgate in a paper read by him before the British Academy, entitled Flaws in Classical Research (published separately by the Oxford Press; see page 26). I cannot follow him, however, when in The Classical Review XVI. 36-37 he 'emends' *hunc* into *hinc*; the change from the plural in *qui* to the singular in

It remains to explain, if possible, how the erroneous *tria* made its way into the text. I can conceive of no explanation save one; *tria* is the result of an illogical effort to explain *haec genera* or *haec* alone by the aid of the *quicquid*-clause. Since modern editors have so often seriously considered this possibility, we need not blame a scribe too severely for inserting *tria* in this way.

The *quicquid enim* clause has been repeatedly bracketed, e. g., by Müller, Von Gruber, Heine, Holden, Stickney, Dettweiler, Crowell. Heine joins the clause with *distinguunt* and finds it absurd, for who could differentiate things by finding them identical? But the predicate in the preceding sentence is not *distinguunt* alone, but *cogitatione distinguunt*. Join the *quicquid enim* clause with *cogitatione distinguunt*, and we get the following wholly sensible result: 'though to be sure certain philosophers distinguish these things, in fact identical, distinguish them, yes, but in theory only, for after all they are too closely related in fact, too closely identical in fact, to be separable'.

Heine finds another objection to the words, in that they are faulty in logic (so Von Gruber, Müller, Dettweiler, Crowell, Holden (probably), Beier. In *quidquid enim . . . idem sit utile* Cicero (or some one else) is attempting a syllogism of this form: (1) *iustum = utile*; (2) *honestum = iustum*; ergo, (3) *honestum = utile* (cf. $a = b, c = a$: ergo, $b = c$). But the syllogism is faulty, because the middle term *iustum* is not distinct from the other two, for, as was shown in Book I, *iustum* is a part of *honestum* and so identical with it. But is a syllogism un-Ciceronian merely because it is faulty?

Heine notes, as a final reason for ejecting the *quicquid enim* clause, that such ejection makes much clearer the reference of *quod qui parum perspiciunt*; he finds the antecedent of *quod* in the thought that *honestum* and *utile* are separable only in theory.

hunc need trouble no one, save one who is deliberating seeking for chances to emend. Even Greek can endure such a sentence as Sophocles Antigone 1165-1167:

τὰς γὰρ ἡδονὰς
 ὅταν προδῶσιν ἄνδρες, οὐ τίθην' ἐγὼ
 ζῆν τοῦτον, ἀλλ' ἐμψυχὸν ἡγοῦμαι νεκρόν.

In Sophocles, as in Vergil, it is easy to see the *raison d'être* of the shift of numbers; in each case the diplomatic generalization is affected by the speaker's supreme interest in a specific case.

This argument, if it has any weight, makes equally well for the exclusion also of *Summa quidem . . . distinguunt*, as may be seen if we rewrite the whole passage with *Summa quidem . . . idem sit utile* gone, thus:

In quo verbo lapsa consuetudo deflexit de via sensimque eo deducta est ut honestatem ab utilitate secernens constitueret esse honestum aliquid quod utile non esset et utile quod non honestum, qua nulla perniciēs maior hominum vitae potuit afferri. Quod qui parum perspiciunt, etc.

I see, therefore, no good reason for bracketing the *quicquid enim* clause. On the other hand, if it is to be bracketed, then, if I am right in regarding it as containing an explanation not of *distinguunt* alone, but of *cogitatione distinguunt* together (of *cogitatione* surely if it explains only part of the preceding predicate), the words *Summa quidem . . . idem sit utile* cohere so closely together as a single entity that if any part of them is ejected the rest must go also.

If the *quicquid enim* clause is retained, there is, to me at least, no real difficulty in referring *quod* in *quod qui parum perspiciunt* to the thought contained in *cogitatione distinguunt*. I have never sympathized with the mental processes which have led so many editors to reject *qui fuit maior natu quam Plautus et Naevius* in Cicero Tusc. i. 3 *Annis fere DX post Romam conditam Livius fabulam dedit C. Claudio, Caeci filio, M. Tuditano consulibus anno ante natum Ennium, qui . . . Naevius*. In such passages editors read too much clause by clause instead of reading in the large.¹ When one notes that *C. Claudio . . . Ennium*

¹ Conjunctions are often badly handled by the editors because they fail to read in the large. Cf. my note on *etenim* in Cicero, C. M. 15 (The Classical Review XIV 216), and my remarks on *atque* in Aeneid 6. 185 (in my review of Norden, Aeneid VI, A. J. P. XXVII 82). I might add many other examples, but shall content myself with just one more, an admirable instance. In Cicero Laelius 18-20 the thought is hard to follow, until one notes that *neque id ad vivum resece . . . optimam bene vivendi ducem* (18, 19) is all in effect an aside or a footnote, and that *enim* in *Sic enim perspicere videor* (19) exerts force clear through *inter paucos iungeretur* (20), particularly on *ita contracta res est . . . iungeretur*. The whole page is thus reducible to this: "My first feeling, then, is that friendship can exist only between good men (I use the word 'good' in its ordinary sense), for I see clearly, I fancy, that, though there is a fellowship in which every human being has a share, after all the fellowship of true friendship is possible only between two, or at most a small group, each of whom must be good". In conclusion I beg to refer to two

constitute merely an ablative of time, lending definiteness to the indefinite *Annis fere . . . conditam*, and so form a strictly subordinate and grammatically minor phrase, he has no difficulty in making *qui* of *qui fuit* . . . *Naevius* refer to *Livius* rather than to *Ennius*. Further, the clause *qui fuit* . . . *Naevius* is distinctly Ciceronian in content; we may well say that it is part of his effort to set right the literary chronology of Rome. See especially *Brutus* 72 and *Cato Maior* 50, and Professor Hendrickson, *A. J. P.* XIX 279 ff., 285 ff., 295.

Now in our *De Officiis* passage, if we keep all the words except *tria*, if we regard the *quicquid enim* clause as explaining *cogitatione distinguunt* or *cogitatione* alone, if we read the whole sentence from *In quo verbo* to *iudicant* as one entity, we shall have no trouble in making *quod* refer to the impossibility of distinguishing *honestum* and *utile*.

Akin to our passage and to *Tusc.* 1. 3, in the matter immediately under discussion, is *De Officiis* 2. 1 *Sequitur ut haec officiorum genera persequar quae pertinent ad vitae cultum et ad earum rerum quibus utuntur homines facultatem, ad opes, ad copias, [in quo tum quaeri dixi quid utile, quid inutile, (tum ex utilibus quid utilius aut quid maxime utile)].* Here, indeed, the words *tum . . . utile* are not found in some of the best MSS, but I see no difficulty whatever in finding the antecedent of *quo* (of course in *Sequitur . . . copias* as a whole); to what else, pray, could *quo* refer? what possible chance, to a Roman reader at least, could there be of ambiguity or unclearness?

Here we have, picked up quite at random, three passages in which, to find the antecedent of a relative pronoun, we must pass over a nearer in favor of a remoter noun. That this is not the best sort of writing none can or will deny; but so long as there is no real chance of ambiguity why should this be regarded as absolute proof that a given passage is not genuine?

CHARLES KNAPP.

papers in which the late Professor Earle protested, rightly, I think, against the modern tendency "to curtail the comprehensive ancient sentence and to fail to grasp it as a whole" as a prolific source of error in interpretations; see *The Classical Review* XII 393-394, and XVII 102-105.

VI.—“A SYNTACTICIAN AMONG THE PSYCHOLOGISTS”.

PREFATORY.

In a recent lecture on matters and things in general and myself in particular (see the N. Y. Nation, Nov. 18, 1909), I had something to say in vindication of the grammarian's craft and wound up with the words, “I myself have proved to my own satisfaction that the personal accountability for belief about which we hear so much nowadays is taught by a Greek negative, and that Schopenhauer's system lies implicit in the only true doctrine of the Greek accusative” (*Hellas and Hesperia*, p. 16). From inquiries that have been made, I judge that by some of those who are not familiar with my lucubrations this sentence has been set down as one of my Delphic deliverances, and as I am somewhat sensitive as to the charge of obscurity (A. J. P. XXVII 200) I have availed myself of a little gap in the make-up of the present number of the Journal to reproduce, with the kind permission of the editor, a brief article, which appeared some five years ago in the *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Methods* (Feb. 16, 1905). So far as I know, the psychologists have not bestowed the least notice on the strange bird that had been enticed into their aviary, and as this is the only article of a syntactical character I have published outside the confines of the Journal since the foundation of it, I venture to reprint it here for the convenience of those who like myself seldom stray into the domain of the professed psychologists,—professed psychologists, for amateur psychologists are we all. To eliminate everything that has been discussed in the Journal would be to rewrite the article, which is distinctly not worth all that trouble, but it is hoped that the effort to bring grammatical theories to the knowledge of non-grammarians may be of interest to grammarians themselves.

B. L. G.

Syntax has passed, they tell us on every hand, out of the logical into the psychological stage. Why not psychical stage? The logical sting is in the tail of the word. Ratiocination returns to plague us after all. And what is the whole movement, psychical or psychological, but a reversion to Apollonios Dyskolos with his definition of the moods as *ψυχικαὶ διαβάσεις*? If the moods are *ψυχικαὶ διαβάσεις*, why is not every utterance modal? Why does not every utterance denote a state of the soul? A universal psychology would be a universal syntax. But language is largely used in determining psychological processes and there is ever before the student the danger of the dreaded circle. The circle

is explicable, but inevitable for all that. Small comfort to him who perishes in the snow of metaphysics. Apollonios Dyskolos, I repeat, the most considerable of Greek syntacticians, was a psychologist, and your mere grammarian is apt to consider him supersubtle. Take his theory of the senses. According to him, the sense of sight is the king sense. The verbs of sight are active and so take the accusative. Sight is under the control of the will. You can shut your eyes. You can not so effectually stop your ears. The other senses are passive and so take the genitive. And yet they are not purely passive. Greek has another construction for the purely passive, and we must recognize a certain going forth of these senses towards the object, a certain reciprocity, as we might say. Clearly so in the three lower senses; touch, taste and smell are reciprocal. We have then two classes sharply distinguished: sight, on the one hand; touch, taste and smell, on the other. Between the two lies hearing with its active and its passive constructions—accusative and genitive. The same principle has a wider application, thinks Apollonios: *ἔρως*, passionate love, takes the passive construction, like touch, taste, smell; *φιλείν*, appropriating love, selective love, takes the active construction. In Latin, *amare* and *diligere* may be psychologically distinct, but they are not syntactically distinct. And somehow *ἔρως ἀνέκατε μάχης* seems to be specifically Greek; whereas *mille modis*, *Amor*, *ignorandu's*, *procul abhibendu's* *atque abstandu's*, even if translated from the Greek, is Roman to the core. We are not so badly off in English. 'To love' is *φιλείν*; 'to be in love with', 'to be enamored of' is *ἔρως*.

I have often wished that some modern psychologist would study Apollonios and not leave him wholly to the mercy of grammarians—as crabbed as he and not so penetrating. Meanwhile, such interpretations of syntactical phenomena as those just cited, have a special interest for those whose great desire is to understand the Greek mind, to take the Greek point of view. I, for one, am less concerned about the scientific resolution of a mixed case into its elements than about the composite photograph that the mixed case made on the Greek sensorium; and though Greek syntax fell early into the hands of the philosophical schools, notably the Stoic school, and was put under the harrows of system-mongers, still much of what we call philosophy consists in getting out of language what was originally put into it, and when we examine grammatical nomenclature we find reflexes of

national conception. But genitive and dative as mixed cases and very difficult problems I pass over. There is, however, a case, or case-function, if you choose, common to human speech, that holds in itself the Greek theory of the universe; and that is the accusative. The Greek grammarian calls the fourth case ἡ αἰτιατικὴ πρῶσις. *aiṛia* came to mean cause, whatever cause means. The word has a bad connotation. Language is pessimistic. We can not help that. The most common Greek demonstrative has a tone of reproach. There are more bad smells than good in the world. *Ó*bject and *objéct* are one. So *aiṛia* means in the first line 'blame.' *aiṛia* ἐλομένου, says Plato. *aiṛiásthai* is 'to blame,' 'to accuse.' This *aiṛia* is the word from which Greek grammarians got the name αἰτιατική. The Romans took the bad end of *aiṛia*, and translated αἰτιατική, *accusativus*—hopeless stupidity, from which grammar did not emerge until 1836, when Trendelenburg showed that αἰτιατικὴ πρῶσις means *casus effectivus*, or *causativus*. This gives us the Greek conception of the case, or at all events one Greek conception, and that is something. Linguistically, we may refuse to give the accusative this metaphysical definition, as the case of the object effected. The accusative is merely one pole, the other being the nominative, what we call the verb being the current between the two. But if we are to have a definition, we must admit that the characteristic construction of the case is that of the object effected. The object affected appears in Greek now as an accusative, now as a dative, now as a genitive. The object effected refuses to give its glory to another and the object affected can be subsumed under the object effected. To slay a man is to bring about manslaughter. Linguistically, it is a mere matter of apposition or attribution whether you call the accusative an inner or an outer object.¹ Psychologically it is the object effected that

¹ The term *inner object* has been used for many years by the makers of Latin and Greek grammars, but as it may not fit into the nomenclature of modern psychology, I subjoin a note from my Latin grammar (3d edition, § 329): "The Accusative is the object reached by the verb. This object is either in apposition to the result of the action of the verb, and then it is called the inner object, or object effected (e. g., strike a blow, strike a coin); or it is in attribution to the result of the action, and then it is said to be the outer object, or object affected (e. g., strike a man)." Compare also A. J. P. II 89: "When Byron says, 'I want a hero,' 'hero' would be called in grammatical parlance an outer object; but he says in the next breath, 'an uncommon want,' which is an inner object. There is no grammatical difference between the

dominates. And that is a matter of significance for the Greek conception of the world without. The consciousness of the not-me comes from the forthputting of energy, from the object created. The world is *Wille* and then *Vorstellung*. The nominative is, as has just been said, one pole, the accusative the other. Only the personal has the nominative, only the personal has will. Neuters (non-personals) have no nominative, except by courtesy. *πατήρ* and *μήτηρ* are nominatives. *τέκνον*, 'the thing begotten,' is the result of the action of *πατήρ* and *μήτηρ* (the *τοκίς*), and *τέκνον* is an accusative, to begin with. *ὁ, ἡ παῖς*—there you have personality.

The preference thus given to creative energy, to will, is shown very distinctly in another syntactical phenomenon. The infinitive originally, as it seems, a dative, a *for-which* case, a case of sympathy, fell into the Malebolge of the deorganized. It became practically a neuter, an accusative neuter. As such it became the object—I hate the word—it became the resultant of verbs of creation, verbs of will and endeavor. As such, it had its three tenses, present, aorist, perfect; or, as I should prefer to call them in order to avoid confusion with the indicative tenses, paratatic (durative), apobatic, syntelic (A. J. P. XXIII 106). The result is necessarily subsequent. There is no need of a future. And the negative is the negative of the will, *μή*. Then came *Vorstellung*, then came verbs of saying and thinking, then came an alien negative, a negative that does not belong to the infinitive originally, the negative *οὐ*; then came the future infinitive, never necessary when there was a shadow of will, when there was a hope, a promise. But there is a set of verbs that will not desert the old plane of will, the verbs of Belief, the verbs of Asseveration; and so through all the ages Belief has the negative appropriate to will. The Oath that compels Belief has the negative appropriate to will. They allow the future infinitive, but they still have *μή*. The Grecian is shocked when Theokritos, Herondas, Babrius, treat an oath as if it were a simple 'say so.' The Greeks say as plainly as they can say, 'You are responsible for your belief as you are bound by your oath.'

two expressions. The 'uncommon want' is a 'hero-want' so to speak. It seems better < therefore > to take the inner object as the fundamental meaning because this is the universal complement, which can not be said of the outer object". The Accusative was recognized as the case of *die reine Wirkung* as long ago as 1829 by Bernhardt, in his 'Griechische Syntax.' It was really a rediscovery.

If it were not for the Greek negative the consciousness of this will basis might have been lost. We owe much to the *Geist der stets verneint*. And so the intrusion of one negative into the sphere of the other is an illuminating process. For *οὐ*, the proclitic negative—one can not deny the proclitic movement, however modern the nomenclature—*οὐ*, which I am fain to call the *masculine* negative, invaded the sphere of *μή*, invaded the realm of will. We find in the early language *οὐ* with the subjunctive, a mood of will, *οὐ* with the optative, a mood of wish. But these were mere raids, they were not conquests. But the *Vorstellung* did win at one point, established itself on one Gibraltar, but not alone. The particle *ἄν* introduced the notion of limitation. Pure will is free. Pure wish is free. The shadow of chance crossed will and wish. Will was sicklied o'er by thought, by calculation, but it never lost its negative of will by taking *ἄν*. But wish did. We have *οὐκ ἄν* with the optative. This troubled wish becomes what the grammarians call potential. We are in the realm of *Vorstellung*, with its negative *οὐ*. In late Greek *μή* began to oust *οὐ* in turn. 'Les races se féminisent,' says Comte.

Reverting to the infinitive, especially worthy of note is the behavior of what we call consecutive sentences. In our earlier record there is no mere consecutive relation in Greek, nothing but finality (A. J. P. VII 164). Language is teleological. The infinitive denotes purpose. There is no sequence but a designed sequence. A consequence involves a purpose somewhere, a will somewhere. If not a purpose, it is a quasi-purpose. The quasi-purpose is introduced by a comparative particle (*ὥστε*). We call such a sentence a consecutive sentence and distinguish between tendency and result, tendency with the infinitive, result with the finite verb. We distinguish between the animus of the lawgiver and the tendency of the law. But the tendency is a will all the same. The constitution of things, we say; God's will, the supreme maker's will, said the old thinkers whose thought is crystallized in language. Tendency takes the negative of will, *μή*; what I have called the *feminine* negative. 'The lady doth protest too much, methinks.' Result takes the objective negative, the masculine negative, man resting satisfied with the *fait accompli*. Practically indistinguishable, some grammarians have said; fundamentally distinguishable as *Wille* and *Vorstellung*.

One jotting more. Years and years ago I noticed for myself what was not then, even if it be now, a commonplace of Greek syntax, that the Greek from the earliest record known to us makes a sharp syntactical difference between actual perception and intellectual perception; what the German grammarians call *sinnliche und geistige Wahrnehmung*. Actual perception (sensation) takes the participle; intellectual perception proper, ideation, takes the finite construction $\delta\tau\iota$, and that is its favorite construction. True, intellectual perception may take the participle, but only in a figure. The future participle has to do with intellectual perception, naturally. The aorist participle is seldom used with verbs of actual perception, naturally. We see things in process (present participle), in a completed state (perfect participle), seldom flashing into existence, seldom at the moment of culmination (aorist participle)—the poet's eye oftener than the plain man's. Hearing, actual hearing, must have the present. The roll of thunder is not as the flash of lightning. The distinction is sharp. It is easily perceived. The schoolboy must learn it. But how did the language, how did those who used the language come to make it? Ask yourself the difference between 'I heard her sing' and 'I heard her singing.' Formulate the difference. It is much more subtle. The Germans can make nothing of it. Those who use the language for the most part do not try. In the Greek the problem is easier. The participle as an adjective adheres to the noun, not so closely as the adjective, but still adheres. It is the surface that you perceive. Intellectual perception detaches the skin, as I have called it, and makes it something apart, and the $\delta\tau\iota$ that does this is not the outer object, as might seem at first. It is the inner object (A. J. P. XIV 374). Inner object again, result of action, result of will. Greek syntax is all in favor of will as the *prius*. *Wille* is first, then *Vorstellung*.

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VII.—AN AVESTAN PARALLEL IN DARIUS NAKŠ-I-RUSTAM, b.

Prof. F. H. Weissbach has recently acquired several excellent photographs of the much mutilated lower inscription on the Grave of Darius at Nakš-i-Rustam, generally designated NRb. He has kindly sent me in a personal letter a list of somewhat isolated words, which he states he clearly reads from the photographs. Among these I note a phrase which I firmly believe is in absolute agreement with the theologic phraseology of the Avesta, and consequently has a very important bearing on the religion of the Achaemenidan kings.

Prof. Weissbach records without comment in his letter; 36) *vainā- 37) m[ī]y ulā ušaibi[y]ā ulā framānāyā* I would transliterate the third word *ušaibi[y]ā*, regarding it as instr. dual of *uš*, Av. *uš*, Middle Pers. *uš*, New Pers. *hōš* (Cf. Av. *ušiḃya* which with but one exception occurs in dual), lit. "with two ears". We must remember that the Avestan *uši*, "two ears", is sometimes used as a metaphor to express vividly the power of appreciating and the ability of understanding divine wisdom. So I have little doubt that Darius says here; "I see (*vainām[ī]y*) both with the capacity to perceive (*ušaibi[y]ā*) and (with understanding) of the divine precept" (*framānāyā*; cf. NRa. 56) *martiyā hyā auramazdāh- 57) ā framānā hauwtaiy gas- 58) tā mā θadaya*, "O man, what is the precept of Ahura Mazda, may it not seem to thee repugnant"). An Avestan parallel would be Y. 62. 4. *dāyā mē xšviwrm hizvaqm urune uši*, "grant to me a ready tongue and to the soul ears" (i. e. capacity for divine understanding).

The mooted question as to the religion of the Achaemenidan kings I regard as now settled. *Darius was a Zoroastrian* and in almost scriptural terms bears witness to that fact on his sepulchre.

Let me add that Prof. Weissbach expects soon to publish the originals (*teils in Lichtdruck, teils in Autographie*) in *Abhandlungen der K. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*.

H. C. TOLMAN

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY, Feb. 10, 1910.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Catulli Veronensis Liber, erklärt VON GUSTAV FRIEDRICH
(Sammlung Wissenschaftlicher Kommentare zu griechischen
und römischen Schriftstellern). Teubner, 1908.

This volume contains 61 pages of text, followed by 499 pages of notes, with an actual verbiage far in excess of Ellis's extended commentary. It is the work of a Catullus enthusiast who has explored the Catullus country about the Lago di Garda and its effluents, and observed the Mediterranean Islands, their tides, beaches and *algae*. It is a work of many sided learning and inquiry; fertile in palaeographical lore and expedient; resourceful in literary parallel; adroit in textual interpretation and exegesis and the psychological data thereto contributory; observant of life and society (till it conveys the sense of swagger); interested (however inexpert) in the interpretation of linguistic phenomena; affluent in suggestiveness; venturesome; flippant toward Robinson Ellis (p. 389; cf. p. 232), flouting of Hale (Vorwort), actually fleering at Vahlen (p. 424);¹ not uncritical toward Caesar (pp. 231, 515); tolerant of Cicero (pp. 184, 231); always and everywhere abject toward Catullus; but interesting, provocative and, to speak from a sense of personal gratitude, instructive. And because I have been interested and instructed, I hope I may be pardoned for passing in summary review over many of the points made by Friedrich.²

I. On phonetic and linguistic questions: Not without good general points of view, as to the inconsistency of epigraphic orthography (220)—which is no proof that Catullus was incon-

¹ *Di magni, salaputtium insolentem!* (quo' Dr. Magnus).

² Formal blemishes: (1) needless repetitions; e. g., *Sil. Ital.* 14, 361—quoted twice on same page (325); p. 366 repeats, almost without change, some 10 lines from p. 334; p. 346 repeats from elsewhere some excellent remarks about not cutting out the unusual from a writer; constantly rings the changes on 'traductio'—repetition of a word with slight difference in shade of meaning: (2) long demonstrations of the obvious, a) in palaeography, the same phenomenon being often taken up half-a-dozen times; e. g., p. 249, 15 lines of examples of the confusion *cl/d*; p. 256, several lines for *b/v*; pp. 181, 286 (et *saepe*) 8 and 11 lines for confusion of *ii/u*, *nu/mi*, etc.—but in spite of all these repetitions the note on 71. 1 fails to explain the limitation of the shift of *L/T* promised on p. 343; p. 164, having convincingly corrected *parum* to *pari* in, squanders a full page to do the work of two lines; p. 211, examples of confusion *est/et*; b) in syntax, etc., p. 476, long list of examples of incorporated antecedent; p. 460, cf. *ad* = *chez*; p. 115, 6 examples for *nullus* = *non* (*L.* and *Sh.* give 11, or *Stowasser* 3); p. 311, illustrates at length *hinc* = *a me*, etc.; p. 237 defends at length change of *MS subito* to *subido* in *Aulus Gellius* 19, 9, 11, though the Teubner edition prints *subido*; 3) changes numbering of lines in c. 61 and cites *Neue* in the penultimate edition (p. 367).

sistent in his spelling—and the perfect normality of coining a new word by suffixation (419; ad 66, 58); p. 193 (36, 13) shows that initial *gn-* did not make position, a fact that has no bearing on syllable (or vowel) length before *-gn-*, nor does inscriptional *gnatus* prove that *g-* was sounded; pp. 125, 98 fn., Fr.'s alleged examples of "Vorgewalt des *a*" are susceptible of explanation by ductus confusion of *a* and *e* (cf. Munro, Criticisms and Elucidations, index references), and Catullus may have written *Sārāpim* as Lucretius wrote *rutūndus*, *lucūna*. As a script phenomenon, "Vorgewalt des *a*" can hardly differ from any other case of anticipation. Personally, I am more interested in the "Vorklang des *r*" (525) because of *accersit/arcessit* (v. Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc. 37, 5; 24); cf. *credrae* (Petron. 38, 1) = *citri*.¹

One can but wonder to what public Friedrich addresses the explanation of rhotacism (427), or the statement that *-um* (gen. plu., 2d decl.) is not a contraction of *-orum* (403), and for whom he explains *potis/pote* (215) and the <p> of *hiemps* (p. 464).

What makes a correct statement of matters of historical phonetics so difficult for the general philologist? Save for a few subtle points involving temporal adjustments, the *lautgesetze* are, as a writer in the *Nation* pointed out not so long ago, susceptible to formulations as mechanical, and almost as irrefutable as the multiplication table; but here comes a philologist of unmistakable learning and talents, who asserts that Latin *qu-* is a development from a *p-* (104), while later (154) he seems to think that the *quo-* of *quoquo* 'I cook' is *lautgesetzlich* for *pe-*; p. 306, loss of *r* in *ru(r)sus* ascribed to avoidance of successive *r*'s, in spite of *deosum*, *quosum*, *susum* and *dossum*; and in spite of *templum*, *exemplum*, *extemplo* he speaks (537) of the inconvenience to Roman lips of *-mpl-* in *Pimplea*, alleging in proof *Alc<u>mena*, *drach<u>ma*, *m<i>na*, *tech<i>na*. In *rosido* (264; 61, 24)² he would see, without more ado, a genuine prerhotacistic form for *rorido*—which, in the light of Pliny's *roscido* . . . *humore* (N. H. 9, 38), and the uncertainty as between *sci/si* in any later MS, must forever remain an open question.

II. Text-criticism: There is an interesting freshness in the treatment of textual questions. Thus at 10, 32 O has *tulsa* for *tu insulsa*, and not content with designating it as a skip Fr. furnishes us with modern instances³ like a schoolboy's⁴ *fürdig* =

¹ By the assumption of "Vorausnahme des *r*" (cf. Schulze, *Latin. Eigenn.* 209) we justify the quite inescapable equation of *Κέσπερος* with Skr. *Çabdas*.

² On p. 75 Fr. actually decides that c. 61 is earlier than c. 68 because of the preponderance of *-ier* infinitives in 61.

³ Friedrich rightly disregards the import, if I mistake it not myself, of the sentiment of John Selden (Table Talk 9, 9): To quote a modern Dutchman where I may use a classic author, is as if I were to justify my reputation, and I (sic) neglect all persons of note and quality that know me, and bring the testimonial of the scullion in the kitchen.

⁴ For the confusion of *p/c* in Catullus MSS Munro (on Aetna 182, and p. 29) seems to me a better point of departure than a schoolboy's *pôte* for *côte* in

für würdig, and his own alto = at multo, nostis = nos estis (127);¹ and he notes (446) how even the German author of a doctor's dissertation has quoted as Albert one who should be listed in the bibliography as A. Ebert; p. 338, apropos of Adriana for Ariadna (64, 54), Fr. glimpses a monk, and gives an instructive list of errors due to monkish associations of ideas. And he exhibits a positive genius for finding parallels for his assumptions, thus on p. 206 (40, 1), after reading Rau[de] ('the scribe meant rabide') he cites Athen. 15, 689^a for *Μάγας*, MSS *μεγάλη*; and after correcting *parcus/partus* to *pastus* (39, 11) he cites Sil. Ital. 9, 603 for the same correction.²

But the general attitude of the author towards text-criticism, however he may fall short of his ideals, is sound. He notes on p. 263, for example, that two grammatical or metrical peculiarities are mutually supporting; and he is perfectly sane in his judgment of conscribent (26, 4): die Frage ob C. habe conscribent schreiben (sic) können, ist völlig müßig; er *hat* es geschrieben; and he exhibits a similar sanity (91) as regards *ipsa* = *domina*. Contrariwise, to save the insensitive Roman ear, he rejects one of 7 consecutive *est*'s in 60, 60-64; and in 47, 2 corrects *mundi* to *saecli*, on the perfectly futile plea that the sense 'people' does not appear for *mundus* till—Horace (Sat. 1, 3, 112); though Catullus in his 7 uses of *saecl(u)um* exhibits only the sense of generation, while here he wants to say 'in all the world' (= *mundi*) and not merely 'of the time' <*saecli*>.

And now to proceed with more detail. Fr. has a marked talent for seeing glosses in the corruptions of the text. Now the glosses in Catullus MSS are either ductus *ossias*,³ or else glosses of grammatical interpretation, proceeding from scribes or owners (users) of MSS, who would insert an *o*, say, above a vocative, or a *quia* at the beginning of a phrase logically, but not formally, causal (cf. O's reading of 68, 93). Avoiding rather the usual classification of involuntary errors, Fr. employs such sub-classifications as *Vorgewalt des a* (125), *Vorklang des r* (525), and 'false genitives' (256, 273, etc.). Another rich lead for textual correction is the mistake of contractions. In his use of

a French theme (331); cf. Eurotae, but MSS Europe (435); P/C also in Lucr. 1, 271; 4, 570; 4, 590; cf. Aen., 4, 26 (F).

¹ Note the curious long-distance skipping Friedrich himself makes—thanks to the way we scholars put our notes on slips—p. 369, ad vs. 259: alliteration findet sich ebenso v. 259, pars obscura cauis *celebrabant* orgia *cistis*, sprich *celebranda kistis* (ad v. 287, Meliasin linquens claris *celebranda* choreis (sprich *celebranda*)).

² I use the word correction advisedly, for the *pastus* of C., reported by Modius, would probably turn out a ductus misreading for *partus*; and the emendation *raptus* seems to me probably right (on P/R cf. Fr., 148, 206, 250—even in inscriptions).

³ This Italian musical term is a great convenience for describing such a text reading as *parcus* al. *partus*, when the scribe, unable to decide whether his original had *c* or *t*, reported both possibilities; such a gloss would commonly be superposed.

these classes, Fr. often chooses the wrong rubric, being especially addicted to explanation from a gloss or a sign of contraction. Let us take, e. g., 63, 5, where the right reading, as adopted by Friedrich, is certainly, we will admit, *Deuolsit ilei[as] acuto sibi pondera silice[s]*: Fr. develops all this from the one assumption of *deuoluit*, whence the *s* first jumped to the end of the line, then *ilei*, misread *ilet*, having picked up an *a* from *acuto*, was made to agree with *silices*; whereas *silice<s>* is just as apt to have picked up an *s* from *iletas*, though in very truth I find it hard to believe that such a supra-script *s* floated loosely over the line till it conveniently settled—anywhere. If we must look upon the *-s* of *silices*—as the *fons viti*, it were just as easy to suppose that *silicei* (cf. *pumice<i>*, *Persa* 41, and Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.*, p. 391)¹ in vs. 5, may have got its *-s* from *anim<e>* is above it in v. 4; or a copyist, puzzled by the spelling *silicef*, may have written *silices* 'to make it Latin'.² So, with his predilection for the long-distance gloss explanation *marmorea pelago* (63, 88) is derived from *marmora pelago* rather than from *marmora pelago*.³ Nor can I think that any scribe, finding *campi* at the end of 64, 344, so glossed it as to make the line read *cum Phrygii Teucro manabunt sanguine Teucro*, whence the riddlesome *teuen* with which the line actually ends. No, *teuen* means that *V* had *teneri*, and this probably means that in a capital archetype *CAMPI* was read *CANERI*; then in an uncial stage of transmission *caneri* was capable of being read *teneri*—all supposing that *campi* is what Catullus wrote.—50, 19, (183) MSS *ocello* for *ocelle* attributed to *ocelle*, with vocative sign, instead of to *o/e*.⁴—34, 11 (209) *saltumque recunditorum* explained from *saltumque reconditorum*, but I should rather find an explanation to accord with *cunuenit cunf<eratur> cummunibus umnium* in a copy of the edict of Diocletian, anno⁵ 301.—61, 186 (277). Why is *uiris* glossed by *unis*, when the ductus confusion *ri/n* is so common, and *uins* would of course be read *unis*?—62, 64 (295). Why assume the explanatory gloss *tu* over *pugnare* to account for *tuignare*⁶ when *P/T* (in thin capitals) is so admissible a confusion (cf. *Lucretius* 1, 16; 2, 43)?

¹ Archaic, that is to say sacril intention (cf. p. 478), may have furnished the motive for this spelling, cf. *virtutei* on a Scipio epitaph of 130 B. C.

² Friedrich might also have operated with *ilei* (*a* being not uncommonly confused with *e* in Catullus' MSS (v. p. 370) as the source of *ileta<s>*).

³ The confusion of *o/e* is very common in Catullus MSS (v. p. 62), but *a/e* is not unknown (v. p. 458).

⁴ I suspect that in *cave despuas ocelle* the vocative was construed by some scribe as a dative.

⁵ I cite from Wessely's *Schrifttafeln*, p. 8; cf. also the *Thesaurus*, s. v. *cum*, 1341, 3–8.

⁶ Cf. Munro, l. c. 163. Note the confusion *P/E*, *Lucr.* 2, 938; *P/L*, *ib.*, 6, 103; *P/I*, *ib.*, 1, 846.

III. Particular emendations: 41, 1 (208), A me an. a. (puella) emended to Aminaea 'des Weinland's <Tochter>'. But our lack of knowledge of a locality named Ameae does not prove its non-existence. Why not correct to Anne<i>ana, imagining Catullus to be indulging in his habit ut suos quoque attingat, and locating the puella at Anneianum (Castellum)¹ in Gallia Transpadana, not far from Verona, and within the wintering circuit of Caesar and Mamurra? What so likely as for Catullus to use provincia, *tout court*, of the province² in which he lived?—41, 8 (211). Fr. reads est imaginosa, and I believe his interpretation to be correct, but imaginoseum is perhaps susceptible to defence; cf. Vergil's varium et mutabile semper femina and Cicero's roges me quid aut quale sit deus (N. D., 1, 60); <vis memoriae> si quid sit hoc non vides, at quale sit vides (Tusc. Disp. 1, 60)—54, 1 (241). Heri derived from et eri, but why not ET = H, and no pother about erē?; sed/si (in the 4th line) is a commonplace.—62, 35 (289). Accepts Schrader's eous for eosdem; correction unnecessary,³ the situation being quite clear when we reflect that fures (34) = adulteri (cf. furta = adulteria, common in the sermo amatorius).—64, 75 (343), tecta preferred to templa on grounds palaeographically insufficient, as the MSS read tempta or templa (D), the change L/T being easy enough for a capital MS. Here templa might be defended, as the victims were coming there as to a place of sacrifice (? cf. 132, patriis ab aris). <But Fr. may have given the right verdict on the reading, for in Lucretius 2, 28 Macrobius reads tecta where OQ have templa>.—64, 205 (363), defense of quo m<o>tu[nc] very strong.—64, 287 (376), claris (Itali) for Doris ably defended. Against <Hae>monisin Fr. argues (373): In den Codd. anderer Schriftsteller ist die erste Silbe eines Wortes oft weggelassen worden, in den Handschriften des C. kommt das aber nicht <anders> vor: to which there is no answer, because it is no argument; but the defense of Meliasin is strong, and this reading is resolvable by ductus out of Minosim better than any other proposed—except Aemonisin!—66, 59 (420), for the extraction of hic liquidi uario out of hi dii uen ibi (uen' = uenus being excised as a gloss; cf. 64, 8 where diva is glossed by uen) nothing but admiration can be felt.—71, 1 (p. 472, and passim) sacer alarum of the Itali is certainly right and, neglecting all the subtleties of Fr., sacrorum etc. are all simply enough accounted for by supposing saceratarum (L/T)

¹ First recorded in the Itinerarium Antonini.

² Caesar (B. G. 1, 10, 5) uses citerior provincia; and has extra provinciam. The psychological phenomenon is attested by the names Provence and Cologne: cf. in c. 17, 1, Catullus's own use of Colonia without specification.

³ For my own part, I can but insist on a canon of criticism something as follows: In spite of all the vicissitudes to which MSS have been subject in transmission, an intelligible and metrical text has the nine points of the law, possession, in its favor: why for 64, 125 (364) give good reasons for reading longe, and then better ones for the longa of the MSS?

as the sole fons viti.—78^b: pace Fr., who admits that change of person does not invalidate the contention, 78^b is an integral part of 78. In 78^b I see an *envoi* to Gallus who, having first been proclaimed pander between his nephew and sister-in-law, is then directly upbraided as the dirty lover of a decent girl. Nor do I look for Lesbia in every (pura) puella Catullus mentions. The use of the *envoi* is characteristic of Catullus: he closes c. 51 with an *envoi* addressed to himself—not an artistic blemish of the same heinousness as the awful madame, ich liebe dich stanza with which Heine brought Du bist wie eine Blume to a close—and, after crying out, in c. 14, on a number of the bad poets of his day, he ends with an *envoi* to his readers: si qui forte mearum ineptiarum lectores eritis, manusque uestras non horrebitis ad-movere nobis, <non horrebitis admonere me id uos>.¹—83, 6 (507): coquitur for loquitur is not to be approved; in uritur et loquitur uritur means ardet amore, but no less ardet ira,² and et means 'und zwar' (cf. p. 145), or better 'and so' (cf. L. and Sh., s. v., II F.), while loquitur is the simplex repeating the obloquitur of v. 4 (cf. Am. Jr. Phil., 24, 262).—114, 1 (548). Instead of Firmano saltu I should advocate Firmani[s] saltus.

IV. Stylistic and Literary. Not without the power himself to hit off a ringing phrase, Friedrich is aware that poetic license in diction is poetic choice within as wide a range of dialect as the poet commands (308, 328, 337), subject only to the restrictions of his own taste and judgment.³ He knows that the vulgar is often only archaic (160), and that the archaic may give the religious note (478), and he rightly estimates the worth of redundancy.⁴ Sensitive to diction, he often notes verbal repetition, with change in the shade of meaning (401; cf. *transductio*, p. 553).⁵ Lucretius, Catullus⁶ and Prudentius constitute his immortal trio of poets that wrote in Latin (396), and de Musset is his modern immortal (393). He counters Antimachus (522) with Nataly von Eschstruth—not knowing our own Laura Jean Libby. Interested in

¹ This imaginary line is only an *ad sensum* restoration; non horrebitis may be defended as Friedrich's "differently nuanced repetition" (pp. 177, 202, *passim*) and would mean 'you won't be shocked'.

² In c. 2 *ardore* means *ira*, as I shall attempt later on to demonstrate.

³ As English poets use *ta'en* and *p'raps* for metrical purposes, however out of their own dialect these forms may be.

⁴ P. 207. Wenn Schmidt in den Dichtungen, auch Prosawerken aller Zeiten und Völker, alles Tautologische beseitigen will, so schneidet er ein Drittel ihres gegenwärtigen Umfanges weg und die Hälfte aller Anmut mit.

⁵ Missing the repetition of *saecla* . . . *anus* 68, 43-45 (77, 9).

⁶ The parallels cited for Catullus and Lucretius (395) leave me cold: *mens animi* (65, 3; *Lucr.* 5, 149) was already Plautine; and *ipsa in morte* (76, 18), a self-evident and self-sustaining conjecture of the 'Itali', can hardly have influenced or reflected *leti iam limine in ipso* (*Lucr.* 6, 115, 7). And why, recalling the manner of Caesar's death, appeal to Lucretius, in the effort to explain why Polyxena (64, 370; 395) gathered her dress about her to die decently: as though stage Polyxenas had not followed the canons of comely death von je her.

literary tradition, he gathers apostrophes to the separating doors from as far away as Babylon (436), omitting, however, to mention the wall of Pyramus¹ and Thisbe in *The Midsummer Night's Dream*. He is interested also in questions of fact and life, the alga on the beach (338), the eternal charm of Sirmio (180); and he attributes to Catullus a sound, healthy interest in geography (119), not similarly exhibited by de Musset <a child of the times of the Murrays and Joannes>. The *scurrae elegantes* of modern capitals (197), the gossip of idle diplomats (153), the Czarina's fondness for perfumes come in for notice, and the Cybele frenzy is matched with the Salvation Army.² We may note for special admiration the following statement of the influence of soul on scenery³ (182): nicht der Benacus lacht, und nicht das Haus kichert aus allen Ecken sondern Catullus lacht, und darum scheint ihm alles rings zu lachen.

V. Interpretation: Friedrich's interpretations of cc. 67 and 68 are particularly interesting and attractive, and deserve careful attention. He seems to me to have given to 112 a final interpretation, by the correct definition of *multus* (= quasi 'gadabout'); and to have worked wonders with 54. I note the following special points, reserving for another occasion the attempt to solve certain difficulties not solved, I think, by Friedrich:—7, 9, tam te basia multa basiare: te is subject.—8, 12, uale puella; omission of adj. with puella (here only) interpreted as proof of growing obduratio.—14, 7, novom ac repertum 'strange and recherché': these adjectives do not prove to me that libelli had not before then been used for saturnalia presents, only that Calvus had not worked off so teasing a present on Catullus before.—61, 76, excellent ad sensum restoration of two stanzas, but Friedrich adds with some aplomb: man wird in diesen Gedanken und Satzfolge die Bewegung des catullischen Geistes nicht verkennen. The 3 lines inserted after vs. 107 are also cleverly imagined.

VI. Definition: On p. 226 a good paragraph on "okkasionelle Bedeutung" (by which is meant a definite contextual restriction—though it sometimes wears the look of an expansion—of the general meaning of a word; e. g., cupidus for cupidus pecuniae = avidus), but such restrictions are not due to the poverty of the Latin language. English is not a tongue of restricted vocabulary, but herdess, in the restricted sense of shepherdess, might be quoted from our great authors; and surely Juvenal in 2, 79–80 restricts grex to sheep and scabies to sheep-rot, without a guiding context.

¹ My galley proof had it Tyrannis, ductus confusions that might interest Friedrich.

² A revival of gulf-state blacks not being available, I suppose, for comparison: not that the shouting form of "getting religion" was confined in our population to the blacks.

³ The influence of scenery on soul is of course done to death by the sentimentally literary.

Special words, *aethera album*¹ (305; 63, 40): the comparison of Fr. *aube* 'dawn' is instructive, but why is not Ach. Statius ad. loc. cited, who quoted Ennius, Ann. 212 (Vahlen², q. v.): ut primum tenebris abiectis in<d>albat cf. Apul. Met. 7, 1 . . inalbebat), to which add Aen. 4, 586: . . ut primum albescere lucem/uidit.—*atque adeo* (329; Ovid, Tri. 3, 1, 77) is better defined for English folk by Tyrrell (cf. his Cicero in his letters, p. 140, ad Att. 1, 17, 20);—*dies* (476; 68, 147-8), as marked on a calendar, is not night, neither is soles> dies> noctes (113, 8, 3) in the least probable: as though habitual assignations in the house of an Allius were always more conveniently arranged for the night (cf. c. 32, and Cicero, pro Cael. §§ 35, 37).—*electissima* (191; 36, 6) = most recherché, choicest in point of badness, I think; *hic* (224; 45, 14) is tender—because it applies to 'the party of the 2d part' considered as belonging to 'the party of the 1st'.—*involesti* (156; 25, 6) = 'hast stolen' (for which see L. and Sh., to which Friedrich adds nothing).—*iocosa* (114, ad 8, 6) ist unser 'Unsinn machen' in sexuellem Sinne; cf. in an exalted sense, T. E. Brown's: We love, God makes; in our sweet *mirth* | God spies occasion for a birth.—*Ipsicilla* (184; 32, 1), which, as I agree with Fr. in thinking, is the undoubted reading, is not a diminutive, but a significant compound, modeled on the Greek compounds in *astro-*, and a-rhyme with Plautine *strittivilla*;—*cilla* is cognate with *cillit* 'crisat', *cillo* 'cinaedus', and *Ipsicilla* was a *Medullina*³ (Juv. 6, 322) or a *Telethusa* (Priap. 19).⁴ For this interpretation of *Ipsicilla*, I find some warrant in *Moecilla* (113, 2), where the form used as a nickname for *Mucia* (archaic *Moecia*) probably meant to suggest *Moechi-cilla*.—*iterabimus*⁴ (Hor. C. 1, 7, 32, p. 325) can hardly mean 'plough<the sea>', unless we are to suppose that *sulcare*, *tout seul*, might mean 'to sail'.—*meditata* (285; 62, 12): who ever thought *meditata* could be used of an improvisation?—*miseræ* (355; 64, 140), not *misere*, with Fr., means 'verliebt' (cf. 495).—*nec* (176; 30, 4) = 'sacral'

¹ This use of *album* reveals the import of Ennius, Ann. 89—:

89 interea sol albus recessit in infera noctis;
exin candida se radiis dedit ista foras lux,
et simul ex alto longe pulcherrima praepes
laeua volavit ausis; simul aureus exoritur sol,

Here in *infera noctis* means ad imam noctem, and *sol albus* suggests *prima lux*, l'aube, cf. Ann. 102,

cum superum lumen nox intempesta teneret,

where, if *superum lumen* be the zenith, the furthest point below the zenith would properly be called *inferum*. After the *alba* comes *aurora* (90), and then sunrise (92).

² Of obvious derivation from *medulla*: one wonders whether *Messalina* was meant, in spite of the lack of rhythmical balance.

³ Priap. 19 and Martial 14, 203 seem to stand in some relation of source and sequent.

⁴ I have always thought of it as a verb of motion (cf. *iter*), like *superare*.

non.—*noti* (503; 79, 4) active sense, yes; but because, like *hospites*, *fratres*, it is a reciprocal word.—*nutrices* (328; 64, 18) = *mammae*; here cf. *sine uiro* (63, 6) = *sine testiculis*, for in both cases a class name is used for what is the essential characteristic of the class.—*perspicere* (530; 100, 6) seems to me to mean much more than *cognoscere*, as much, all question of <igni> aside, as our 'test' (cf. Tyrrell, op. cit., p. 263, ad Fam. 9, 16, 1; adding de Amic. § 29 studio perspecto, Fam. 13, 60, 1 fidem perspicere).—*paene insula* (180; 31, 1): und sonst ist paene insula "beinahe eine Insel" meist treffender als unser Halbinsel: ¹ the American advertisers, with their 'nearsilk', and the toppers, with their 'nearbeer', may be paving the way for 'nearisland' in English.—*praetrepidans* (225; 46, 7; cf. praegestit, 64, 145), *prae* not = *per*, but graphically depicts the leaning forward of trembling eagerness.—*quies* (104; 4, 25): granted the sense of 'resting-place', Lucr. 1, 104 is an undoubted parallel. *re-* (159; 25, 9): interesting list of examples of *re-* with negative force, but *re-* with verbs of fastening, closing (cf. my Most., ad 452) should not be confounded with *re-* in *reponere* (cf. 181; 31, 8), which means 'to put down, by, up', no more definitely than does the simplex, *ponere*.—*requirere* (252; 55, 18) means 'to <go> back in search of'.—*sensit* (329; 64, 21), defined, after *sententia*, as quasi 'voted': why not, as usual, by 'realized'? [In Cic. Leg. 3, 39 quid sentiant = the real belief]—*strictura* (414; 66, 50) kann nicht mit stringere zusammenhängen; denn strictura ist feruens ferrum: nay, stringit is English strikes, and strictura is quantum ferri faber una opera e fornace ad stringendum extollit; its incandescence, however essential and characteristic, was incidental only.—*tenuit* (330; 64, 28), defined by 'fesselte' is suggestive of Browning's fondness for the word 'fixed', *tout court*, for 'fixed the attention of'.—*tremulus* (145; 17, 12) means, I think, 'a-tremble'—lest he wake his child; or the arm was literally 'shaky' from long holding.—*voster* ist (203; 39, 20) = *tuus* (Schwabe). Allerdings geraten sonst ganz harmlose gutmütige Männer in einen heiligen Zorn, wenn sie von dieser Gleichsetzung hören, und lieber verzichten sie auf den naheliegenden, einzig möglichen Sinn, statt eine grammatische Marotte aufzugeben (quotes 55, 22 for *uostri* = *tui*—unless this be a distributing dual).

VII. Grammatical.—254, correct warning that Roman <and subsequent> grammarians have drawn their rules too sweepingly or the facts.—224 (45, 17), *sinistrant* chimerically defended as a vulgar form a <mediaeval> copyist was trying to save (better restore *sinistra uti*).—391 (64, 379), *mitto* = *desisto* defended by

¹ The shortcomings of the German half-translations of Greek and Latin words are startlingly in evidence in "Fernrohr", which I count as electissimum among ill-made words.

² From *reddiit* 'puts back' the sense of 'puts in the proper place' took its rise, I take it.

two examples not more cogent than half-a-dozen in L. and Sh.—201 (39, 9). Well-known fact that pronouns come early in their phrases, and are 'bunched', stated as if it were an esoteric truth.—390 (64, 362), mors for mortuus.—161 (27, 4). In illustration of what I call 'rich' comparison the very instructive example, Mi. 664, leniorem dices quam mutumst mare, might have been mentioned—428 (66, 91), examples of non with the impv.—391 (64, 378), nec mater maesta . . mittet: only in Hor. C. 2, 5, 1, nondum subacta . . ualet, does English idiom require, however it may admit, our taking the negative separately with both verb and subject participle.—268 (61, 71), at queat: alleged parallels for attraction of mood may be questioned; the subjunctives belong chiefly to ideal apodoses; but at queat here does echo non queat which is apodotic to quae (=siqua) careat.—118 (9, 5), pluralis 'iterativus'; 117 (9, 5) nuntii beati is nom. plur., not gen. exclam.—404 (66, 9), multis deorum:—"jedenfalls kennt diesen Genetiv <der Zugehörigkeit> erst die nächste Generation"—which sounds suspiciously like dating a mental process.—131 (12, 8): disertus c. gen. admits of a simpler explanation.—414 (66, 51), comae mea fata: the logical, not formal, agreement of a gen. poss. with the poss. pron. (if that interpretation is correct) might have been explained more briefly.—328 (64, 18): tenus c. gen. not, as Wölfflin thought, a metrical substitute for the abl.¹—382 (64, 313): in pollice approximatus pollice; yes, as either naue or in nave vehi, manu or in manu tenere approximate the one the other; the comparison of in amore (Prop. 1, 3, 44) is beside the mark; in amore rather approximates a dative of possession.—282 (62, 1), Olympo 'am Himmel':—besser wäre 'vom Himmel'.

Envoi: A long review? Yes, but a long book, and I have curtailed the review of my own motion, as, indeed, the book was curtailed, on good advice (Vorwort). Why all this material was packed into a commentary on Catullus we may wonder; but let us be grateful that the large book contains both interest and instruction. The book is not inerrant, but I may be permitted to record a remark of the late Professor Mau who, when I commented in a rather banal way on the inerrancy of a great German scholar, replied something to the effect that he did not care for the scholars that made no mistakes; and to conclude with the wish: non horrebitis admonere me haec vos.

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¹ This construction was adequately explained in my review of Lane's Latin Grammar (Cl. Rev. 14, 319) as due to the criss-cross of tenus and fini.

De Scholiis in Apollonium Rhodium Quaestiones Selectae.
Dissertatio Inauguralis quam scripsit LUDOVICUS DEICKE.
Gottingae MDCCCCI.

This dissertation deserves more notice than it has received during the years that have passed since its publication. It was one of the last, perhaps the very last piece of work of this sort to receive the approval of the late Professor Kaibel. The discussion of Dr. Deicke is important partly for what it is, partly for what it promises, by implication if not expressly. In order to give the right point of view, the following prefatory remarks are made.

1. The scholia to Apollonius of Rhodes are to be reckoned as among the most important ancient commentaries. Here are preserved many fragments of poets, historians, geographers, and besides, much valuable wreckage of ancient learning. 2. A definitive text of this important commentary is not yet in existence. A glance backward will show the situation. The scholia first appeared in print in 1496, in a Florentine edition of the *Argonautica*. This form, which was long the only form in use, we may refer to as Fl. Through Ruhnken's influence, a different recension of the scholia, as found in a Paris manuscript, was published by Schaefer. The second volume of the second edition of Brunck's *Argonautica*, Leipzig, 1813, contains these two bodies of scholia, Fl and P. Scholars of the following period referred not to any one text of the scholia but to these two forms. 3. A new and a third period began with the edition of Keil, in 1854. This edition was based entirely on the famous Codex Laurentianus, XXXII, 9, and was independent of Fl and P. Keil maintained that here was the authoritative text. He was convinced that L, as we may call it, is anterior to Fl and P; that whatever is good in Fl and P came from L; that whatever in Fl and P is not referable to L is worthless. There is so much truth in Keil's position that he carried conviction almost universally. L is undoubtedly a better and a purer tradition than any other. But it has gradually become clear that Keil's theory is not adequate. It has been shown by a comparison of L, Fl and P that sometimes the last two have the right of it as against the first. No great progress, however, could be expected, by this method alone. At best, it taught circumspection in the use of the scholia. 4. The hope of progress must lie in the accession of new material. If it be true that Fl and P are not derived from L, but that, rather, all three converge at a point still further back, then one must work toward this point of convergence; one must try to ascend the main stream, before it parted to flow into the lesser channels that we now know, L, Fl, P. 5. The grammatical tradition which is richly precipitated in the scholia Apolloniana is not found here

alone. It is in evidence in the *Etymologicum Magnum*. Keil occasionally used this aid in emending the text, but not thoroughly. Various investigations have shown that the notes in E. M. are drawn from a richer and fuller form of the scholia than what we now possess. In other words, they go back to that main stream to which reference has been made. They go back to it, not directly, but through intermediate channels which may often be traced.

At length we have reached the vital part of Dr. Deicke's work. In conducting his investigation he has had access to new material. *Etymologicum Magnum* is no longer first in rank. There is an *Etymologicum Genuinum*, which is a parallel yet distinct work. Just as L is a better form of the scholia than Fl and P, so E. Gen. is better than E. M. Unfortunately we have to be content with fragmentary knowledge of this new source. The state of the case is as follows.

In 1868, E. Miller published in *Mélanges de Littérature Grecque* certain extracts from a Laurentian MS of an etymological work that was entitled *Etymologicum Magnum*, and yet was in important respects different. In 1890, Reitzenstein began to give supplementary information, based upon a Vatican MS., concerning this same work; at first, in the *Indices Lectionum* of Rostock University, later, in his *Geschichte der Griechischen Etymologika*, Leipzig, 1897. These two manuscripts, the Laurentian and the Vatican, prove the existence of an etymological work that is older and, in the main, fuller than E. M. In fact, the compiler of E. M. has used this work. Reitzenstein who is in effect the discoverer of the new work has named it, in recognition of its priority, *Etymologicum Genuinum*. A principal distinction of E. Gen. is the greater frequency with which the sources are cited; and these are not merely the grammarians and compilers but sometimes writers of the earlier period. No edition of E. Gen. has appeared. Reitzenstein has published specimens. Miller's extracts are based upon one only of the two manuscripts.

Dr. Deicke in conducting his investigation has had the advantage of using unpublished material from E. Gen. He stands therefore upon a vantage ground. His dissertation deals, in three chapters, with the relation of the three corpora L, Fl and P to each other, with the collateral testimony furnished by the *Etymologica*, and with the constituent elements of the scholia, particularly with those elements that go back, respectively, to Theon, Lucillus, Irenaeus and Sophocles, with the periphrases and the lexical notes. The important mythographical and geographical material is reserved by the author for future treatment.

A review of an abstruse discussion like this of Dr. Deicke is of most service if it states conclusions, leaving the details for the worker in that special field. Broadly speaking the conclusions may be put as follows: 1. In using the Scholia to Apollonius one must reckon with the possibility of working back to an earlier

and a fuller form than any one that now exists in the several forms, L, Fl, P. The latest editor of the fragments of Corinna, (Crönert, Rh. Mus. LXIII, 165, f.) proposes a reading based upon this method. 2. The resources of E. Gen. are a new and an important help toward determining this earlier and fuller form. Dr. Deicke has made this particular application of Reitzenstein's discovery and has pointed the way for further progress. 3. A new edition of the scholia is needed, prepared along the lines that are marked out by Dr. Deicke. On p. 23 of the dissertation the problem is stated. The new edition is, as it were, foreshadowed. I understand upon good authority that Dr. Deicke undertook the work, with the cooperation of Reitzenstein and others, and that he has brought it some distance on its way. It is to be hoped that the plan will be carried to its completion. The field is a difficult one. To till it properly demands much self-denying labor. But Dr. Deicke is called to that work, and there are not a few who look forward with hope and expectation to its accomplishment.

In conclusion, one reading of E. Gen. is here cited, partly to illustrate in one matter of detail how the new source brings certitude, partly to supplement my review of the Oxford edition of the Argonautica, A. J. Ph. XXII 330. In discussing the reading *πρῶραν ἔσω*, I 372, I gave reasons for preferring Bergk's *πρώειραν ἔσω*. Bergk's proposal was an inference from a note in E. M. 692, 35. The testimony of E. Gen. makes inference unnecessary by an explicit statement and by citing the verse :

*πρῶειρα : διὰ τοῦ εἰρα, ὡς παρὰ Ἀπολλωνίῳ
οἱ δὲ κατὰ πρώειραν ἔσω ἀλός.*

There can therefore be no further question about the true reading of the verse. Bergk's emendation stands.

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Hermes und die Toten. Von S. EITREM, Christiania, 1909.

"Hermes was worshipped wherever the dead were buried", says Professor S. Eitrem in his *Hermes und die Toten*. The primitive Greeks, as is proved by the excavations at Orchomenos, Thorikos, and elsewhere, and the stories of Heroes' graves within temples, buried their dead within the house, and these dead became "Eine Gewähr ihres Wohlergehens". The custom of human sacrifice at the building of a new house, and, perhaps, at the erection of an altar, is to be explained by this necessity of procuring a protecting spirit. The same ideas led

to the burial of heroes upon the market-place, the center of the community. Traces of a Hermes-cult centering around the hearth he sees in Kallimach. H. 3, 69, and in his connection with Hestia, Hym. Hom. 29. The dead were also buried beneath the threshold, before the house-door, and the city gates, on the cross-roads, and boundaries. So Hermes developed from a *θεὸς μύχιος* or *ἐφίστιος* to a *θεὸς πυλαῖος* of the home, a *θεὸς ἀγοραῖος* of the community, a *θεὸς προπύλαιος* of a city, and a *θεὸς ἐπιτέρμιος* of boundaries. Statues of the god were set up on all these places because he was "Totengott". In ch. III the author considers some of the folk practices connected with the doors and threshold. These prove the presence of spirits, and likewise spirits haunt all the spots where the dead were once buried,—the cross-roads and the boundaries. In every case, however, the practice of various magic rites has replaced the original spirit-cult. Then follows in ch. IV an interesting discussion of some plants and trees which show evidences of having been connected with the cult of the dead. Most of them are also apotropaic and aphrodisiac, and many are related to Hermes. The superstitions which are connected with door-hinges and keys likewise rest on a primitive spirit-cult, and Hermes owes his character as *στροφαῖος* to this fact.

In the remaining chapters, the author endeavors to show that the cult of the dead has had direct influence upon the entire cult of Hermes. Offerings were made to him, as to the spirits, at the time of the new moon, and as Hermes Chthonius sacrifices were made to him in behalf of the dead on the Anthesteria. He shares with the spirits an especial fondness for sacrificial cakes; his sandals may be compared to the "Totenschuh"; like it they were aphrodisiac, apotropaic, and connected with the spirits of the dead. As the relation between the living and the dead, however, underwent a change, and the old dread gave way to kindlier feelings, the conception of Hermes as a mighty god of the dead was likewise altered. But traces of it persist in the conception of Hermes as *εὐ[ε]ν[?]ταφιαστής*, who closes the fearsome open eyes of the dead, and of Hermes *κάτοχος* of the curse-tablets. So Hermes *μάρτυς* developed directly out of spirit-worship. Hermes Chthonius is god of the Pithoi or Chytrai in which children were buried,—a practice which may point to a primitive custom of offering children to the dead. He is also god of the Chytrai in another sense; children were placed in these "pots" when exposed, and this exposure was, in form at least, an act of burial. And as god of the Chytrai Hermes it is, who in several myths rescues the exposed babe. The connection of Hermes with the Milky Way (e. g. Hyg. astr. 2, 42),—commonly conceived of as seat of the souls of the dead, shows him both as protector of children and as "Totengott".

The author's arguments are in the main convincing. An article of Dr. Riess in this Journal (XVIII 191) would have furnished

him important evidence for the throwing of a spirit-offering before the door, and Pl. N. H. 20, 6, and Ov. M. 7, 243, are to be compared. On p. 23, n. 1, he remarks: "Das Haaropfer ist vor Allem Totenopfer.—An der Doppelthür hängen die Galloi ihre Haarlocken, die sie der Kybele weihen, Anth. P. VI, 173"; more to the point are Eurip. Alc. 101 and especially Herod. 4, 34. Strange to say, in his discussion of plants connected with Hermes he has omitted the only one which Hermes himself is said to have discovered, Pl. N. H. 25, 38. λιόζωστις Lat. herba mercurialis, a plant with important aphrodisiac properties (Dios. 4, 188; Ser. Samm. 613), and closely connected with the dog, a "Seelenthier" and "der häufige Begleiter des Hermes" as Eitrem notes; cf. Dios. 4, 189, and Roscher, Rh. M. 53 (1898), p. 190. On p. 11, read σάρων for σόρον; κῆν for κήν.

Although the author has overlooked much that would have added support to his theories, he deserves our thanks for having collected such interesting and important evidence for the influence of the primitive ideas of the folk upon the later conceptions of Greek religion.

M. B. OGLE.

REPORTS.

ARCHIV FÜR LATEINISCHE LEXIKOGRAPHIE UND GRAMMATIK, Vol. XIII. First Half.

Pp. 1-40. R. Thurneysen, Zu den Etymologieen im Thesaurus Linguae Latinae. A statement of the general principles followed, with a reply to some criticisms of Bréal, followed by the discussion of special cases. Correction of some typographical errors.

41-49. E. Wölfflin, Allitteration und Reim bei Salvian. The discussion of the subject is preceded by lexicographical notes, the result of a special reading of the author for the Thesaurus excerpts. S. had a genuine feeling for alliteration, creating numerous new combinations and using the hackneyed ones sparingly. He must be recognized as an independent stylist. He uses rhyme also, both of words and of sentences.

49. E. Wölfflin, Mandare. It is not necessary to assume derivation from *manidus, as the existence of another verb mandere, "chew", was sufficient to prevent manum dare from passing over to the third conjugation with the other compounds of dare.

49. G. Lehnert, Zu Ps.-Quintilian decl. mai. 4. 1. The supposed instance of plus with the positive, assumed by V. Morawski, Zeitschr. f. österr. Gymn. 32 (1881), p. 4, does not exist.

50. W. Meyer-Lübke, Albarus. This word in CGL III. 264. 33 is a substantive meaning "white poplar". Its relation to albus is doubtful, and it is perhaps not a native Latin word.

51-58. W. Heraeus, Con und com vor Vokalen in der Komposition. An examination of Lachmann's statements in his commentary on Lucretius, p. 136 f. The examples of com- before vowels are for the most part of high antiquity, the m being dropped later in many cases; although some are due to recombination. Con- before vowels is much later and is due to analogy; it is frequent before h. The Romance languages have preserved one instance of each.

58. W. Heraeus, Curva = meretrix. Occurs in Werdener glosses (Th. Gloss. Emend., p. 337), and the reading is supported by the Glossae Iuris.

59-68. H. Jordan, Melito und Novatian. Points out remarkable correspondences between the fragments of Melito and two

works attributed to Novatianus, namely the Ps.-Cyprian's *Adversus Iudaeos* and the newly discovered prayers once attributed to Origen; see ALL. XI 467 (A. J. P. XXX 96). These parallels also furnish additional evidence for Novatianus' authorship of the latter.

69-97. E. Wölfflin, *Das Breviarium des Festus*. A brief discussion of the MSS is followed by arguments for *Festi Breviarium de Breviario rerum gestarum Populi Romani* as the proper title of the work. Breviaries first appear in the time of Tiberius, as a reaction against such voluminous works as Livy's *History*. The sources of Festus' work were the *Breviarium* of Eutropius, the use of which is maintained against Mommsen, Droysen and others, Florus, the *Epitome* of Livy, and in one place the *Periocha*. The article concludes with remarks on the general methods of philological investigation.

97. C. Mayhoff, *Epitomae*. The expression quoted in the footnote to p. 333 of ALL. XII occurs six times in Pliny's enumeration of his sources. The correct reading is, however, *Diophanes qui ex Dionysio epitomas fecit*.

98. A. Klotz, *Disciplina disciplinarum*. Cites Greek parallels to this phrase, regarded by Wölfflin, ALL. VIII. 452 (A. J. P. XXVII 470) as of Punic origin.

98. A. Klotz, *Artificus*. Would read this instead of *artifice* in Bährens, PLM. V. 65. 30.

99-117. F. Stolz, *Das Präfix dis-*. The final *s* was lost before a word beginning with *s* only when one or more consonants followed this initial *s*; hence *dispicio* (contrary to the dictum of Cassiodorus), *distantia*, *distinguo*, *dstringo*, etc., but *dissensio*, *dis-silio*, *dissipo*, and the like. Evidence for *di-* in such words is lacking. *Dis-* + *r* first became *dirr-*, which was displaced by *dtr-*, formed on the analogy of *dis-* + *l*, *m*, *n*, etc., where compensatory lengthening regularly took place. *Dis-* is connected with *δύω*, but the connection of these two words with *duo* is doubtful. In nominal compounds *dis-* has a negative force; with verbs it means separation in different directions or into two parts, or opposition; or it has an intensive force, as in *dispereo*.

117. A. Klotz, *Sorsus*. Suggests that this word, occurring in the Amherst papyri, may be a participle of *sorbere*; cf. *mulsus* from *mulcere*.

118. J. Cornu, *Cornua*, Sil. Ital. 15. 761. The meaning of this word, which has been much discussed and frequently emended, would receive light from the French *faire les cornes*, a gesture of contempt.

119-127. E. Lattes, *Etruskisch-lateinische oder etruskisierte Wörter und Wortformen der lateinischen Inschriften*. A collection of such words arranged alphabetically.

127. J. Cornu, *Zu Lukan*, 2. 133. For quid would read quoad, which is used as a monosyllable by the poets and hence readily becomes quod. Quod = quoad is cited by Schuchardt, *Vokalismus II*. 516 from an inscription of the fourth century.

128. J. Cornu, *Qui fugit patellam, cadit in prunas*. Cites Romance parallels to this proverb, which occurs in a scholium on *Lucan III*. 687.

128. Eb. Nestle, *Andron*. A new example of this rare Graeco-Latin word.

129-134. *Miscellen*. W. Heraeus, *Aus einer lateinischen Babriosübersetzung*. Notes on the Latinity of the two fables published in the *Amherst papyri* by Grenfell and Hunt, London, 1901.

A. Zimmermann, *Die Personennamen auf -ūtus, -ūtius*. These are derived from appellatives in ūtus, going back to perfect passive participles in -ūtus and to forms analogical to these. The personal names indicate the existence of many such words which are not found in the Latin which has come down to us.

W. M. Lindsay, *Parum, parvum*. *Parvum* = *parum* is found in combination with *fides* in *Plautus* and *Terence*, an interesting instance of the survival of an otherwise obsolete form in a particular phrase.

O. Brugmann, *Andes*. This word is the name of a people, not of a town, and hence *Vergil* should be spoken of as born in the country of the *Andes*, not at *Andes*.

135-148. *Review of the Literature for 1901-1902*.

149-172. W. Heraeus, *Die Sprache der römischen Kinderstube*. The familiar designations of parents and other relatives, of food and drink, of the necessities of nature, and the like.

173-180. E. Wölfflin, *Das Breviarium des Festus. II*. A continuation of the article on pp. 69 ff. Lexical notes are followed by the statement that in the preparation of the *Breviarium Festus* read several authors, including the *Epitome of Livy*, but in no case copied six consecutive lines from any one source. We may draw conclusions from this as to the literary methods of the great historians, for example *Tacitus*.

180. E. Wölfflin, *Columella*. *Dentes columellares* = "eye-teeth"; cf. *Span. colmillo*. Hence the personal name *Columella*, which appears first in *Spain*, may be compared with *Dentatus*.

181-191. E. Lattes, *Etruskisch-lateinische oder etruskisierende Wörter und Wortformen der lateinischen Inschriften. II*. A continuation of the article on pp. 119 ff.

191. E. Wölfflin, *Memoratu dignus*. It is not enough to note that this expression occurs first in Livy and then in Val. Max., but the question must be asked how the earlier writers expressed the same idea. Cic., Caes., Sall., and Nepos have *memoria dignus*.

192. J. Cornu, *Zum Heptateuchos Cypriani*. The use of *feta* meaning "sheep" perhaps points to the Gallic origin of this work. Some conclusions may perhaps be drawn from the metre. The writer always has *Iäcöbus* at the end of his verses and *Iäcöbus* four times in the middle and at the beginning of lines. He never has *Iäcöbus*.

193-199. E. Wölfflin, *Sueton und das monumentum Ancyranum*. An attempt to show direct use of the *Monumentum* by Suetonius on the basis of a comparison of the language and style of the biographer and the inscription. W. objects to the arbitrary assumption of intermediate sources in such cases.

200. A. Becker, *Concorporalis*. This word is cited by the lexicons only twice, from Ammianus. B. would read it in Ps.-Quint. decl. mai. XIV 12, p. 305, Burm., and points out other correspondences in language between Ammianus and the *Declamationes*. *Corrivalis* has no existence and should not appear in our lexicons.

200. Eb. Nestle, *Aratiuncula*. Another instance of this word in addition to the two given in the *Thes. Ling. Lat.*

201-224. O. Hey, *Ein Kapitel aus der lateinischen Bedeutungsgeschichte. Bedeutungsverschiebung durch sprachliche Faktoren*. An examination of the article of R. Thomas, *Ueber die Möglichkeiten des Bedeutungswandels*, II, in *Blättern für das Gymnasialschulwesen*, 1896, pp. 193-219. The factor in the case is the language itself, which exerts an influence which is local, formal, or dependent on the meaning of words. The first is seen in the change of *sic* to *si* with conditional force, the development of *ut* from an adverb into a conjunction, and the like, due to external influences. The second, which is illustrated by the use of *ilicet* in the sense of *ilico*, and of *attigisset* in the sense of *accidisset*, is due to the influence of etymologically related groups, allowing also for popular etymology. The third includes cases like the use of *agere* in the sense of *putare*, through the influence of the synonym *ducere*, or of *pedes* in the sense of common folk (*Hor. A. P.* 113) through the influence of *eques*, its opposite.

225-252. A. Zimmermann, *Die lateinischen Personennamen auf -o, -onis*. An alphabetical list of such names, through I, with the gentilicia in *-onius* and *-enius* where these exist.

252. A. Zimmermann, *Albarus*. A reply to Meyer-Lübke (*ALL.* XIII 50). Z. regards *albarus* as an adjective with the

diminutive suffix -ar, which he believes to be derived from an original -al by dissimilation.

253-270. C. Weyman, *Zu den Sprichwörtern und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*. Additions to the collections of Otto, Sonny and Sutphen (AJP. XXII).

270. E. Wölfflin, *Der Infinitivus historicus im Relativsatze*. Would take *audiri* in Tac. Germ. 7 as an historical infinitive, comparing Verg. Aen. 6. 557.

271-278. E. Wölfflin, *Der Gebrauch des Ablativus absolutus*. Regards it as an ablative of attendant circumstances. Interesting examples of its use are given, of which the most noteworthy are those with the future passive participle, and with adjectives unaccompanied by a noun. Examples of the genitive absolute, which occurs first in the Bell. Hisp., and of the accusative and nominative absolutes are appended.

278. E. Nestle, *Acia*. An addition to the examples of this word in the Thes. L. L.

278. E. Nestle, *Erratio*. In Iudic. 20. 16 would read this word for *ratione*.

279-290. *Miscellen*. W. M. Lindsay, *Summoenianus*. *Paeda*. The former word, which occurs only in Martial, has weak manuscript authority compared with *summemianus* and *summumianus*. The second word should be read in Mart. 1. 92. 8, meaning a short Gallic jacket.

P. Wessner, *Squilla, vulgo lota*. *Lota*, Fr. *lote, lotte*, is the correct reading in the Cornutus-scholia to Juvenal 5. 81.

A. Miodoński, *Olim Oliorum*. Approves of Van de Vliet's interpretation of these words in Petr. 43 (see ALL. XI. 249; AJP. XXIX 358), pointing out analogies in French and in Polish. He would retain the form *oliorum*, citing as parallel *urbs urbium, barbari barbarorum*, etc.

G. Landgraf, *Eine Schablone des historischen Stils* (ni . . . foret). This archaic and poetic expression is introduced into historical prose by Sallust and the Auct. Bell. Afr., where it became formulaic. It is used also by Livy and Tacitus.

H. Jordan, *Palabundus*. In the third of the collection of prayers by Novatianus (ALL. XIII. 59 ff.) *palam in mundo* is for *palabundi*. Other new examples of the word are cited.

G. Landgraf, *Hypodromus*. *Epicastorium*. Two new words from the Description of the Palatine edited by Rossi and Lanciani, which is really a glossary giving the parts of a Roman house. The former word is a euphemism for *latrina*, and the latter means an observatory; cf. Hülsen, Röm. Mith. XVII, pp. 255 ff.

A. Klotz, *Iubatus*. *Abolefacio*. Approves of the reading of the former in *Stat. Silv.* 5. 1. 83 (see *ALL.* XII. 199; *AJP.* XXX 217), but takes it in the sense of "with long hair". Gives an additional instance of the second word in *Mar. Vict. ad Iustin.* *Manich.* 6 (*Migne* 8. 1003^a).

A. Souter, *Assistentia*. *Tuitio*. The former word should not find a place in the *Thes. Ling. Lat.*, since it is an emendation for *tuitio* in *Migne* 35. 2351.

J. Cornu, *Apud* = *cum* (cf. *Archiv* II. 26-33). Gives additional examples.

O. Schlutter, *Indrutico*. *Rediviva*. Testimony to the existence of the former word and an interpretation of the latter as "redyed" (used of purple).

W. Heraeus, *Ein eigentümlicher Gebrauch der Präposition cum*. In *Livy* 43. 2 *cum* M. Titinio . . . *recuperatores sumpserunt* the preposition *cum* should stand; cf. *Val. Max.* 8. 2. 1 *arbitrum adducere* (*addicere*) *cum adversario*. The usage is parallel with *agere*, *queri*, *expostulare cum aliquo*.

291-300. Review of the Literature for 1901. 1902. 1903.

JOHN C. ROLFE.

PHILOLOGUS, Bd. LXVII (N. F. XXI), 1908.

I, pp. 1-11. A. v. Domaszewski, *Kleine Beiträge zur Kaiser-geschichte*. 1. Caesar's divine honors. These, voted him by the senate in the beginning of 44 B. C., had a double origin. After the battle of Thapsus a statue was given him in the Capitolium opposite Jupiter, with the inscription *ἡμίθεος* (*Dio.* 43. 14. 6), an honor imitated from that of Attalus III of Pergamum. The second honor, putting him alongside of Quirinus (*Dio.* 43. 45. 3) was decreed after the battle of Munda. The *Luperci Iuliani* of Quirinus Iulius and the flamen of Iuppiter Iulius are imitations of the Hellenistic cult of monarchs. 2. Augustus and Livius. Plutarch in his life of Marcellus c. 30, names Livy and Augustus as his authority for the version of the tradition that the remains of Marcellus were collected in a silver urn and taken to Rome where they were buried in the grave of Marcellus. In *Liv.* 27, 28 no such statement is made, and it must have been a later correction in some other passage. As Augustus handled the subject in his funeral oration for the young Marcellus, Livy probably treated the subject again in connection with this same occasion, and so the third decade was written before 23 B. C., another evidence for the rapidity with which Livy wrote. 3. The war with the *Marmaridae*

under Augustus, 1 A. D. Cf. Dio. 55, 10a; 55, 28; Dittenb. Inscr. Orient. 767. The commander who won laurels in this war was Sulpicius Quirinius, a tribune, who ruled Cyrenaica for the time being. After the war the province was restored to the rule of the senate. 4. On Corbulo's Armenian War. An inscription in Jour. of Hellenic Studies 27, 1907, 64, n. 5, from Mekle, deals with the wintering of a vexillatio of the Legio VI Ferrata in Armenia under Sulpicius Asper, used for garrison-duty. Asper was one of the ringleaders in the Pisonian conspiracy. Cf. Tac. Ann. 15, 68. 5. The last companions of Nero,—Epaphroditus and probably Phaon, were honored under the Flavians. 6. The administration of Judaea under Claudius and Nero. The procuratorial province of Judaea was an offshoot of Syria and the procurator Judaeae was subject to the legatus Augusti pro praetore Syriae. So a legatus Augusti ruled Dacia superior, and Dacia inferior, under a procurator, was subject to the legatus. So in Germania superior, a procurator regionis Sumelocensis et translimitanae was under the legatus Augusti pro praetore Germaniae superioris.

II, pp. 12-51. L. Jeep, Priscianus, contributions to the history of the transmission of Roman literature. Part I. Summary on pp. 50-51. Priscian consulted a series of late, chiefly grammatical books. Where we can control his citations, we find that he has used them carelessly and in a mechanical way. Where he has made his own excerpts, he seems to have done so only on a few (generally adjacent) pages, and notes relatively insignificant things, and we observe that he always passes over good things with indifference and cites classical passages and the ars grammatica of Donatus as of equal value. Priscian's discrimination and value have been much overrated.

III, pp. 52-67. P. Thielscher, Ciceros Topik und Aristoteles. Summary on pp. 66-67. The question at issue is whence Cicero drew the *τόποι* not whence came the secondary materials with which he embellished them. The answer is that Cicero used not Aristotles' Topics in eight or nine books, but his Rhetoric in three books, which contained not only one but many collections of *τόποι*, hence *τοπικά*. Cicero's Topica is rightly classified among his rhetorical works.

IV, pp. 68-112. C. Preisendanz, De L. Annaei Senecae rhetoris apud philosophum filium auctoritate. I. Discussion of those passages which seem certainly to have been imitated from his father. II. Discussion of those passages where there is a certain similarity but which must be ascribed to the use of common-places. III. In another article the writer promises to handle those passages which emanate from other, chiefly Stoic, sources.

V, pp. 113-133. Benno von Heyn, Isocrates und Alexander. A rehabilitation of the character of Isocrates, whom Niebuhr's

criticism had condemned, but whose real significance has been recognized by Ed. Meyer and Beloch. In the surprising transition from democracy to the Hellenistic monarchy, from the *πολις* to a universal Hellenistic civilization, Isocrates contributed his share, and when we speak of Alexander, we ought to think also of the great spokesman of the Greek nation, who showed himself, in his rôle as educator of the prince, to be a farsighted man of quite eminent political judgment.

VI, pp. 134-153. A. Müller, *Die Primipilares und der pastus primipili*. In the organization of the army under Diocletian and Constantine, the primipili and primipilares vanish, while there frequently appear in the Codex Theodosianus and Codex Iustinianus persons bearing the name of primipilares with a function called *pastus primipili*. These were civil officials—so-called *cohortales* (Cod. Theod. 8, 4). The *pastus primipili* belonged to the commissary arm of the service, and was administered by civilians as the delivery of the *annona* was a part of the revenue service. The duties of these officials are discussed in great detail from all the available sources.

Miscellen.

1. pp. 154-158. K. Praechter, *Zu Kleanthes fr. 91 P. 527 v. A.* The verses in the closing chapter of Epictetus' *Encheiridion* are a sort of cento based on Euripides' *Andromed.* fr. 132, *Hec.* 346 ff., and two verses known from *Plut. cons. ad Apoll.* 29 to be Euripidean. Then follow two verses from Plato. The other verses of Kleanthes show such reminiscences. Seneca *Ep.* 107, 10 f., gives a translation of the verses, vaguely citing a Ciceronian form. Augustin. *de civ. dei* 5, 8, ascribes it to Seneca "*nisi fallor*". The closing verse: *ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt* is in genuine Roman style and seems to imply that Sen. did not know the verses *δοτις δ' ἀνάγκη κτλ.* as a constituent part of the poem. But we cannot conclude that the verses are not by Kleanthes.

2. pp. 158-160. W. H. Roscher, *Zu Ausonius de aetatibus animantium* (*Hesodion* = *edyll.* XVIII, p. 152, Schenkl = p. 93, Peiper). The fragment of Hesiod translated by Ausonius came from a passage in Plutarch or at least a source used by Plutarch, *de defectu oracul.* c. 11.

VII, pp. 161-201. E. Assmann, *Zur Vorgeschichte von Kreta*. A linguistic study of the old Cretan names of places, gods and cults, and ancient customs to prove the possibility or probability of Semitic origin.

VIII, pp. 202-237. H. Steiger, *Wie entstand die Helena des Euripides?* Summary on p. 237: He who rightly understands the Helena of Euripides, he who sees in this *καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην* and her wandering knight Menelaos a successful parody, woven out of

Homer and parts of the *Iphigenia* will find nothing objectionable in the thought that these two dramas so very different in their stage-effect were produced on the same occasion—the great Dionysia in 412 B. C.

IX, pp. 238–278. A. Roemer, *Philologie und Afterphilologie im griechischen Altertum*. I. Parodies and the doctrines of the Alexandrines concerning them. The Alexandrines themselves realized the necessity of distinguishing between fact and fancy in the exegesis of Greek comedies. *παρά* was used to indicate a divergence between the text of the comic writer and the original he changed or parodied. The parodied and parodying passages were regularly written out in full with an exact naming of the play from which the parodied passage was taken. The ancients were not afraid of confessing their inability to trace out an original to a parody. The scholia pessimae notae should be either put aside or labeled scholia deteriora. Our interpretation can have more certainty when the scholiast's name is given and his reputation known, otherwise the use or non-use of the stereotyped method of citation must guide us; or there must be a complete likeness, or more or less close relation of the two texts in words or thought—with or without jesting purpose—but in this case the source of the parody must be written out complete.

X, pp. 279–303. A. Brieger, *Die Unfertigkeit des Lucretischen Gedichtes*. A discussion of certain apparently dislocated passages and certain repetitions in order to show that the poet himself could not have put the finishing touch on his work. The state of the question in Lucretius criticism is first analyzed. Lucretius was so interested in his theme that he might well have written various verses on his travels and placed them temporarily in his poem; then again certain passages he might well have written in the lucid moments between his epileptic attacks, when however he might often have been depressed. But there are other flaws which are to be explained only on the supposition that Lucretius was unable to put the last touch on his work.

XI, pp. 304–310. B. Sauer, *Der Betende des Boedas*. The statue of the youth in an attitude of prayer mentioned by Plin. N. H. 34, 90, as by Boedas is that which stood once in a shrine of Zeus Ourios on the Bosphoros (Gyllius fr. 58–59 of Dionysios Geogr. Graec. min. ed. Müll. II S. 78. Dionys. Byzant. 2d. Wescher, S. 29f.)—the Boedas of Byzantium mentioned by Vitruvius III prooem. 2. This Boedas was perhaps the son of Lysippos. The Berlin bronze is possibly a copy.

Miscellen.

3. pp. 311–314. C. Ritter, *Platonica*. 1. Theaet. 190 c, contains a marginal gloss *περί τοῦ ἐτέρου*; Rep. IX 580 d (τὸ λογιστικόν) is a gloss. In Rep. X 585 c *ἀλλ' ὁμοίου οὐσία* is a gloss, and ἡ should be changed to ἦ, the interrogative particle. 2. Rep. IV 435 e

κατὰ τὸν ἀνω τόπον refers to the position on a map—north. 3. Rep. III 393 a, b. The belief that Homer wrote the Iliad in his youth, the Odyssey, in his old age, was current in Alexandrian times, but was apparently held in Plato's. 4. Phaidr. 229 b, 230 b, 279 b: The plane-tree, etc., stood on the left bank.

4. pp. 314–316. Karl Meiser, Zu dem Apologeten Aristides und Athenagoras. In Aristides c. 11 ed. Geffcken for ἐπανθίδα read ἐπαύλου θῆρα with allusion to Apollo's service under Admetus. The value of Lucian's writings in the interpretation is illustrated by Aristid. c. 13, 7 and Luc. Menipp. 3; Athenag. c. 11 and Luc. Peregr. 12; Athenag. c. 12 and Luc. Alexand. 61 and Hermot. 58; Athenag. c. 13 and Luc. Jupp. Conf. 5.

5. pp. 316–318. A. Müller, Dekoration bei pantomimischen Aufführungen. The passage in Gregory of Nyssa (Ep. 9, p. 1039 f.; Bd. 46 Migne) attests the use of painted scenery at pantomimic exhibitions, and although the sole testimony, it probably alludes to a well-known custom. Hence Friedländer (Sittengesch. II^e S. 453) is not quite to the point.

6. pp. 319–320. O. Probst, Biographisches zu Cassius Felix. Anon. "de miraculis Sancti Stephani protomartyris" (Migne, P. P. lat. XLI, 833 sqq. contains some testimony hitherto overlooked. C. F. was a Christian, came from Africa, lived considerable time in Carthage, as he passed there in 424 as Archiatros.

XII, pp. 321–324. E. Kornemann, Eine neue Xenophon-Handschrift auf Papyrus (with one plate). In the Museum des Oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins at Giessen is a fragment of Xenophon's Symposium (8, 15–18) catalogued as Inv. Nr. 175. It may be dated at about A. D. 200. The chief value of the fragment is to give the reading παρασῆσι in Col. II, lines 4–5 for the old corruption παρὰ τι πούση variously emended.

XIII, pp. 325–365. H. Jacobsohn, Der Aoristtypus ἀντο und die Aspiration bei Homer. (To be continued.) The history of the epic language is an ever increasingly strong replacing of the Aeolic foundation by Ionic forms. In Aeolic psilosis preceded the aspiration of the Ionic epic, and so psilosis reaches back into a very ancient period. The writer first discusses the views of Thumb (Asper, p. 56 f.) and Wackernagel (verm. Beitr., p. 5 f.). The best proof of whether or not Homer generally used psilosis would come from Epigrammes of great antiquity. But so far the evidence is meagre and likely to be misleading. In the case of Ionian poets of the mainland of Asia Minor as regards rough and smooth breathings we find: While in the fragments in elegiac metre no trace of psilosis is anywhere found, it appears often enough in the other fragments, mostly in elision and krasis, more rarely in composition. The dialect, in which such a change occurs, is the insular Ionic. The article is to be continued.

XIV, pp. 366-410. A. Roemer, *Philologie und Afterphilologie im griechischen Altertum*. II. Didymus as interpreter of Aristophanes. Summary on pp. 408-410. In regard to the transmission of the material from the Alexandrine school of philologists we cannot harmonize the word for word extracts from Didymus, as well as second hand citations, with this material except in rare cases. In most cases he advanced his opinion in opposition to the others, only to obscure the precious treasures there. If Didymus did not find this valuable material in his sources—then his communications have no value. If he did find them but felt himself obliged to oppose his own views to them—without giving the views he attacked—then again he is to be condemned. But fortunately even among the Greeks his authority was not without reservation—else what little of value we have got from him would have been sacrificed to it.

XV, pp. 411-472. W. A. Oldfather, *Lokrika*. With five excursuses. Investigations in the Locrian legendary lore—a prolusion to his investigations of the Locrian race in the earliest times. I. Medon. II. The Aias-question. III. Patroklos. There was a race-hero, Medon, who played a very important rôle in the genealogies of Phokis, Lokris and Boeotia. II. Some preliminary questions. Hodoidokos appears to be an intentional alteration of the name Laodokos, who with father Kynos was interpreted in the genealogy of the Opuntian royal house by Hellanikos under Attic influence. All attempts to draw conclusions from the name for the explanation of the figure Aias are unjustifiable.

Miscellen.

7. pp. 473-474. J. Baunack, Phokisch *πλάτος* = nummus.

8. pp. 474-475. K. Preisendanz: *ᾠγσις*. The magic papyri (ed. Wessely, 1889) offer many examples of the personification of *ᾠσις* current before as well as after Claudian.

9. pp. 475-476. B. v. Hagen, Eine Platoremiscenz bei Plotin. Plotin. XXX 9, p. 46, 4 ff. (Kirchhoff) and Plato Rep. IV 426 D. ff.

10. pp. 477-479. Eb. Nestle, Zum neuen Wiener Tertullian. (Bd. 47. C. S. E. L.), p. 515. Shows some serious defects in the apparatus criticus and method of text construction.

11. pp. 479-480. G. Lehnert, Das corpus decem rhetorum minorum—in the superscription of Cod. Montepessulanus H. 126, these ten minor rhetores may be in contradistinction to Cicero and no corpus rhetorum maiorum need be assumed (cf. Schanz. Röm. Littgesch. III.² S. 163.

12. p. 480. A. E. Schöne, Ein Glossem bei Mela I. 7, 38—condicione is a gloss and is to be stricken out of the text.

XVI, pp. 481-530. H. Jacobsohn, Der Aoristtypus ἀλτο und die Aspiration bei Homer. Conclusion of article XIII, pp. 325-365.

XVII, pp. 531-581. W. Nestle, Bemerkungen zu den Vorsokratikern und Sophisten. Further annotations supplementary to and explanatory of his Auswahl aus den vorsokratischen Philosophen (Jena, 1908).

XVIII, pp. 582-605. A. Bonhöffer, Die Telosformel des Stoikers Diogenes. This read εὐλογισταί in τῇ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἐκλογῇ καὶ [τῶν παρὰ φύσιν] ἀπεκλογῇ and did not contain a morally low intention.

XIX, pp. 606-611. K. Borinski, Literarische Schicksale griechischer Hetairen. Rhodope appears in many curious legends—one much like Cinderella (Strabo 17, 1; 33, 808 and Aelian., var. hist. 13, 33), and at last in Joh. Peter Titz (Titius) as a poetess (in his Heroid publ. in 1647). The allusion to Thais in Dante Inf. Cant. XVIII, verses 133-135, really contains a mistake in the reference, as Dante got the incident not from Terence, Eun. 391—where the parasite Gnatho asks the question—but from a quotation in Cicero's Laelius 26 (98), *Magnas vero agere gratias* Thais mihi? Satis erat respondere; *Magnas, Ingentes*, inquit. So Dante, Purg. 33, 49, uses Naide for Laiades (wrong reading of Ovid, Met. 7, 759). For Cato's rôle in Purg. 1, 65 sq.; cf. Cic. Lael. 25 (89) with vs. 92.

Miscellen.

13. p. 612. W. Nestle, Zu Arat., Phainomena 4. That writer had Odys. γ 48, in mind—a verse regarded by Melanchthon as the most beautiful in Homer.

14. p. 612. P. Crusius, Cicero on Atticus IV 6, 2 reads *relegi qua est* = I have read again that letter of yours in which appears the advice, etc.

Indices.

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BRIEF MENTION.

The first edition of DIELS's *Herakleitos von Ephesos* (Weidmann), which appeared in 1901, was intended, as the author frankly says in a note to the second edition (p. xvi), merely to serve as a specimen of the scheme of his 'Vorsokratiker'. But even after the second edition of the 'Vorsokratiker', there was a call for the monograph on Herakleitos; and in response to the demand Professor DIELS has given us a somewhat ampler Herakleitos and has paid more attention to the exegesis, although the author tells us that he has not had and has not now any intention to be exhaustive—a pity, in view of his illuminating introduction (A. J. P. XXIII 345). On the heels of this edition has followed close the *Eracilito* of BODRERO (Torino, Fratelli Bocca), an Italian scholar, whose *Empedocle* has been highly praised by Professor LEONARD in his translation of the Agrigentine, which was briefly mentioned in the preceding number of the Journal (XXX 474). The reëntrance of the Italians upon the field of classical scholarship, which their ancestors once dominated, is one of the most interesting developments (A. J. P. XXIV 108) that I have been privileged to witness in my long career, coinciding as it does with what has been called the American invasion of Europe and in the case of the Italians as in the case of the Americans there is evidence of German tutelage. So, f. i., the mania for an exhaustive command of the 'literature' of every subject that is taken in hand would seem to be Teutonic rather than Ausonian; and of this tendency a recent illustration has been given by the publication of an elaborate *Germania Filologica* by GUIDO MANACORDA with 20,000 titles of works on the German language and literature (Cremona, Pietro Fezzi, 1910). To be sure, in this accumulation of authorities there is apt to be a certain lack of perspective (A. J. P. XXX 358), but some of us have reason to be grateful for the generous inclusiveness of Italian scholars (A. J. P. XXV 353), who do not begin, as German critics often do, by sniffing at the work of those whose language so many of them understand but imperfectly. No amount of *amende honorable* will atone for cheap sneers and gross misrepresentations (A. J. P. XXII 350). In every Italian work, then, we expect a full bibliography and BODRERO's *Eracilito* is no exception. On the philosophic side of the book I have no right to an opinion, for I have never got beyond the picture-writing stage and my defence of the concrete style is an apology for my own performances in the metaphorical line (A. J. P. XXIX 239). The 'philosophization' of language, in which BODRERO recognizes so great an advance, has no charm for me; for to me 'abgezog-

ener Begriff' is the mere hide of the living creature that once palpitated beneath it. And this is the reason why the new life of Italian scholarship appeals to my ill-regulated fancy and why I am encouraged by BODRERO's example to look upon Herakleitos as a poet rather than as a thinker. What Herakleitos himself would have thought of such an interpretation can readily be imagined, what use he would have made of the lush material in which he bedded himself and of the foot which he interposed between himself and the sun; and as BODRERO's book appears in a series called *Il Pensiero Greco*, I must do the author the justice to say that while he emphasizes the poetical side of Herakleitos, he refuses to call him a poet pure and simple. 'Herakleitos', he says (p. 67), 'did not possess the gift of poesy; not all the Muses were about his cradle'. And yet he is obliged to concede 'that in the fragments there is so much poetry and poetry of the highest order that we are on the point of saying that at times Herakleitos is more poet than philosopher', and he does not wonder that a century after Herakleitos a certain Skythinos of Teos was moved to translate his book into metrical form.

Whether BODRERO himself is more poet than philosopher I shall not undertake to decide. But whenever hereafter I repent me of my own kaleidoscopic style, as often happens, I can comfort myself with the thought that nothing I have done to vex the vision of grammarians can compare with the particolored garb of BODRERO's diction. In his study of Flaubert Faguet says (p. 46): Un ami de Sainte-Beuve lui disait sur Salammbô: 'C'est plus fatigant qu'ennuyeux. Je saisis mal la nuance. C'est très fatigant et c'est aussi ennuyeux que fatigant'. But the same critic writing of Chateaubriand remarks: 'Sa déclamation même est fatigante sans être ennuyeuse. C'est qu'elle n'est pas froide'. And the fervor of BODRERO puts him rather with the Chateaubriands than with the Flauberts. The strain is considerable, but one is not really bored and so I venture to give the substance of a few sentences of BODRERO's which may relieve the syntactical drearinesses of *Brief Mention*.

'Philosophy', he says in the preface—which, being addressed to a former fellow-student, moves forward with a swing of personal intimacy—'Philosophy, so far as is consistent with her nature, remains in a certain sense poetry, but she is treated now like a new Kassandra, who, having rejected Apollo, is condemned to a sterile vaticination, now as a new Ophelia, who casts away her flower and drowns herself in her madness'. 'The fetichism of method', he continues, 'has reduced her to the

condition of an abandoned woman, who stands by night at a street-corner, looking out for some one to fool himself into the belief that he can make her a mother'. Out upon those sciences, he cries, 'that treat her with the considerate superiority which youthful light o' loves show to an old she-sinner'. It will hardly be believed that all this eternal femininity is brought within the compass of a single page. This sexual sphere of comparison reminds me very much of Fraccaroli's apt and striking phrase, 'masturbazione intellettuale', which I was constrained to leave in the transparent vestment of the original (A. J. P. XV 506). Metaphor apart, BODRERO's whole preface is a protest against 'la sfrenata tirannide del metodo'. According to him, 'A thousand logical arguments cannot shake off the witchery of an intense and profound sentiment from the soul of a man that loves'. And yet nowadays 'he who undertakes to examine whether such and such a sonnet is more or less beautiful, whether such and such a tenet is more or less just or justifiable, is nowhere in comparison with one who can tell the precise date at which a horrible sonnet was written or discovers the great truth indispensable to human happiness that resides in the knowledge of the genealogy of a manuscript in which an absurd sentence of an ancient plagiarist is worst mutilated'. To BODRERO the world of thought is evidently out of joint. 'Here in the dawn of the twentieth century the method we are constrained to employ leads us to the most useless violence toward the integrity of philosophical activity. Things and deeds exist for us only so far as we can perceive them <the *ô* of the sophists>' and whilst 'experimental methods may widen the range of our knowledge and show us a new aspect of the world, they will not destroy the value of the other instruments of which the spirit of man disposes. 'La pensée', says Charles Huit, 'ne suffit pas à la philosophie: il lui faut l'âme entière'. What we want is the 'meditative repercussion of the truth on the inner organism of man'. As Dante, Shakespeare and Goethe are at once classicists and romanticists, so in philosophy a daring and acute logic ought to produce a balance between science and faith or the corresponding exigencies of the mind. The possibility of the coëxistence of these activities constitutes the perfect intellectual happiness in which BODRERO thinks no one has better known how to live than the sublime and mysterious thinkers who preceded Sokrates. 'Preceded Sokrates', he is careful to say. They were in no sense precursors of Sokrates. <There was no *Præparatio Socratica* as we speak of a *Præparatio Evangelica*.> The development from Thales to the Sophists was one, and BODRERO pleads for the early philosophy of the *ensemble* as Fraccaroli pleads for the poetry of the unconscious (A. J. P. XV 506), though the literature is a literature of fragments. The fragments are all the more fascinating because they are fragments. They speak to the soul in the exquisite tones of mystery—these far-off detached notes of a *sinfonia*

eroica. With all our logic we have never equalled that spring-time of thought. So much for the Presocratics in general. Unfortunately I have not space to summarize what BODRERO has said of the 'august and imperious enunciator of doctrines and principles that sound to our ears like so many marvellous revelations', Herakleitos himself.

I have a profound distrust of historical parallels—parallel bars, I have called them, for exhibiting feats of mental agility or moral suppleness. No less profound a distrust have I of the lessons of history and I cannot refrain from quoting here an authentic anecdote, to which the daily press has given currency. Lord Morley told a story how Mr. Bryce in 1876, during the time of the Bulgarian agitation, met a learned professor who was always descanting on the application of history to politics. Mr. Bryce cited to this professor <whose name has been revealed to me> the Eastern question as one in which history could teach a lesson in contemporary politics. "Certainly", said the professor. "You mean, of course", said Mr. Bryce, "that the Turks were in the wrong and that we ought not to support them". "No", said the professor, "I mean the exact opposite". But profound distrust does not always dispel the fascination of an alluring game, nay, sometimes actually heightens it; and it so happens that I am personally very much addicted to a sport, the attraction of which is almost invincible for one who tries to live in both worlds (A. J. P. XXX 231). We fancy that we are reconstructing the life of antiquity and the living stones are taken from our own spiritual house. One may protest against the process as one protests against chromatic translations (A. J. P. XXIII 469), but the scholar is no more proof against the charm than is the layman.

In the search for parallels, for lessons, Rome seems much nearer to us than Greece, and it may well be contended that we are still living the life of the Romans (A. J. P. VI 482). Whether this be so or not, the favorable reception of Ferrero's *Greatness and Decline of Rome* is largely due to the sense of actuality imparted to the story by the frequent illustrations, which the author has drawn from the movements and events of the time in which we live and the land in which we dwell. Such analogies, such parallels are always popular and the panorama of Roman history and Roman society will always yield abundant materials for the exercise of political insight or the exhibition of politicianly rhetoric. Mommsen was a politician as well as an historian (A. J. P. VI 484), and Friedländer's *Sittengeschichte* owes much of its interest and its success to the sidelights of modern social and economic life. In many aspects Greek life also is

modern enough. At any rate, in the judgment of Professor VON PÖHLMANN Greek politics and Greek social economy have not been made to yield all their lessons. In one of his essays (A. J. P. XVI 528) the eminent Munich professor has shown us how much juice can be extracted from what seems the sapless rhetoric of Isokrates, and in his *Griechische Geschichte*, the fourth edition of which has appeared in the VON MÜLLER *Handbuch* series (Oskar Beck, Munich, 1908), he maintains that with the increasing 'democratization' of the modern world, the history of Greece is becoming more and more instructive. The problems of Greek civilization, he contends, are ours; and he has marshalled a formidable array of questions, which our times are called upon to answer. Most of the sections to which he refers deal with European problems, but, as the years go on, European problems are becoming more and more American problems and the student of the America of to-day will find his account in a closer acquaintance with the book.

I have no business with French Syntax but the announcement of Professor ARMSTRONG'S *Syntax of the French Verb* reminds me of a discourse of Professor HALE'S at the recent meeting of the *American Philological Association* in which he pointed out in his own humorous and convincing way the unpracticality, not to say, the absurdity of the varying nomenclature in the domain of Indo-European syntax. How simple and beautiful everything would be, if the world of scholars would adopt unanimously some one of the many schemes that have been propounded, preferably of course, Professor HALE'S own nomenclature, some features of which have found wide acceptance. Unfortunately, a condition precedent to such a consensus would be the demise of Professor STAHL, who has recently presented us with a brand new terminology for the moods and tenses in Greek, which he will only surrender with life; and even after the representatives of the syntax of the past shall have withdrawn from the stage, some avenger may start up from the dry bones of my Greek Syntax (S. C. G. 369 footn.) to protest against the confusion of 'anticipatory' and 'prospective'. The distinction between the two is a practical one, an important one. 'Anticipation' say, of the joys of marriage—see my commentary on the Ninth Pythian—differs as much from the prospect thereof, as the Theokritean *ὀαπιστός* from the nuptial song of Catullus. But I forbear to discuss the matter now as I forbore to discuss it then, nor will I enlarge on the infelicity of Professor HALE'S introduction of *πρίν* into the field of comparison. *Antequam* with the subj. and *avant que* with the subj. may be considered parallels, but *πρίν* with the subj. cannot be used after a positive sentence which is the favorite combination of *antequam* with the subj. In that case we should have to use *πρίν* c. inf., in French *avant de*;

and $\pi\pi\iota\upsilon$ c. inf. I do not hesitate to parallel with $\pi\pi\iota\upsilon$ c. opt. (S. C. G. 400), which it often displaces (A. J. P. XXVI 489). As a matter of fact I have dared to say: A murrain on the man who first simplified Greek and Latin grammar by translating $\iota\omega\tau\alpha\kappa\tau\iota\alpha\zeta$ 'subjunctive' and thus identifying the Greek mood with the mixed Latin mood, which is prevalently an optative (A. J. P. XXV 481). Had it not been for him, we might have been spared the parallelization of *tamquam* with the Latin subj. and $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon$ with the Greek subj. (A. J. P. XIII 62-70). Fortunately, no forcing can produce a Latin parallel for $\acute{\iota}\alpha\upsilon$ with the anticipatory Greek subjunctive, which has no equivalent in Latin as even Horton-Smith the Elder saw (A. J. P. XVI 124).

Dr. ALFRED GUDEMAN's wellwishers had hoped that after the severance of his relations with the educational work of America the climate of Munich would eliminate from his system the hookworm of typographical indolence, which marred the favorable impression produced by his useful little manual *Outlines of the History of Classical Philology* so highly commended by Dr. Sandys in the Preface to the first volume of his Classical Scholarship. But the first German edition of the book, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der klassischen Philologie* (Teubner), showed the same lack of typographical vision and my faithful adjutant in the proofreading of the Journal has submitted for my inspection a list of accentual blunders, which would not escape animadversion even in a land which to Dr. GUDEMAN is the *Arabia Deserta* of philology. The second German edition, which has followed the first in the short space of two years, has had the advantage of more careful, not to say, more competent readers and most of the mistakes seem to have been corrected, but some still abide to annoy the Greek scholar and the quotation from Ps. Pl. Axiochus, 366 E (p. 3) still remains unintelligible by reason of the omission of the leading verb. Of the popularity and usefulness of a manual that has reached its fifth edition—three in America, two in Germany,—there can be no question. But FREUND'S *Triennium Philologicum* patchery seems to hold its own still; and I am one of those prejudiced persons who distrust any philological work that sins grossly against the rudimentary virtue of typographical cleanliness (A. J. P. XIX 234, XXVIII 235). Irregularities have a way of going in couples, in leashes. An exceptional form is apt to be exceptional in more than one respect; and if I had not been too busy in pointing out a solecism in the use of $\pi\pi\iota\upsilon$ when I commented on DALMEYDA'S *Bacchae* (A. J. P. XXX 225) I should not have failed to note the violation of Porson's law, which did not escape a more vigilant reviewer in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 18. Dez., 1909.

In Vol. XXV (1904) of the Journal Professor KIRBY FLOWER SMITH published a long review of *Zielinski's Clauselgesetz in Cicero's Reden* (pp. 453-463), which was the first fitting introduction of the brilliant and important work to the English speaking world, and which was found useful and suggestive even by those who knew the original. This review was followed a year after by a notice of the same work, contributed to the *Classical Review* (XIX 1905, pp. 164-172) by ALBERT CURTIS CLARK, the eminent Ciceronian scholar, who has since published (1909) in a convenient and attractive form under the title of *Fontes Prosae Numerosae* (Oxford, Clarendon Press) a collection of the *Testimonia Veterum* with examples drawn from Latin and Greek writers of rhythmical prose. It would have been graceful, to say the least, if Mr. CLARK had made some reference to his American predecessor, but Professor SMITH's case is a familiar experience with American scholars. We Americans, largely by reason of our training, are better acquainted with the work of German masters and are more sympathetic with it than is the average English scholar. Sometimes we get too much credit for what we have appropriated from them, but more frequently we are relegated to the humble rank of ushers and are forgotten by those who have followed in the track of Cis-Atlantic students.

Those who quote CHRIST's *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* (München, Oskar Beck) should be careful to mention the edition, for the fifth edition, brought out by W. SCHMID, with the assistance of OTTO STÄHLIN (München, Oskar Beck) is revolutionary in some of the chapters; and CHRIST is not to be made responsible for what he might not, most probably would not, have accepted. Publication is often synonymous with crystallization. The new editors say that they have preserved intact long stretches of the text notably in those sections in which CHRIST had made personal studies; and of these the section on Plato is specially designated. But CONSTANTIN RITTER, the indefatigable Platonist (A. J. P. X 470 foll.), who has just brought out the first volume of his *Platon* and his *Neue Untersuchungen über Platon* (München, Oskar Beck), of which by the way only two are strictly speaking new, is careful to cite CHRIST-SCHMID and not CHRIST pure and simple. The progress of doctrine, as exhibited in successive editions of standard works is an interesting story—sometimes amusing and always profitable (A. J. P. XXV 226).

I have called attention more than once with satisfaction to the appearance of editions from which the study of syntax has been eliminated—so notably in the Freytag-Tempsky Series (A. J. P.

XIII 125, XXV 352), and without going into the merits of the edition for which the name of the editor would be sufficient warrant, I welcome with both hands Professor MORRIS's *Satires of Horace* (American Book Co.) in which an American syntactician, whose work has been pronounced epochal by German grammarians has discarded all the ballast of grammatical references that encumbers so many editions of an author like Horace. When we come to the higher ranges of literature there ought to be a dead line drawn for certain Latin constructions. In the initial steps a small portion of an author might be abandoned to the Megaera of Syntax and years ago I myself made a drill-book on Latin Syntax out of the Fifth Book of Caesar. It is a pity that I had not selected a less interesting book. Now it seems to me that every construction there noted might be blacklisted for an edition of Horace, to begin with. But, of course, those who deal with the more subtle study of the moods will not be satisfied with such a rescript and will insist on all the shades of meaning to be found within and without Roget's Thesaurus, so that I have known one despairing student who, weary of this microscopic analysis, headed his school-exercise with the motto:

Reddidi carmen docilis modorum
Vatis Horati.

'I have translated the poem of the bard Horace with due regard to the moods'. Of course, when the point of a sentence pivots on the syntax and grammar becomes rhetoric, a syntactical note is never out of place—but unfortunately this saving clause may let in syntax as a flood.

The *Aristophanes and Others* of Mr. HERBERT RICHARDS (London, S. Grant Richards) is a companion volume to *Xenophon and Others*, of which *Brief Mention* was made some years ago (A. J. P. XXVIII 485), when I took occasion to express my appreciation of the acumen and diligence of the author. The chapter on the language of Aristophanes in which, by the way, Mr. RICHARDS acknowledges his obligation to an American dissertation by Dr. HOPE, will be welcomed by the votaries of that spoiled darling of the Muses. It is true that Mr. RICHARDS is an exceptionally careful scholar, that he is not one of those gay deceivers of the Book of Proverbs, whose sport means firebrands, arrows and death to his sober neighbor. He is not like the author of ANTI MIAΣ, a bulky work in two volumes (London, Macmillan & Co.), wherein Mr. R. J. WALKER has undertaken to show that the familiar representation of a long by two shorts in Greek lyric poetry is an inveterate blunder and has undertaken further to emend the peccant passages—hit or miss fashion. The digestion of such swarms of ephemerides cannot be accomplished in the swallow flight of *Brief Mention*; and even in Mr.

RICHARDS'S case I must content myself with one or two illustrations of the difficulty of discussing works of this character. One *obiter dictum* may evoke a page of commentary. On p. 73: ἀλλ' ἀντίθετος τοι' ἐγὼ γὰρ κ. τ. λ. <a fragment of Krates>, he says: The crasis of τοι and ἐγὼ in spite of the pause between them seems unlikely, nor is τοι much in place with the imperative. This little sentence, it will be seen, involves a consideration of the reach of crasis (synizesis) and the whole question of punctuation in Greek. Some persons may regard it as a grave oversight that I have not noticed in my Syntax the anomalous position of δὲ after a comma (KB, § 398, 6 Anm. 5). Comma, indeed. Whose comma? As for the pause, as a friend suggests, why not write 'γὼ? And as for τοι with the imperative, one is tempted to ask: Why not τοι with imperative? Anybody can object to anything. So Fennell objected years ago to οὖν with the imperative (Pindar, Ol. 10, 11). True, the imperative goes straight to its goal and will not be impeded by δὲ and its chief attendant is the impatient δῆ. True, τοι with the optative seems to be taboo, but I should not balk at the sympathetic τοι with the imperative in view of Aischyl. P. V. 436; Choëph. 497; So. El. 298; Antigone 1064. In Ar. Lys. 94 τοι seems to be a fairly certain correction. By the way, the identity in form of the two τοι's has given rise to droll mistakes, and the particle τοι, the ethical τοι, the τοι which appeals to the audience and the case τοι, the *tibi* τοι, the τοι which has to do with a real second person, have been sadly confounded. 'Understand what I say unto thee' is a familiar Greek quotation, which has been cited more than once without understanding; and ξύνες δ τοι λέγω, Ar. Av. 945, has been adduced by two scholars born in different hemispheres and both 'fond of these trifling toys', the Greek particles, as an illustration of Aristophanes' use of the particle with the present indicative. Now ξύνες δ τοι λέγω is a notorious Pindaric fragment, vouched for as Pindaric by Plato and belongs to the same class with the Pindaric praise of Athens, so lightly attributed to Aristophanes by those who ought to know better, largely, I fear, on the faith of Baedeker (A. J. P. XXVIII 352).

On the Scut. Heracl. 148: δεινὴ Ἔρις πεπότητο κορύσσουσα κλόνον ἀνδρῶν Mr. RICHARDS remarks (p. 294): 'There is no propriety here in the pluperfect, for which the imperfect ought rather to have been used'. On the contrary, there is every propriety in the use of what Monro calls the 'attitudinizing' pluperfect—a use that Curtius had insisted on many, many years, Gr. Vb. II 153 (1876), before I translated this very πεπότητο, S. C. G. 237: 'was afly', 'was flying all abroad'. Compare Sappho's φοιτᾷσεις πεδ' ἀμαύρων νεκύων ἐκπεποταμένα, 'Roaming midst the ghosts, shadowy dead, *flitting away, away*' (A. J. P. XXX 355). Mr. RICHARDS' πεποήτητο, has scant warrant in epic usage. In

conclusion, I am sorry that I cannot count Mr. RICHARDS as a reader of this Journal. P. 209, he says: It is perhaps not as well known as it should be that Attic orators are chary of using such parts of λέγω as *ἔλεγε*, *λεχθεῖς*, *λεχθήσεται*. See Professor Miller's article, A. J. P. XVI (1895) 162.

It was on Aug. 15, 1904 that I saw for the last time the renowned dean of French Hellenists, HENRI WEIL, whose death Nov. 5, 1909, in his ninety-second year cannot be passed over in this Journal as one of the ordinary fulfilments of mortality. French Hellenist I have called him, for whatever his nativity his work bore the stamp of that French elegance, which is the despair of most of us and of which only a master like Renan could dare to speak lightly (A. J. P. XXVI 362). I remembered WEIL in his maturity as a man of rare alertness of presence and speech, and somehow I was not prepared for the ravages of time. His hearing had become impaired, his eyesight seemed almost gone, his form was bowed, his step slow and uncertain—not to be wondered at, perhaps, in a man of eighty-six. But the light of the intellect was undimmed and seemed to be as bright as when three years before he sent me the proof of an article on Greek Syntax, which he had written for the *Journal des Savants* of May, 1901, and from which I conveyed to my own Journal (XXIII 2) his admirable statement of the conditions of the study to which so much of my life has been devoted; and if, as sometimes happens, a friend, a too partial friend reproaches me with having narrowed my mind and having given up to syntax what was meant for wider circles, I run over in thought all the minor poets and minuscule essayists of my time and am comforted as I think on WEIL's words. Undeterred by the infirmities of age the great scholar worked on to the end, now at new editions of the plays of Euripides, now at papers on the novelties that of late years have kept the world of Hellenists on the alert. For he was a genuine Athenian in seeking to hear some new thing; and my last note from him is characteristic of his eager curiosity. By some accident No. 118 of the Journal had failed to reach him and he speedily put in a reclamation: 'Il est vrai', he wrote, 'qu'il y a 91 ans que je suis né mais je suis encore du nombre des vivants et à ce titre je me permets de vous demander le dernier No. de votre journal'. To his exemplary merits as a scholar I have paid tribute over and over again (A. J. P. IV 529, VII 544, XVIII 243, XX 353, XXI 235, XXX 226). Let this be what the Germans call pathetically a 'Nachruf'—which one veteran sends after another, who served for so many years as a pattern of courage and persistence to all whose lives are stretching out beyond the scriptural bourne.

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I.—THE SEVENTH NEMEAN REVISITED.¹

ἀνάπαυλα τῆς σπουδῆς γίνεται ἐνίοτε ἡ παιδιά. PLATO, Phileb. 30 E.

I.

George Meredith is reported to have said of Henry James' book on America: 'James writes about America Revisited but what it really comes to is a tour of Henry James' inside'. Now I have rebelled for a number of years against being invited to follow the peristaltic processes of Henry James' mind, and I am not vain enough to suppose that anybody is interested in the workings of my mental digestion. In fact, I may fail as Jean Paul's Dr. Katzenberger failed when he undertook to lend a charm to the most repulsive secretions of the human interior. But *ἴδιόν ἐστιν ἐν γῆρᾳ τὸ φιλόμυθον*: and I hope I shall be pardoned for recounting some of my experiences, or, to borrow a phrase from M. Anatole France, some of the 'Adventures of a Soul Among Masterpieces'. If there has been any life in my commentaries on the authors whom I have edited, it is due to the fact that I have attacked them first as if they had never been edited before and have tried to exclude reminiscences of previous exegeses. True, there is no novelty in this process. Almost every editor makes the same claim, which it is well nigh impossible to substantiate in case of an author with whom one is more or less familiar. But there must be such a state as that of the *demi-vierge* or the word would not have been coined, and I am going to record a recent experience of mine with the Seventh Nemean of Pindar.

¹ This paper was written early last year and has been kept back by the tide of more important communications. But *πυμπλαμπι γερονται*?

The newly discovered fragments of Pindar have thrown some rays of light on the Seventh Nemean, which I have called somewhere the touchstone of Pindaric interpretation. It is an ode from which commentator after commentator has retired baffled ; baffled even when they have worn a smile of triumph (A. J. P. XXVI 359). Wilamowitz himself, a daring soul and not easily discouraged,—ὁ μέγας δὲ κίνδυνος ἀναλκιν οὐ φῶτα λαμβάνει,—once wrote touching this ode : *Nihil perspicio nisi nihil admodum esse perspectum*. But in 1908 he returned to the charge and as a preparation for the proper understanding of this new interpretation, undaunted by many a heavy fall, I undertook some months ago a fresh study of the poem, first ridding my mind as far as possible of all previous notions, native and acquired, and in fact treating the ode as if I had never read it before. I durst not follow my own advice given so confidently years ago and make my first approach by the metres. In those far-off days I should have called the metres lilting and the lilting odes are as a rule harder (I. E. lxiii). But those were the days when I believed in a system which seemed to satisfy the conditions of rhythm, of quantity (A. J. P. XIII 385) and of syntax (A. J. P. IV 158)—the halcyon days when I said to myself in the foolishness of my heart : A threefold cord is not quickly broken, when I amused myself with correlating quicker movement, lighter vowel and livelier tense (cf. A. J. P. XXIX 242). Now that this threefold cord is worn to a frazzle, I find myself in Lobeck's plight when he said of comparative grammar : 'I am too old to weave myself over again', too old to make a rug of a favorite bit of tapestry. But perhaps I may still hope against hope that one may be allowed to recognize longs and shorts and to note that the shorts are in excess, considerable excess as compared with the equable measures of the Third Olympian—once called dactylo-epitrites. According to Professor Miller's count, the shorts in the strophe of Nemea 7 are to the longs as 65 : 57. In the strophe of Olympia 3 there are 53 longs to 34 shorts. In the epode of N. 7 there are 42 shorts and 26 longs. In the epode of O. 3 the longs are to the shorts as 50 : 34. Call the measure what you choose, the great proportion of shorts means trouble. It may not come at first, but it will not fail to come and it is as well to prepare for it.

The name Sogenes deserves a moment's thought. There are names that echo significantly through whole odes. Witness the

Iamid of O. 6. Sogenes might suggest some glorification of the victor's birth, and his father's name, Thearion, some punning allusion to the favour of God. With the echo-theorists all things are possible and the *iocosa imago* of a pun is more than welcome (A. J. P. XII 96). *Θεῶπιον* would suggest *θεάπετρος*. It is hard for Pindar with his aristocratic creed to keep Blood and God out of his odes. Indeed, I have called his earliest poem an arrangement in God and Blood (I. E. xxxiii), much to the disgust of the superior critics, who have not learned to sympathize with the masculine side of the Theban poet (A. J. P. XIV 501).

Still more important is the fact that the victor is an Aiginetan. 'One-fourth of the epinikia have for their heroes residents of that famous island which Pindar loved with all the love of kindred (I. E. xix)' and where he can hardly have escaped the entanglements of family quarrels. 'Pindar', as I have said, under O. 8, 'knew Aigina well and the universal of the Aiginetan odes is so pegged in the knotty entrails of the particular that it is hard to set it free', and I do not presume to fancy that I am the man to disengage the Ariel of the Seventh Nemean; and yet it may be allowed to apply one's ear to the cloven pine and listen to the plaint of the imprisoned spirit, especially as the imprisoned spirit is Pindar, no paid peripatetic puffer such as some unsympathetic souls have made him out to be, but a singer proud of his office, proud of his mission and of his lineage, peer of princes, one whose artistic soul rebels against the intimation that he belongs to the guild of mercenary minstrels. It is hard for such a spirit to bear any faultfinding whatever. Our modern princes of art have been known to slash to pieces a portrait that did not give satisfaction. But the poem once set afloat cannot be recalled. It can at best be convoyed. It would be strange if so sensitive a poet should not have had some trouble in Aigina, simply because Aigina and he knew each other so well.

The next point in the title is the game. The game might yield something in advance. The odes are arranged somewhat according to the character of the games. Those who served the gods with their purse (*δαπάνη*) have the precedence over those who served them with their person (*πρόσωπον*). See I. E. xxiii. *Tout comme chez nous*. The horses come first and what we should call the athletes proper follow. Every commentator of Pindar remarks on the propensity of the poet to fit his imagery to the kind of contest, but something is to be said about the tone.

The boy-poems are Greek in their admiration of beauty. There is a certain savagery about the wrestler-poems such as O. 8 and P. 8. See my note on O. 8, 69. Only one other pentathletic achievement is celebrated and that in the Thirteenth Olympian. The victory of the *πένταθλον*—*ἄλμα, ποδωκείην, δίσκον, ἄκοντα, πάλην* must have furnished an embarrassment of riches for an allusive poet; and I have commented on the admired disorder of the Corinthian wares of O. 13.

The next point to be considered in advance is the articulation of the triads, for this is a triadic poem. There are five triads. The first is what might be called a staccato triad, each member forming an independent stanza. The second and third are each welded wholes. Strophe and antistrophe of the fourth form a unit. The fourth epode makes a 'fish-joint' with the fifth triad. The importance of this linkage has been especially emphasized in my edition of the Olympians and Pythians, and a number of the distributions there given have been silently followed or independently worked out by Professor J. B. Bury in his edition of the Nemeans (A. J. P. XI 528). In this ode the arrangement leads one to suspect a certain perplexity in the mind of the poet, a suspicion which becomes confirmed as one compares the normal distribution with the one which obtains in this Seventh Nemean. Five triads are generally distributed thus; one, introduction, three, myth; one, conclusion, with due allowance for overlapping (I. E. lvi). As a rule, the *ἐπικώμιον* recurs to the theme of the *προκώμιον* and, as a modern piece of music commonly ends with the chord with which it begins, so the Pindaric ode repeats at the close the *motif* of the beginning. So here too Pindar begins with the victor Sogenes and comes back to the victor Sogenes, almost as a matter of obligation. But the poet cannot shake off the Neoptolemos of the myth, which haunts him as if it were an unwelcome theme; and the conviction grows on the reader that it is an unwelcome theme. The second triad is well under way before the myth appears. It seems to be dragged in unwillingly. It scampers off prematurely. It recurs mischievously. Nothing seems to be clearer than that we have to do with a 'corvée', a 'verfluchte Schuldigkeit'. The poet, one divines, is vailing his proud stomach. He has given offence to some one, to some party, shall we say, among the Aiginetans, and he does not wish to offend the Aiginetans. Those who take a mercantile view of Pindar might say that he had received from Aigina his earliest

and richest commissions. To cite Pindar himself, the Muse had become greedy of gain and wrought for pay and the dancing singer plastered her face with silver coins as the dancers do still in the East (I. 2, 7). Comp. A. J. P. XXX 358. There is in this poem as elsewhere a protest against the domination of pelf. The poet may be paid; he cannot be hired. He gives more than he receives. No 'maschi fatti, parole femmine' for Pindar. The note of N. 4, 6: *ῥῆμα δ' ἐργμάτων χρονιώτερον βιοτεύει* is echoed in v. 84 and in this Seventh Nemean Pindar magnifies his office in words which we recognize in Horace's 'urgentur ignotique longa | nocte, carent quia vate sacro'. *ταὶ μεγάλαι γὰρ ἀλκαὶ | σκότον πολλὸν ὕμνων ἔχοντι δέόμεναι*. Pindar extols his art, recognizes its power, and, clothed with that power, like his master Apollo *ψευδέων οὐχ ἀπτεται*. But his master's son Asklepios was not proof against gain. 'Ἀλλὰ κέρδει καὶ σοφία δέδεται, as we read in the Third Pythian; and *σοφία* in Pindar is often 'poetic art' and the *σοφοί* are poets. But he tells us: *σοφοὶ δὲ μέλλοντα τριταῖον ἀνεμον | ἔμβον οὐδ' ὑπὸ κέρδει βλάβειν* | *ἀφνεὺς πενιχρὸς τε θανάτου πέρας ἔμποιονται*. A day of reckoning is to come. Death is the doom of rich and poor. As he protests against hoarding,—*οὐκ ἔραμαι πολλὸν ἐν μεγάρῳ πλοῦτον κατακρύψαις ἔχειν* (N. 1, 31),—so he protests against unrighteous gain acquired by falsehood. But all poets are not of this spirit; and the great exemplar that comes up to Pindar's mind is Homer. A young scholar, Hermann Schultz by name, has written a dissertation, praised by Schroeder, entitled "de Pindaricæ Dictionis Colore Epico"; but the epic diction was common property and Pindar did not bow the knee to Homer. Nay, whenever he can, he sides with homely Hesiod against the too fascinating singer (A. J. P. XXVII 484). The *ἀδυεπὴς* Ὀμηρος was not a favorite with Pindar. No aristocrat was he like the Aigeid poet but an *hijo de sus obras*, for that is what *Μελησιγενὴς* would have been to the Theban singer, if he ever heard the word, which is more than doubtful. The popular etymology of antiquity was utterly indifferent to the phonetic conditions that bother us moderns, and he who despises popular etymology fails to understand the people. *σκαῖον ῥόδον* tells us what *σκόροδον* meant to the Greek.

Homer, then, was one of those who were guilty of *δεδαϊδαμένοι ψεύδεσι ποικίλοις μῦθοι* and so Pindar scouts Homer's narrative of the experience of the Much-enduring. Odysseus was the precursor and the pattern of the adventurous Ionians, to whom Pindar as

a prophet of Dorism could never have kindled and Aigina was a Δωρὶς νᾶτος (Cf. N. 3, 3; A. J. P. XXIX 122). The glamour of poetic falsehood is not to be denied nor the seductions of cunningly devised fables; and the mention of Odysseus suggests Aias. He that is for Odysseus in the Ὀπλων κρίσις is against Aias. Cf. N. 8, 27, the only other place in Pindar where Odysseus is mentioned. The chorus of Aias' mariners in Sophokles comes back to the memory: τοιούσδε λόγους ψιθύρους πλάσσω | εἰς δὲ φέροι πάσιν Ὀδυσσεύς, | καὶ σφόδρα πείθει. No wonder that this champion of the Aiakidai exclaims: τυφλὸν δ' ἔχει | ἦτορ δμῖλος ἀνδρῶν ὁ πλείστος. *O miseris hominum mentes. O pectora caeca*, cries a poet, in some respects not unakin to Pindar. Next to Achilles was Aias, Aiakidai both and so sib to Aigina. But there is something more than kinship in these Aiakidai. Both Achilles and Aias stand for a proud independence as did Aigina. True, Herakles is Doric but Herakles is national as well. He is Panhellenic. But the Aiakidai are, let us say, champions of State-Rights. They were the Virginians, the Carolinians of the Old South. And so we come at last to another Aiakid, to Achilles' son Neoptolemos—an unlovely figure at best, despite the *πάσαν ἀληθείην μυθήσομαι* of that arch-flatterer Odysseus in the Νέκυια. Sophokles has shown him to us before his heart was hardened, but nothing that we read of him afterwards commends him to our affection, this brutal Red Prince. But as the conqueror of Troy he held high rank among the Aiakidai, and his name must not be taken in vain. The approach is cautious, the text in one place a snarl. Great was Achilles, great was Aias, but as a common fate overtakes rich and poor, so the wave of Hades is no respecter of person, the man of high repute, the man of none. The hero is as the poet. What keeps the memory green is the perpetual tribute enhanced by the sanction of a god—the god—the Lord Apollo—the tribute of praise paid by those who resort to the navel of the wide-bosomed earth when they cry as they gather about the tomb of the hero who lies in Pythian soil: Behold the man that destroyed the city of Priam. Delphi appears as the Westminster Abbey of Greece. And then the story of Neoptolemos is told, told briefly. It was an end such as no poetry could ennoble, a Hophni and Phinehas brawl about sacrificial meats: *κρεῶν νιν ὕπερ μάχας ἔλασεν ἀντιτυχόντ' ἀνὴρ μαχαίρα*. Not *ξίφει* but *μαχαίρα*. One remembers *μαχαίρα τάμον κατὰ μέλη*. And this was the end of the Red Prince, Pyrrhos.

'Xerxes the great, Shared common fate', says the New England Primer and Pindar the sublime can only say : τὸ μάρσιμον ἀπὶ δῶκεν. But his end was redeemed by his noble resting-place in a precinct of hoary eld—one who has seen Delphi can hardly translate *Διός* 'grove'—side by side with the god's house, and by the processions in honor of the hero of the Aiakid line. τιμά is after all surer than κλῖος. Ninny's tomb keeps Ninny's fame alive. One remembers *Batti veteris sacrum sepulcrum* and takes a recess for Lesbia's kisses. The poet has discharged his office. Three words will suffice. Are these merely the typical three? One remembers the τρία Στησιχόρου (A. J. P. X 382). It so happens that there are three stanzas and only three devoted to Neoptolemos. At any rate the poet has done his devoir. Homer may lie, not he : οὐ ψεύδεις ὁ μάρτυς ἔργμασιν ἐπιστατεῖ. He has nothing to take back about the fight περὶ τῶν κρεῶν (Ar. Ran. 190) which Pyrrhos lost. He is no Stesichoros to say οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτυμος λόγος οἶτος. But for all that he is master of the art of turning the fair side outward, as he sings elsewhere (P. 3, 83). However, he is afraid of becoming wearisome by repeating the familiar story and in language that comes very close to the ἀδυσηὶς Ὅμηρος (Il. 13, 36), a reminiscence evoked by the mention of the poet, he turns from chewing the food of sweet fancies to chewing the food of bitter fancies. He praises the victor's father, it is true, but he comes back to his own office, the office of the ἀλλοδαπὸς ξείνος of the First Nemean—v. 23—and brings streams of water to wash away the σκοτεινὸς ψόγος, (A. J. P. XXX 233). There is evidently a tangle of personal relations, a quarrel somewhere out of which Pindar emerges triumphant, out of which he emerges to challenge any criticism of his poem, any criticism of his undeniably bitter tone. And so he finishes the chiasm. It was Sogenes and the Aiakidai to begin with. The ending is the Aiakidai and Sogenes. And as is his wont, he enters into an alliance with the victor. The poet and Sogenes have much in common. Both of them cling to Herakles, Pindar the Theban, Sogenes the Aiginetan. There are the wonted prayers for the future happiness of the victor. But something rankles still. The ghost of Neoptolemos will not down. Rest, perturbed spirit. I have not been unmannerly to the unmannerly hero. I will not go over the story again. Twice have I called Neoptolemos by name. To say the same thing three times and four times were weariness to the flesh, as tiresome as the meaningless babbling refrain one

hears among children to-day, 'King Korinth was King Zeus's son, King William was King James's son',¹ a homely touch not uncharacteristic of the Aigeid, who like born aristocrats love to shock common people. An editor of Persius may be forgiven for recalling the coarsenesses of the Etruscan *hobereau*.

Nihil admodum perspectum except that the poet is in sore trouble. He is writhing in the toils. Perhaps we shall get more light by the kind of paraphrase commended by ancient example and Wilamowitz's approval. I have resorted to it myself in some of the more difficult odes of Pindar.

II.

STROPHE I. Eleithyia is invoked, the Goddess of Birth.

Joledeth is the Hebrew for Birth and she may have been a Jewess who changed her name after the fashion set forth in Zangwill's 'Children of the Ghetto'. But the Greeks may have thought of *ἑλληθυνία* as one of Usener's transparent, or if not transparent, translucent goddesses. She is a manner of *ὥρα*, the woman's 'hour', as it is called in Scripture. If she is not, 'tis a pity she is not a *ὥρα*. She would answer so well to make up the trinity, *Ἐλεῖθυνα, Θαλλώ, ὥρα*, for the *ὥραι* are the daughters of Zeus and Themis, Themis who is a *πάρεδρος* of Zeus (O. 8, 21: *Σώτειρα Διὸς ξενίου πάρεδρος ἀσκήϊται Θέμις*) as Eleithyia is a *πάρεδρος* of the deepbrooding Moirai. At a later day *Δίκη* takes the place of *Θέμις*, and we read in Sophokles: *Δίκη ξύνεδρος Ζηνὸς ἀρχαίοις νόμοις*.

Without thee, says the poet, there would have been no attaining to thy sister of resplendent limbs.

How well the *γυνία* element sorts with Heba, how well too it sorts with the pentathlete and the *πάλη* that winds up the memorial verse already cited: *δίσκον, ἄκοντα, πάλην*. Cf. O. 8, 68: *ἐν τέτρασιν παίδων ἀπεθήκατο γυνί οἱ σ | νόστον ἔχθιστον*.

ΞΩΓΕΝΕΙ ΑΙΓΙΝΗΤΗΙ ΠΑΙΔΙ ΠΕΝΤΑΘΛΩΙ.

Στρ. α'.

Ἐλεῖθυνα, πάρεδρε Μοῖρᾶν βαθυφρόνων,
παῖ μεγαλοσθένος, ἀκουσον, Ὅρας, γενέτειρα τέκνων· ἀνεν σθένε
οὐ φάος, οὐ μέλαιναν δρακέντες εὐφρόναν
τεὰν ἀδελφεὰν ἐλάχομεν ἀγλαόγυνον Ὅραν.

5

ἢ ἀναπνέομεν δ' οὐχ ἅπαντες ἐπὶ Ἰσα·
εἰργεὶ δὲ πότμῳ ζυγέσθ' ἕτερον ἕτερα. σὺν δὲ τὴν
καὶ παῖς ὁ Θεαρῖνος ἀρετᾷ κριθεῖς
εὐδοξος αἰδέεται Σωγένης μετὰ πενταέθλους.

10

¹ That is Virginia and Maryland children. The English variants are too numerous to discuss here. The Greek proverb has a literature of its own.

The sad prose of it is: If we had ne'er been born, we should never have reached the age of gymnastic contests wherein lies the crown of life. Sogenes had every right to rejoice in having been born.

True, we draw our breath on different terms. The *Μοίραι* *βαθύφρονες* look to that. The yoke of Potmos is upon us, the yoke now easy, now far otherwise.

We have met Potmos in that same Eighth Olympian before, an Aiginetan ode, where *πότμος* is *Μοίρα* (v. 15).

Eleithyia has seen to it that the son of Thearion has been picked out for prowess. There is light for him, not darkness, and he is sung to glory, this Sogenes among pentathletes.

In this first strophe we have a little poem, complete in itself.

ANT. I. In the first antistrophe the note *αείδεται* is taken up. Song? No wonder. The city of the Aiakidai is full of song. Pindar is too courtly, if you like the word, to neglect the local Muse, and one recalls the Paean for the Keians (A. J. P. XXIX 123).

The city is full of song, the city of the Aiakidai, who smite out martial music with the spear. One thinks of the ancient Korybantic dance and every reader renews his school-boy memories of the Anabasis (IV 5, 18): *τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἔκρουσαν*. It is quite in the way of these Aiakidai to foster a soul that is acquainted with the spirit of contests; and if one attains in his derring-do, forthwith he casts a theme of honeyed song into the streams of the Muses, <as locks are offered to the undergods. Cf. Jebb on Theophr. Char. 35.> The city of the Aiakidai trains and praises; for all the great deeds of prowess in the world are bound in darkness deep, if lacking hymns of praise. For achievement fair there is but one real mirror that we know, if by grace of memory with her shining coronet, <which sends its light forth into the future,> this prizet hath gained a guerdon for moil and toil in the resounding songs of heroic tales.

Another little poem. Birth was the theme of the first. Song of the second.

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| | <i>πῶλον γὰρ φιλόμολπον οἰκεί δορυκτύπων</i> | <i>Ἄντ. α'.</i> |
| 10 | <i>Διακιδᾶν· μάλα δ' ἐθέλοντι σύμπειρον ἀγωνίᾳ θυμὸν ἀμφέπειν.</i> | 15 |
| | <i>εἰ δὲ τύχη τις ἔρδων, μελίφρον' αἰτίαν</i> | |
| | <i>βοᾷσι Μοισᾶν ἐνέβαλε· τὰ μεγάλα γὰρ ἄλκα</i> | |
| | <i>σκότον πολλὸν ἔχοντι δεόμεναι·</i> | |
| | <i>ἔργους δὲ καλοῖς ἔσποτρον ἴσαμεν ἐνὶ σὺν τρόπῳ,</i> | 20 |
| 15 | <i>εἰ Μναμοσύνας ἑκατὶ λιπαράμπυκος</i> | |
| | <i>ἐθρηται ἀποινα μόχθων κλυταῖς ἐπέων ᾠδαῖς.</i> | |

EP. I. As the first antistrophe gets its cue from *αἰδέσθαι*, so the first epode gets its cue from *αἰδοῦναι*.

There are songs and songs, true songs and false, true mirrors and false. The truly wise—not σοφοί, falsely so-called, the professors of an art as an art (σοφία)—the truly wise are like sea-captains, and well they may be sea-captains, for to Pindar his song is a ship (I. E. xliii, N. 5, 2; cf. A. J. P. XVIII 493). They consider the wind, the third day's wind. They do not risk song or vessel. They are not caught by gain. What shall a man profit, if he lose the truth, if he hold up a false mirror? I am not the man to sacrifice honor to transitory pelf. Poor and rich alike are bound to the goal of death. (*Vado mori* is always an appropriate reflection.) Success is not the test of merit. Odysseus is a model of success. Homer, the sweet-voiced poet, is counted as the supreme singer. I fancy that Odysseus' high renown is due to Homer.

The bitterness of the epode makes itself tasted. It is a protest against false standards, false judgments. Aias against Odysseus, Aiakid, if you choose, against Ionian, Pindar against Homer, the elect against the rabble, and this is the theme of the Second Strophe.

STROPHE II. 'Tis on lies that is built the imposing structure of Odysseus' fame, and it is on the wings of genius that he is borne aloft (how different a flight from that of P. 8, 90). Skill in song misleads by fables. Alas! blind hearts are they—the great mass of mankind. Had it been given them to see the truth, then had not stalwart Aias, enraged by reason of arms,

σοφοὶ δὲ μέλλοντα τριταῖον ἀνεμὼν	'Επ. α'.	25
ἐμαθὼν, οὐδ' ἐπὶ κέρδει βλάβειν·		
ἀφνεὸς πενιχρὸς τε θανάτου πέρας		
20 ἅμα νέονται. ἐγὼ δὲ πλέων' ἐλπομαι		
λόγον 'Οδυσσεὸς ἢ πάθεν		
διὰ τὸν ἀδυνεπή γενέσθ' Ὀμηρον.		30
ἐπεὶ ψεύδεσι οἱ ποτανῶ <τε> μαχανῇ	Στρ. β'.	
σεμνὸν ἔπεστί τι· σοφία δὲ κλέπτει παράγοισα μύθοις τυφλὸν δ' ἔχει		
ἥτορ θμῖλος ἀνδρῶν ὁ πλείστος. εἰ γὰρ ἦν		35
25 ἔ τὰν ἀλάθειαν ἰδόμεν, οὐ κεν δπλων χῶλωθεῖς		
ὁ καρτερὸς Αἰας ἔπαξε διὰ φρενῶν		
λευρὸν ξίφος· ὃν κράτιστον Ἀχιλλεύς ἀτερ μάχη		40
ξανθῷ Μενέλα δάμαρτα κομίσαι θοαῖς		
ἂν ναοὶ πόρευσαν εὐθύπνδου Ζεφύροιο πομπαὶ		

plunged through his vitals the sword that went smooth to its end, Aias, the most valiant in battle save Achilles of those who for the sake of restoring to fair-haired Menelaos his espoused sinner were conveyed on swift ships by the escorting breezes of Zephyr in straight course to the city of Ilus.

The headway thus gained carries the poet into the antistrophe. The wind of poetry can no more be checked than the *εὐθύπνοος Ζεφύρος*.

Aias, an Aiakid, leads the way, as we have seen, to Achilles, also an Aiakid, and so akin to Aigina and here we have for the first and only time in Pindar mention of Menelaos.

Of course, he is *ξανθός* and the adjective consecrated by Homer carries us back to the ingenious Mr. Verrall (A. J. P. XIV 398) and the kinkyhaired Pelopidai. Menelaos must have harked back to his white ancestors, must have inherited his fair hair from Hippodameia. Hence his union with Helen, the only daughter that Zeus acknowledged, the daughter whom he begat under the name of Tyndareos, one of the divine synonyms set forth by Usener (A. J. P. XIX 343). Such is the light that genius sheds on the dim forms of hoar mythology. But this light must not lead us astray after Pindaric fashion and we return to the poet's own musings.

ANT. II. What matters it? (*Ἄλλα—γάρ.*) The wave of Hades moves on its impartial way and falls on him that is famous and him that is unfamous alike. What after all our boast of poesy do the streams of the Muses avail against the wave of death? What after all is *κλέος* against *τιμή*? Death comes, but tribute—for *τιμή* is tribute—goes on and on. Tribute of honor is the recurrent share (*γίγνεται*) of those whose fame God augments to luxuriance, dead though they be, fame that issues from the talk of the champions whoso have come to stand beside the great navel of the broad-bosomed earth.

The genitive of the subject and the genitive of the object puzzled the ancient reader as it has puzzled the modern reader.

80	πρὸς Ἴλου πόλιν. ἄλλα κοινὸν γὰρ ἔρχεται	'Αντ. β'.
	κῦμ' Ἀΐδα, πέσε δ' ἀδόκητον ἐν καὶ δοκούντα· τιμὰ δὲ γίνεται	45
	ὣν θεὸς ἄβρὸν αἰεὶ λόγον τεθνακότων	
	βοασθῶν τοι παρὰ μέγαν ὀμφαλὸν εὐρυκόλπου	
	μόλον χθονός· ἐν Πιπθίοισι δὲ δαπέδοις	50
85	καίται Πριάμους πόλιν Νεοπτόλεμος ἐπεὶ πρᾶθεν·	
	τῇ καὶ Δαναοὶ πόνησαν· ὁ δ' ἀποπλέων	
	Σκύρου μὲν ἄμαρτεν, πλαγχθέντες δ' εἰς Ἐφύραν ἵκοντο.	55

βοαθόν with λόγον would help the situation if we dared take τοί as referring to the λέγοντες involved in λόγον. The sense demanded seems clear enough. Neoptolemos has a glorious sepulchre, has become a perpetual theme of talk, is a guardian spirit of the very place where he fell. He lies in Pythian soil, this sacker of the city of Priam, not this butcher of Priam, in which latter capacity one thinks of him first, just as there are two aspects of General Sherman's march to the sea. How many sackers of Troy were there? Ἄγε δὴ βασιλεῦ Πριάμου πολίπορθ' greeted Agamemnon on his return; and πολίπορθος Ὀδυσσεύς had his innings at the court of Alkinoos. But the final victory hinges on Neoptolemos, and he was the representative of the great Aiakid, who slew Hector and left the Danaï to toil over the city of Priam.

What sympathy could be excited Pindar excites. Neoptolemos failed to make Skyros, which doubtless he loved as Odysseus loved his τρηχέα Ἰθάκη, but he and his men, carried out of their course, came to Ephyra (Corinth), and Corinth, who even then was stretching her long arms out to the land where she was to work such mischief, sent him, doubtless as leader of a forlorn hope, to Molossia.

EP. II. And there he reigned, could reign, was destined to reign but a short time, an honour due to his high lineage. And thence he went to the shrine of the god, the same god that kept his name in honour, with choice offerings from the booty of Troy. Then came the end, almost an ignominious end, but the proud Aigeid, Pindar, starts not back from homely words, as Wilamowitz reminded us long ago. Neoptolemos was stabbed to death in a quarrel about sacrificial meats, stabbed with a butcher's knife or carving-knife, as Paley sympathetically renders the word *μαχαίρα* in the Olympian passage already cited (O. 1, 49).

STROPHE III. Sore grieved thereat were the Delphians whose

	Μολοσσία δ' ἐμβασιλευεν ὀλίγον	Ἐπ. β'.
	χρόνον · ἀτὰρ γένος αἰεὶ φέρεν	
40	τοῦτό οἱ γέρας. ᾤχετο δὲ πρὸς θεόν,	
	κτέαν' ἄγων Τρωάθεν Ἀκροθινίων ·	60
	ἵνα κρεῶν νιν ὑπερ μάχας ἔλασεν ἀντιτυχόντ' ἀνὴρ μαχαίρα.	
	βάρυνθεν δὲ περισσὰ Δελφοὶ ξεναγέται.	Στρ. γ'.
	ἀλλὰ τὸ μόνιμον ἀπέδωκεν · ἐχρῆν δέ τιν' ἔνδον ἄλσει παλαιάτῳ	65
45	Λιακιδᾶν κρεόντων τὸ λοιπὸν ἐμμεναι	
	θεοῦ παρ' εὐτειχεῖα δόμον, ἥρωϊαις δὲ πομπαῖς	
	θεμισκόπον οἰκεῖν ὄντα πολυθύτοις	
	εὐδύνμον ἐς δίκαν. τρία ἔπεα διαρκέσει	70
	οὐ ψεύδεις ὁ μάρτυς ἔργμασιν ἐπιστατεῖ,	
50	Δίγιναι, τεῶν Διὸς τ' ἐκγόνων. θρασὺ μοι τόδ' εἰπεῖν,	

office it was to welcome guests, and Pindar doubtless contrasted his own welcome to the shrine, but Neoptolemos 'dreed his weird', as cheap writers have it. It was meet that one of the Aiakid kings should forever abide by the side of the walled house of the god and preside over the heroic processions with their many sacrifices. He who had been wronged was to administer justice in that wherein he had been wronged and to stablish the fair fame of this tribunal. These few words, these three stanzas, will suffice. This witness is true, as it is true, Aigina, for all the deeds of thy sons and the sons of Zeus.

We can imagine the *ἀναπνοή* of the poet as he has discharged his office and despatched his unattractive hero. There is evidently no delight in the myth. It is told as briefly as possible (*τρία ἔπεα*). It conveys a manner of apology to which the proud soul of Pindar hardly deigns to stoop.

As the god touches not lies, so it is not necessary to lie about thy sons, Aigina and the sons of Zeus.

ANT. III. The poet makes bold to say that there is no need to go afield for the *ὄδῳ κυρίαν λόγων*, the high-road of stories, for their illustrious deeds of prowess. *οἰκοθεν μίτευε* (N. 3, 31; cf. O. 3, 44). But no more of that. Surcease in everything is sweet. Surfeit is there in honey and the pleasant flowers of Aphrodite, and even if it were not so, life is not all sweetness. *ἐν παρ' ἰσλὸν πῆματα σύνδυο δαίονται βροτοῖς | ἀθάνατοι* (P. 3, 81). We differ sadly in the gifts of nature, as he had already said (v. 5: *ἀναπνέομεν δ' οὐχ ἅπαρτες ἐπὶ ἴσα*). No man, says Pindar—with a backward glance at Neoptolemos and the mingled yarn of his life—can have absolute happiness. The poet cannot tell to whom Fate has accorded an abiding boon.

EP. III. But to Thearion (father of Sogenes) she gives the

		'Αντ. γ'.
	φαενναῖς ἀρεταῖς ὄδῳ κυρίαν λόγων	75
	οἰκῶθεν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀνάπανσις ἐν παντὶ γλυκεῖα ἔργῳ· κόρον δ' ἔχει	
	καὶ μέλι καὶ τὰ τέρπν' ἄνθε' Ἀφροδίδια.	
	φυῆ δ' ἕκαστος διαφέρομεν βιωτῶν λαχόντες,	80
55	ὁ μὲν τά, τὰ δ' ἄλλοι· τυχεῖν δ' ἐν' ἀδύνατον	
	εὐδαιμονίαν ἅπασαν ἀνελόμενον· οὐκ ἔχω	
	εἰπεῖν, τίνι τοῦτο Μοῖρα τέλος ἐμπεδόν	
	ᾠρεῖε. Θεαρίων, τὴν δ' τοικόντα καιρὸν ὄλβου	85
	δίδωσι, τόλμαν τε καλὴν ἀρομένῳ	'Ἐπ. γ'.
60	σύνεσιν οὐκ ἀποβλάπτει φρενῶν.	
	ξείνός εἰμι· σκοτεινὸν ἀπέχων ψόγον,	90
	ἔδατος ὥτε ῥοὰς φίλον ἐς ἀνδρ' ἄγων	
	κλέος ἐτήτυμον αἰνέσω· ποτίφορος δ' ἄγαθοῖσι μισθὸς οὗτος.	

nearest consummation of prosperity, the highest fortune that could be expected, for from him who greatly dared the choice of noble deeds Fate does not withhold the boon of insight.

This combination of the excellences of mind and body Pindar is never weary of extolling. See N. 1, 28: *ἐργῇ μὲν σθένος, βουλαῖσι δὲ φρήν* and elsewhere. He loves to give these two great gifts, as it were, these two pillars of Herakles. But such a *καιρὸς ἄλβου* never lacks detractors. A rare fate is that of the man that chances on *ἀφθονοὶ ἀστοί* (O. 6, 7). *κακολόγοι δὲ πολῖται, | ἴσχει γὰρ ἄλβος οὐ μείονα φθόνον* (P. 11, 28). If championship is to come, it is to come from without, like the *βοαθδοί* who visit the tomb of Neoptolemos. Pindar is such a champion, as he was in N. 1, a *ξείνος*, but this time not an *ἀλλοδαπὸς ξείνος* as in N. 1, though he professes the same office and *καπνός* has the same hateful function. *καπνός* is *ψόγος* here as it was *ψόγος* there, as the *ἰσλοί* there are the *ἀγαθοί* here. The fame is a true fame, *κλῆος ἐτήτυμον* a veritable fame, a fame that is a fame, an *ὄντως δὲν κλῆος*, a fame in sooth, to translate etymologically. This is a meed of tribute due to the good.

STROPHE IV. Now comes an allusion to something that he had said at some other time about Neoptolemos, something at which an Achaean man who dwelt beyond the Ionian sea might be expected to take umbrage, some Molossian who had come on a pilgrimage to the place where the prince of his house lay, haply to see the *κτεῖνα Τρωΐαθεν ἀκροθινίων*. But such a one is not to blame the poet. The poet trusts in his proxeny. His eye is clear, his aim is true, like that of his master Apollo. All violence is dragged aside as something vile. One recalls the opening of the First Pythian and *ἀνίσχονται βοῶν Πιερίδων αἰόοντα*. But he had to fight for his hand. He has overcome, it is true. But there is still room, still need for prayer. May the time to come bring naught but goodwill. Scan my lay and trumpet it abroad (for *ἀνερεῖ* cf. A. J. P. III 452 and Aischin. 3, 153) if I am guilty of

<i>ἔδω δ' ἐγγὺς Ἀχαιῶς οὐ μέμψεται μ' ἀνὴρ</i>	Στρ. δ'.
65 <i>Ἰονίας ὑπὲρ ἄλλος οἰκῶν· προξενία πέποιθ', ἐν τε δαμόταϊς</i>	95
<i>δμμαὶ δέρομαι λαμπρόν, οὐχ ὑπερβαλὼν,</i>	
<i>βλαῖα πάντ' ἐκ ποδὸς ἐρύσαις, ὃ δὲ λοιπὸς εὐφρων</i>	
<i>ποτὶ χρόνος ἔρποι. μαθὼν δὲ τις ἀνερεῖ,</i>	100
<i>εἰ παρ μέλος ἔρχομαι ψάγων δαρὸν ἐντέπων.</i>	
70 <i>Εὐξενίδα πάτραθε Σώγενης, ἀπομνήω</i>	
<i>μὴ τέρμα προβάς ἀκονθ' ὥτε χαλκοπάραον ὄρσαι</i>	105

a false note and utter scandalous gossip. The poet cannot suppress a tone of defiance. Let us go over this again.

Offence was given at Delphi. Offence was taken at Delphi. We know now what the offence was. In a paean for the Delphians Pindar had sung: ἄμωσεν δὲ θεός | γε<ραῖδ>» δς Πρίλαμον | πρὸς ἐρκείων ἤγαγε βωμόν εἰ<πεν> βορόντα | μή νιν εὐφρον' ἐς οἶμον | μήτ' ἐπὶ γῆρας λξίμεν βίου (Paeon VI 112). Now who had the best right to take umbrage at this? Some Molossian pilgrim standing nigh, an Achaean man dwelling beyond the Ionian Sea, who had come to pay his tribute to the mythic ancestor of the Epirote house. But such an one, says Pindar, with a familiar imperative future, is not to blame me. I am his proxenos and he knows or ought to know how to take me. Nor will any Thebans blame me. The children of my mother Theba are too well acquainted with my ways. The blame must come from Aigina itself, from a faction of the Aiginetans. Now, 'the Aiginetan odes presume an intimacy which we cannot follow in detail' (P. 8). True, but heart answereth to heart and life to life and nothing seems plainer to one who knows what people call provincial history than that the Aiginetans, an old aristocratic community, were a kittle folk. The praise had to be laid on with a trowel, as Disraeli said of the royal family. One who has lived as an alien or even watched the lives of aliens in an old Southern state will understand Pindar and the Aiginetans. 'And of Zion it shall be said: This and that man was born there'. No matter what Pindar may have said or sung or done, he was not born there. To a certain clique in Aigina he was an outsider. The praise of the Aiginetan Aiakidai was a manner of servitude. Not an Aiginetan ode but mentions Aiakos or the Aiakidai; O. 8, 30; P. 8, 23; N. 3, 28; 4, 11; 5, 8; 6, 19; 7, 19 (here); 8, 13. I. 5, 20, 35; 8, 23, 55. Just so in certain spheres nowadays certain names always recur in the holidayish speeches that correspond in a measure to the epinikian odes; and just as old-fashioned people even now do not care to be told about the True George Washington, the True Thomas Jefferson, so Pindar's Aiginetan critics did not wish to hear about the True Pyrrhos. And then it must be remembered that the Aiginetans were a mercantile people and doubtless mocking allusions were made to the tortoisebacks of the Aiginetan coins, just as we refer sneeringly to the attractions of greenbacks and yellowbacks for European songbirds. For all his haughty bearing, it was said, this Pindar is like the rest of the

wandering singers. Here in Aigina he cannot praise the island or the Aiakidai too highly (I. E. xix). In Delphi he extols the Delphic god at the expense of the Aiakid Neoptolemos. No wonder that when Pindar next essays an epinikian for an Aiginetan his every nerve was aquiver at the whisperings and the fabrications of some Aiginetan Odysseus and his set. Of course, the critics will say, Pindar ought to have suppressed his personality in the interest of his art. But he is one of those whose personality for love or hate is stamped deep on all his work (I. E. xxvii), and I for one forgive him.

ANTISTROPHE IV. From the critic Pindar turns to the victor Sogenes, with whom he identifies himself as is his wont, the *ξείνος* with the Euxenid. His swift tongue matches Sogenes' swift javelin, neither of them has overstepped the line, both have come off victors from their wrestling bouts, both early in the day.

How this was effected may be left to archaeological research or aetiological imagination. Victory in three of the five contests may have made the wrestling unnecessary. But that is a guess. We have much to learn about antique sport and perhaps coming millennia may be puzzled by such sentences as this: Sogenes 'saved' the other boys, made them his meat, laid them out cold before breakfast (*αἰθωνι πρὶν ἀλίφ γυῖον ἐμπεσεῖν*), without turning a hair (*αὐχένα καὶ σθένος ἀδιάντων*).

Yes, he says, we have both overcome. It was a great strain, but the pleasure is all the greater. Yes, we have both had our troubles, you in the contest, I with my Aiginetan critics. You can give me my head now. I told my enemies to proclaim any false note of mine. Now it is my turn to shout. I have overcome as you have overcome. Forgive the defiant yell. After all I am no rough customer at making deposit due,—a mercantile figure, which every Aiginetan would understand. For me to string garlands is a light task. Put that off for some lesser occasion. The Muse combines for thee, Sogenes, gold, which

θοῶν γλώσσαν, ὃς ἐξέπεμψεν παλαισμάτων	'Αντ. δ'.
αὐχένα καὶ σθένος ἀδιάντων, αἰθωνι πρὶν ἀλίφ γυῖον ἐμπεσεῖν.	
εἰ πόνος ἦν, τὸ τερπνὸν πλέον πεδέρχεται.	
75 ἔα με· νικῶντί γε χάριν, εἰ τι πέραν ἀερθεῖς	110
ἀνέκραγον, οὐ τραχὺς εἰμι καταθέμεν.	
εἶρεν στεφάνους ἐλαφρόν· ἀναβάλεο. Μοῖσά τοι	
κολλᾷ χρυσὸν ἐν τε λευκὸν ἐλέφανθ' ἄμῃ	115
καὶ λείριον ἀνθεμον ποντίας ὕφελος' ἔερσας.	

needs no epithet, and white ivory and the lily flower <of coral> culled from the dew of the deep.

EPODE IV. Make mention of Zeus, O singer, and about the Nemean scene revolve the many-voiced cry, nor whirl it like javelin, like the discus, but to slow music. The king of the gods is one that must be proclaimed throughout this sacred soil with subdued voice. <The δάπεδον recalls by contrast the δάπεδον where the perturbed spirit of Neoptolemos rests>. We are to have soft music here, the voice of the bridal hymn for Aigina and Zeus (A. J. P. XXIX 122), and we return thanks for the new Paean, in which on ambrosial couch, λεχίων ἐπ' ἀμβρότων, Zeus begat Aiakos, Aiakos, a stadholder for his renowned fatherland, Aiakos, thy close friend and thy brother Herakles.

STROPHE V. Herakles, as we have seen, gives the Panhellenic note. If man ever gets good of man, well might he say that a loving neighbor with eagerly attentive soul is to a neighbor a joy. If even a god would prize the boon, Sogenes must prize it in the case of one who has quelled giants, how much must he prize dwelling happily in the rich soil consecrated to divinity and making his father's heart glad until it melts with joy.

ANT. V. Since Sogenes has his abode in the sacred close

80	Διὸς δὲ μεμναμένος ἀμφὶ Νεμέα	'Ἐπ. δ'.
	πολύφατον θρόνον ὕμνων δόνει	
	ἥσυχῃ. βασιλῆα δὲ θεῶν πρέπει	120
	δάπεδον ἂν τόδε γαρνύμεν ἀμέρᾳ	
	ὅπῃ· λέγοντι γὰρ Διακόν νιν ὑπὸ ματροδόκοις γοναῖς φτεῦσαι,	

Στρ. ε'.

85	ἔῃ μὲν πολίᾳρχον εὐνώνυμῳ πάτρη,	125
	'Ἡράκλεις, σέο δὲ προπράσσα ξείνον ἀδελφεόν τ'. εἰ δὲ δεύεται	
	ἄνδρὸς ἀνὴρ τι, φαίμεν κε γείτον' ἔμμεναι	
	νόῳ φίλῃσαντ' ἀτενεῖ γείτονι χάρμα πάντων	130
	ἐπάξιον· εἰ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ θεὸς ἀνέχοι,	

90	ἐν τίν κ' ἐθέλοι, Γίγαντας δὲ ἐδάμασας, εὐτυχῶς	
	ναλεῖν πατρὶ Σωγένης ἀταλὸν ἀμφέπων	
	θυμὸν προγόνων ευκτήμονα ζαθέαν ἀγυῖαν·	135

ἐπεὶ τετραδύρουσιν ὥθ' ἀρμάτων ζυγοῖς 'Ἀντ. ε'.

ἐν τεμένεσσι δόμον ἔχει τείοις, ἀμφοτέρᾳς ἰὼν χειρός. ὦ μάκαρ,

95	τὴν δ' ἐπέουκεν 'Ἡρας πόσιν τε πεισθέντων	140
	κόραν τε γλαυκώπιδα· δύνασαι δὲ βροτοῖσιν ἄλκᾳν	
	ἀμαχανιᾶν ὀσβάτων θαμὰ διδόμεν.	
	εἰ γὰρ σφισιν ἐμπεδοσθενέα βίοντον ἀρμόσαις	145
	ἦβᾳ λιπαρῷ τε γήραϊ διαπλέκοις	

100 εὐδαίμων' ἐόντα, παίδων δὲ παῖδες ἔχουεν αἰεὶ

10

<which may be compared to the seat on the four-horse-chariot, with life and movement on both hands>. Blest one! (Μάκαρ, one thinks of Melkarth-Herakles), 'tis meet for thee to persuade Hera's lord and the maiden of the bright grey eye to favor Sogenes.

We go back to the beginning. We go back to Hera, but for Heba we have Athena. Herakles in his dealings with Heba gets behind Hera's back, though Hera, as mother of Eleithyia, is responsible for Herakles, and as mother of his wife Heba, she had a perpetual hold on her truant son-in-law. Athena has to be won over. She sympathizes with Hera as in the Iliad. Zeus' byblow is not so much to her mind as Odysseus, whose line goes back to Autolykos, byblow of Hermes; and all the Aias and Odysseus trouble comes back with a rush. It lies in thy right, Herakles, to grant to mortals deliverance from straits of difficult issue. Here again we have an allusion to the troubles of the Euxenids, the troubles of Aigina. Oh, if thou wouldst stablish for them a life of abiding strength. It is almost too much to hope. One is more familiar with the βίος ἐμπεδόμοχος (O. 1, 59). Oh, that thou wouldst bring them happily through many a winding bout with joyous youth and cheery old age and that children's children might ever have the honour they have now and better afterwards.

EP. V. So much for Sogenes. And now a last word for the poet himself. But my heart will not say to itself that I have haled Neoptolemos to his doom with unmannerly words. However, I defend myself no farther. I have said all that I have to say. Twice have I uttered his name. To say the same thing thrice and four times shows poverty of wit. 'Tis like the vain repetition in children's games; King Pyrrhos was Achilles' son, King Korinth was King Zeus's son, King William was King James's son, as children sing to this day in America—a sorry son as Neoptolemos was a sorry son.

My outlines of the Olympians and Pythians are the resultant of repeated independent processes of synthetic interpretation and so I have gone over this ode repeatedly with a view to the

γέρας τόπερ νῦν καὶ ἄρειον διπύθεν.

Ἐπ. ε'.

τὸ δ' ἐμὸν οὐ ποτε φάσει κέαρ

150

ἀτρόποισι Νεοπτόλεμον ἐλκύσαι

ἔπει· ταῦτ' ἀδ' ἐτὶς τετράκι τ' ἀμπολεῖν

105 ἀπορία τελέθει, τέκνοισιν ἄτε μαψυλάκας Διὸς Κόρινθος.

155

first adjustment in my mind. How much of all this is reminiscence, how much coincidence, I do not care to inquire. A comparison with other commentators, which at one time I contemplated, would do away with what little value this impressionistic study may have. My object was to create an atmosphere. The atmosphere may be naught but 'Blauer Dunst', but the queller is at hand. One recalls Aristarchos's queer exegesis of N. I, 24. A little water increases the volume of smoke. A flood quenches it, I am ready to be doused and proceed to set forth Wilamowitz's interpretation, which I religiously refrained from reading until I had developed my own 'Blauer Dunst.'

III.

Dissatisfied as lesser men have been with the modern interpretation of the Seventh Nemean, Wilamowitz has thrown them all aside from Hermann and Boeckh-Dissen down and has gone to work on the words of the poet.¹ Some light on single points comes from the scholia. The discovery of the Paean to which the poem refers has not changed his exegesis, has only evoked the publication of it (A. J. P. XXIX 122). He copies the prooemium, the first strophe and antistrophe, and the eyes of an old-fashioned man are gladdened by the long lines.

Then follows a paraphrase. This was the way of the old *γραμματικοί*, whom he has learned to prize more and more.

Eleithyia, assessor of the Moirai, daughter of Hora, thou who causest children to be born (bringest children into the world) hearken. Through thee we come into life and attain thy sister Heba; only our lives are different as each one of us is bound to his especial fate. With thy help has Sogenes, son of Thearion, been victorious in the pentathlon and is now celebrated by a song. For he is from Aigina and in Aigina people are musical and take especial pleasure in gymnastic contests. He who is successful in deeds awakens poetry, without which even heroic achievement lies in darkness. For, as we all know, it is only by song that noble deeds find their mirror. Or thus briefly, 'Sogenes, a mere child in years, has been victorious in the pentathlon. This is the reason why his people have serenaded him and I have furnished

¹ Pindars siebentes nemeisches Gedicht von Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, Sitzungsberichte der Königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1908 xv.

the poem.' That is the simple thought that Pindar has adorned with his art. The equivalence of heroic deed and poetic art is a favorite theme with Pindar. It is a manner of justification of his being a singer, not an athlete. This, Wilamowitz thinks, is the key to the Tenth Pythian. The πόλις φιλόμολος is an indication that the Aiginetans were equal to the musical delivery of his songs. He had drilled them before. There is nothing to indicate his presence. Eleithyia was a puzzle even to the ancients, and they cobbled up an explanation that there was a sanctuary of Eleithyia in Aigina, and even went so far as to fancy that this sanctuary was somehow connected with the family of Sogenes.

This leads Wilamowitz to an illuminating discussion of the function of these so-called personifications. When the epinikians are sung in definite sanctuaries at definite festivals, the fact is announced and has its effect on the whole poem. But often there is no connection of the sort, and when the poem is sung in the house or before the house of the victor, it is eminently proper that the song of victory should be consecrated by the invocation of a heavenly person, purely ornamental, if need be. So Bakchylides calls on Kleio (3), Phema (2. 10), the Charites (9). The invocation of the day of the month (7) on which prizes are bestowed seems to Wilamowitz rather far-fetched and only shows that the poet was bent on finding something new. <If so, it has lost its newness in the eyes of moderns.> So Pindar too invokes the Muse (N. 3); and the ἀναξιδόρμιγγες ὕμνοι (O. 2), the χρυσέα φόρμιγξ (P. 1), Tyche (O. 12), Euphrosyne (N. 4), Hesychia (P. 8) show the wealth and freshness of the poet's inventiveness. Θεία (I. 5) a parapleromatic figure (Füllfigur) from Hesiod becomes in Pindar a glorious being full of light, intellectual as well as physical. The invocation of Hora (N. 8) is a problem which Wilamowitz discusses in a foot-note. The victor Deinis with his ἄρα has kindled a fire in the poet's veins and one hears a personal note in the words: ἀπροσίκτων ἐρώτων δέύτεραι μανίαι. Olympia, who is invoked in an Aiginetan ode (O. 8), does not refer to an imaginary sanctuary of Olympian Zeus or Aigina. Olympia remains the local nymph of Alpheios, and the reference is to the victory gained in her domain.

We see then that Eleithyia is invoked simply because the victor is still a child and has not yet attained to Heba or to Hora, and is not yet ripe for such tributes as Pindar loves to bring to the victors when they are ἰφθβοὶ and ἄραῖοι, such as Asopichos

(O. 14), Thrasybulos (P. 6), Epharmostos (O. 9). In the white light of the intellect, Eleithyia is the daughter of Hora, because children come after marriage, sister of Heba because they ripen to puberty. Moderns talk about personification. It does not make any difference whether some of their so-called personifications figure in this cult or that, such as Hora, Eros, Nike, Euphrosyne. To Pindar that is all one. Eleithyia was a name he picked up from Hesiod and Homer <just as he picked up *ἔφρα* from Hesiod and Homer>. It sounded grander than Kurotrophos or Genetyllis, <just as *ἔφρα* was more aristocratic than *ἱρα* I. E. cvi.> The name of Eleithyia is Prehellenic, is Karian. Her cult is spread over Crete and the islands; but it is not to be found in Pindar's Boeotian home, and we have no reason to suppose that the Aiginetan women when their time came called on Lady Eleithyia. The name does not clearly fill the office as did the name of Euphrosyne, of Hesychia, but they are all persons and Wilamowitz protests against the use of 'abstraction' in connection with those living creatures (A. J. P. XVII 366). To the Greek anything that lives and moves is a person, is man or woman; and that is true of the poets everywhere. "Hope" is a goddess to Goethe as to Pindar <as Hope is not to Campbell>.

And so Wilamowitz goes on to show that Potmos, to whom Pindar turns, is another such force, even if he has not been promoted to the dignity of a capital letter, except when the title of *ἀναξ* is bestowed on him (N. 4, 92). Potmos is a speciality of Pindar <and even if editors have not made of him a person the potency of him now as he is blended with *Μοῖρα*> (O. 8, 15), now as he becomes a double of Kastor (P. 5, 9) has not been overlooked. With the word *πότμος* Pindar takes up another theme, says Wilamowitz.¹ In v. 54 we read *φνῆ δ' ἕκαστος διαφέρομεν βιοτάν, λαχόντες ὁ μὲν τά, τὰ δ' ἄλλοι*. Here *φνῆ* makes the difference, as does *Πότμος* v. 6. In *Πότμος* Pindar and his people still hear *πίπτειν*, in *Λάχσεις* *λαγχάνειν* in *Μοῖρα μέρος*. What lies in the *ῥῆμα* becomes incorporated in the *ὄνομα* as a person (comp. I. E. xli). <May we not say the same of Eleithyia, Karian though she be? Popular etymology has as strong a hold as any other kind.>

The theme announced and the well-known fact stated that the deed of the prizor, to use again Shakespeare's word for athlete,

¹ Wilamowitz's punctuation. See p. 148.

can only live when mirrored in the poet's words, Pindar continues:

σοφοὶ δὲ μέλλοντα τριταῖον ἀνεμον
 ἔμαθον οὐδ' ὑπὸ κέρδει βλάβειν.
 ἀφνεὶς πενιχρὸς τε θανάτου παρὰ
 σᾶμα νύονται.

Wieseler's conjecture *πέρας ἅμα νύονται*, acclaimed by the editors as a *palmaris emendatio*, is not accepted by Wilamowitz, though he admits it to be "sinnreich". For *παρά* as the end of the verse he compares O. 9, 17 <not exactly parallel>. The long syllable in *σᾶμα* is the equivalent of two shorts, and *νύονται* is dissyllabic. Let us move on.

Heroic deed mirrors itself in song alone and the *σοφοί* know the wind that is coming two days in advance and do not allow themselves to be misled by prospects of gain. All must die, rich and poor. I believe more is told of Odysseus than he really went through (*πάθαν* = *ἴσα πάθεν*), and that is due to Homer whose deceptive art has glorified him. *σοφία* knows how to cheat, and the mass of mankind is blind. Else, if they had been capable of perceiving the truth, Aias had not been forced to take his life. But the wave of death comes over every one, high and low. *ἀλλὰ γάρ* means 'No more of that', 'Let us go back'. The sentence 'All must die', as the asyndeton shows, is not connected with the sentence about the weatherwise, who are not necessarily skippers. Farmers and shepherds as well as sailors have to watch the weather. <'He that observeth the wind shall not sow; and he that regardeth the clouds shall not reap' (Eccl. 11, 4) was said of the countrymen and when Persius spoke of the 'arator' as 'Luciferi rudis' he was not drawing on real life.> Of course *σοφοί* means the weatherwise, but *σοφός* in Pindar suggests the poet just spoken of, and the Pindaric scholar discerns the meaning of the figure. The *σοφός* is the poet who is not misled by the advantage accruing from regard to the passing temper of the times, who knows that honour will be paid to truth. The thought, says Wilamowitz, though not expressed, leads up to the general sentiment that death awaits all and we naturally supply the necessary continuation. But posthumous glory is given by the poet alone. Another example of the power of *σοφία* comes up, but it is an example that shows how the poet can confer more glory than is deserved. A new reason

must be given and that reason must be found in the lack of judgment on the part of the public, and of this we have a specimen in the Aiginetan Aias <an Aiginetan because an Aiakid, though we are prone to think of him first as a Salaminian. N. 4, 48: *Αἴας Σαλαμῖν' ἔχει πατρίαν*>, Aias who has been driven to his death by an unjust decision, as Pindar learned from the *Ἰλιάς Μικρά*.

And here Wilamowitz warns us not to think of Odysseus as *σοφός* in the Attic sense nor of the arts of oratory that he displays in the later *ἀγῶνες λόγων*. So he brushes away the Sophoklean figure of Odysseus, which I have just evoked in my analysis and evidently sides with Jebb in scouting my interpretation of *λογίους* (P. 1, 9). 'It is more than doubtful', says Jebb, 'whether there is any reference in Pindar to panegyric oratory and it seems certain that there is none to the art of rhetoric'. (Comp. A. J. P. XXVII 480). But I am not going into the discussion now, if ever, for I have never enjoyed debates at my best, and at this late day I bethink me of my favorite verse: *σμηρὰ παλαιὰ σώματ' ἐννάζει ῥοπή* which, when translated into the language of the ring means, 'A little tap puts aged carcasses to sleep'.

You may blame Pindar, says Wilamowitz, or praise him for going back to the old thought after he has introduced a new one. But he has done it and the interpreter has only to submit and follow his lead. 'The true poet is incorruptible', he said, and then it occurred to him that a poet might debauch the opinion of posterity, and it became a matter of some moment to emphasize the lack of judgment on the part of the public; hence the importance that an honest poet should espouse the cause of a dead hero. The expression is awkward <thanks to Wilamowitz's insistence on dissociating *ἀφνεὸς πενιχρὸς τε* from the preceding sentence>, but a sharp interpretation of the words, taken together with the inner feeling of the passage, leaves no doubt. *ἀλλὰ κοινὸν γὰρ ἔρχεται κτεί*. *ἐγὼ—πόλιν* is one big parenthesis, full of significance to the hearer but awkward indeed. <For my part I must confess that I am still unable to see the monstrosity of connecting *ἀφνεὸς πενιχρὸς τε* with *κέρδει*. I am still unable to see the difficulty of introducing such a commonplace as death which levels the famous and the unfamous. The transition is made by the natural reflection, What is *δόξα* against the wave of Hades? Odysseus is dead, Aias is dead, Fame is no fame.> All must die, and then follows

the snarl which Wilamowitz undertakes to straighten out. We are to read, it seems,

τιμὰ δὲ γίνεται
 ὡν θεὸς αὖ ξη λόγον τεθνακότων
 βοαθῶ ο ν . τ φ παρὰ μέγαν ὀμφαλὸν εὐρυκόλπου
 μόλον χθονὸς ἐν Πυθίοισι δὲ δαπέδοις
 κείται Πριάμου πόλιν Νεοπτόλεμος ἐπεὶ πρᾶθεν.

As for the text, *αἶξη* for *αἶξει* cannot be considered an emendation. The subjunctive is in the scholia, EI for HI as we all know. *παρὰ* for the unmetrical and un-Pindaric *τοιγάρ* is also due to the scholia. The MSS exhibit both *μόλον* and *μόλεν*. It is an uncertain passage. Our help must come from the connexion alone. The thought that all must die demands the complement, 'And honour is found by him to whom after death God grants the flowering of fair discourse that can set right the judgment of the feeble-minded crowd'. *τεθνακότων* belongs to *ὡν* beyond a doubt. *βοαθῶν*, Hermann's reading is supported by O. 1, 110: *ἐπικούρος ὁδὸς λόγων*. The new sentence must bring about the transition to Neoptolemos but *τοιγάρ* is inadmissible and the relative *τοί* is impossible because it cannot apply to an unimaginable *βοαθῶι* <which I have just imagined>. True, Neoptolemos did come to Delphi and Neoptolemos might be the subject, if we write *μόλεν*, but the very ease of construction makes the thing suspicious. The fact that Delphi is indicated twice with a different circumlocution is a decided indication that the two verbs have different subjects and the position of *Νεοπτόλεμος* militates against its being the subject of *μόλεν*. To make short work of it, we must change *ταί* into *τφ*, really no change at all, and take *μόλον* for the first person. For the transition compare I. 8, 6: *τφ καὶ ἐγὼ αἰτέομαι*. 'Therefore as the bearer of the *λόγος βοηθῶς* did I go to Delphi where Neoptolemos lies buried'. The story of Neoptolemos is told so as to maintain or restore the honor of the hero. For a good cause three words will be enough. I need spin my story no further. No liar is the witness for the deeds of thy son, Aigina. The honorable position of Neoptolemos in Delphi is the best proof of his worth and that of his race. The Aiakidai are glorified and so is Aigina. You see Pindar is speaking in Aigina. *θρασύ μοι τόδ' εἰπεῖν φαειναῖς ἀρεταῖς ὁδὸν κυρίαν λόγων οἴκοθεν*. According to Wilamowitz the traditional reading makes no sense: 'I

can maintain with confidence' is parallel with 'Three words are enough'. We want a reason for this bold assertion and the reason is given in the nominative. I make bold to say this. 'Strahlende Tugenden haben von Hause aus eine *κυρία ὁδὸς λόγων*', *κυρία ὁδὸς* like *κύριος μῆν* (O. 6, 32). The corruption of the text, an antique corruption, rose from the false notion of an apposition with *τόδε*. It is impossible to say *εἰπεῖν ὁδόν*. One finds a way or seeks a way, one does not say a way. <It is a bold assertion—*θρασὺ τόδ' εἰπεῖν*—that Pindar could not say this or that. If *εἰπεῖν λόγους* was uppermost in his mind, he might have been guilty of the blend *εἰπεῖν ὁδὸν λόγων*. And then think of the freedom of the appositional accusative, which would readily yield the sense that Wilamowitz desiderates without the change that he demands. The result of an action often gives the ground of the action. *ὡς κυρίαν οὔσαν* would be the prose construction.>

Thus, continues Wilamowitz, at the end of the Neoptolemos story we see Pindar return to the introduction of the same. He had gone to Delphi with a *βοηθὸς λόγος* for Neoptolemos. If he tells the story over again, the former story cannot have been sufficient. So he emphasizes at the close his confidence in his case. The Delphic cult is the best witness for the dignity of Neoptolemos and the deeds of the Aiakidai show the way to their praise.

Now he breaks off as before with *ἀλλὰ γάρ* and a demand for variety, a common transition but somewhat more ornate than usual. We are to have something new. *βιοτάν* is to be taken not with *λαχόντες* but with *διαφέροντες* and the sentence means: Our life differentiates itself according to our endowment (*nachdem* was wir mitbekommen). To gain perfect *εὐδαιμονία* is impossible. At best, I know of none to whom that was allotted. Thou, Thearion, hast had therein *ἄλβος* (= *εὐδαιμονία*) for thou hast had the initiative to the good (the honorable) and yet that does not impair thy insight (thou continuest to be sensible with all thy enterprising spirit). From me as a stranger all envy is remote (*κακολόγοι δὲ πολῖται*). I will refresh thee, friend, with true praise; for an honest man that is the best reward. No exaggerated compliment, says Wilamowitz <who has contrived throughout this paper to get at the prose of Pindar's thought in a way that seems designed to expose the native poverty of the poet. One thinks of Thackeray and his picture of Louis XIV. I am afraid that he sympathizes

with Schwartz more thoroughly than I can do. A. J. P. XXVII 483>. This faint compliment and this emphasis of the poet's goodwill are intended to throw light on his attitude towards Neoptolemos. The conclusion, however, will readily be drawn that Thearion was not quite satisfied with his Πότμος and had not found universal recognition among his fellow citizens. He was not made for an athlete and Pindar had not anything especially to praise in him.

After he had finished with Thearion, the poet speaks of himself. The assuredly improbable case of the presence of an Epirote in the festal crowd is imagined by Pindar in order to claim the testimony of the fellow-countrymen of Neoptolemos that he has uttered no crooked word (kein schiefes Wort). Pindar, it seems, is a proxenos of the Molossians, an adopted citizen, as it were. They will not judge him otherwise than would the Thebans to whom he could confidently apply. At any rate, all must listen to his defence and then he will be acquitted. Doubtless, says Wilamowitz, Pindar had received many such "decorations" from the various cities he had celebrated <and if the ancients had had button-holes, we might fancy him wearing at his button-hole the order of the Oak of Dodona, haply a 'Rother Vogel mit dem Eichenlaub', which the κακολόγοι πολῖται of my time pronounced 'Eigenlob'>. And now Pindar returns to the victor and says, Sogenes, I swear to thee that I have not advanced too far in throwing the spear so as not to be admitted to the wrestling, which, to be sure, saves one from blacks and blues (blaue Flecken). ἀδιάρτον is not to be rendered 'unwet'. It comes not from *δαίνω* but from *αἰνέω* κατακόπτοντα πτίσσειν. The boy had gone through all stages of the contest and doubtless relished the allusion to the blacks and blues. "I have not broken the rules of the games and forfeited admission to further competition. Like you I have borne all the burden and the pains of the further contest. εἰ πόνος ἦν, τὸ τεργάνον πλέον πεδέρχεται. But, as Pindar is speaking of himself, and παλαίσματα and πόνοι are figurative, we must change πεδέρχεται into πεδέρχομαι: 'Yes, my dear young fellow, I too have had to fight and to endure, but now after the success all is forgotten. Let me have my way. To please the victor, to please you, I will gladly take it back if I have gone somewhat too far in my loud call'. What he is willing to take back he does not say, naturally the same thing that the Epirote might possibly have taken

amiss. 'To plait wreaths is easy work that may be postponed. Anybody can do that for you, if you wish it. The Muse works in gold, ivory and white coral. The high art of the Muse, my art, does other than plait wreaths. It furnishes a complicated ornament in which the disparate is united'. No such ornament, to be sure, has been found, but Wilamowitz bids the archaeologists look out for it. Of course, the ornament is the ode itself. Despite his halfway admitted *faux pas* the poet is not excluded from further appearances. He has had a fight for the supremacy, his manner must have been different from that of the ordinary epinikians, but he overcame. This we can see from Bakchylides. Before the Sicilian journey, when he made poems only for Aigina and Northern Greece, Pindar had not attained. But his style is fully formed in his earlier pieces, P. 10, 12, 6, and the figure for his assemblage of disparatenesses is not an unsuitable one.

In contrast to the over-loud call that he has revoked, he declares that he wishes to sing a song in honour of Zeus, of Nemea—a song demanded by the Nemean victory, a song in an undertone, a song also suggested by the place, for here in Aigina did Zeus beget the progenitors of the Aiakidai (A. J. P. XXIX 123).

Then follows: *ἐμᾷ μὲν πολίᾳρχον εὐνύμφῃ πάτρα Ἡρακλῆος, σέο δὲ προπρήονα* (so after Bergk) *ξεῖνον ἀδελφεόν τε*. Pindar is bent on introducing Herakles, as he always is. 'My city' in Pindar's mouth must mean Thebes (Amen! *conclusum est contra Studniczka*. Cf. P. 5, 77 where the poet says *ἐμοὶ πατέρες*). We must not change *ἐμᾷ* into *ἐᾷ*. Too flat. *πολίᾳρχος* is interpreted in the paraphrase as *βοηθός*. It is a Boeotian word, and we find it again in Eur. Rhesos 381, in which Boeotisms are not lacking. When or how Aiakos came to the help of Thebes we do not know. There is so much that we do not know and can only divine. <A confusion of *πολίᾳρχος* with *πολιάρχης* would explain *βοηθός*.> Even among men a good neighbor is a joy, and if a god upholds such a relation, then will Sogenes, under thy protection, Herakles, making his father happy, dwell on the ancestral property: for to thee belong the two adjacent lots. Therefore pray to Zeus and Athena, who have stood by thee in thy life, and thou hast also strength enough in thyself to help thy fellow-beings in many things. Mayest thou then, Zeus, attend them, both father and son through youth and old age in all happiness and prosperity and maintain their children in like or yet higher honour. Every-

thing is calculated for the moment when the song is sung in the courtyard of Thearion, in full view of the Heraklean domain. Ἡβᾶ and γῆρας recall the Eleithyia of the opening and the child is mentioned not as victor but as the hope of the father.

To get the sense we must take ἀνέχειν as βασιτάζειν, αἰδεῖν, τιμᾶν and ἐθέλοι as a practical future, which it has become in the later language.

This gives us a ringing, hearty close. But then comes an appendix that grates on our modern feeling. <Pindar was evidently a high-strung member of the *genus irritabile* and his self-defence had set his nerves quivering. This is not the only passage in which he spoiled a proper ending by a personal outburst. The puzzling close of the Second Pythian is a case in point and the Theban eagle screams too loud at the end of the Second Olympian.>

'Never will I grant', he says, 'that I have attacked Neoptolemos with unfitting words; but to say the same thing twice and thrice produces the impression as of one at a loss for words, just as children feel toward μαψυλάκας Διὸς Κόρινθος. Here is the situation. A wayfarer passes through a village. The children run after him and tease him. He drives them off with the curse—'The devil fetch you'. The children keep at it. He repeats his curse, and the children notice his ἀπορία and see the devil turning into a dog that barks but does not bite. The grammarians who interpret the proverb: ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ τέλει ἀπειλούντων are perfectly right. The manuscripts have Διοσκόρινθος like Διόσκουροι, but Wilamowitz attaches no importance to this variation <and no explanation of Διὸς Κόρινθος is vouchsafed. If Διοσκόρινθος is Ἡρακλῆς, as has been suggested, we can imagine the use of the god whose speciality was the cleaning of stables as figuring in the wayfarer's curse. 'Hol' euch der Herakles'!> It appears then that Pindar set so much store by his self-defence that he added this appendix that spoils the close for us. But this illuminates the side-purpose for which he composed the epinikian. He has amply fulfilled his commission of congratulating Thearion on the success of his son but he takes quite as many words to justify himself for something that he had said about Neoptolemos, which had been construed by a Delphic somebody as disrespectful. True, Neoptolemos's lineage connects him through his grandfather Peleus with Aigina, but he was not an Aiginetan hero. The man who took offence was an Epirote,

but Pindar seized the opportunity to defend himself. He knew as well as any one else that his poem was split in two by it, but his own renown as an honest poet was at stake, and he wanted to show that he had upheld the honour of the dead hero.

The key is given by the newly discovered Paean, which Wilamowitz proceeds to interpret. It is in this Paean that Pindar has told the story of Neoptolemos in a way that gave offence to the Epirote. In Nemea 7 he tells the whole story over again with significant changes. He does not say here what he said there that the god had sworn death to Neoptolemos for the sacrilegious murder of Priam. Pindar readjusts the tale and takes a lesson in the art which he mastered in later years: *βίαια πῦρ' ἐκ ποδῶς ἔρυσαι*.

The difficulties are not all solved by Wilamowitz's interpretation, and I am not prepared to make an unconditional surrender, but the commentary abounds in those illuminating sidelights of which the great Hellenist is such a master. The clear-obscure of the poem becomes more fascinating than ever. As for the poet, Wilamowitz knows Pindar too well to admire him without reserve. The Seventh Nemean and the Paean, he says, do not contain much real poetry. It is only in the prooemium of the epinikian, only in the passage of the paean in which the fame of Aigina is sung that the true Pindaric style comes out. They are but youthful poems and 'Pindar's schwerflüssige Natur ist erst allmählich ihrer selbst Herr geworden'. But he was always an individual poet and hence the value of these documents to one who prizes more the laborious attempts to follow the development of an individual singer than the easy enjoyment of the grace of conventional poetry <who prefer in other words working at Pindar to being entertained by Bakchylides>.

BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE.

II.—THE FINAL MONOSYLLABLE IN LATIN PROSE AND POETRY.

Most of the studies in verse-structure and verse-rhythm have made it their object to deduce exact laws. Apparent exceptions to a law are usually regarded as evidence of corruption of the text. It seems to be felt that little is gained by showing the norm or standard of the verse, unless all exceptions are eliminated. It is apparently forgotten that in modern verse the poet departs from the norm to embody an unusual thought or emotion and that the same principle will apply to ancient verse. It is therefore important to determine the norm of the verse in order to appreciate the effects which the poet expects to obtain by departing from the standard. We must be prepared to recognize the exception in the verse-rhythm. If our text rests on good authority we should attempt to find the poet's motive for the exceptional rhythm. Our first question should be whether this exceptional verse-rhythm is in harmony with the thought or feeling of the passage in which it occurs.

Again writers on verse usually fix their attention on one kind of verse and draw their conclusions from too narrow premises. But the characteristics of all verse are more or less determined by the natural rhythm of the language, and the laws of this rhythm may be seen in the various kinds of verse and also in prose. Students of hexameter point out that there is the tendency in the development of this verse to avoid more and more monosyllabic endings, and many of them argue from this single fact that the poet avoids this form because in the sixth foot he desires harmony of accent and ictus. The objection to the argument put in this form is that Latin verse, in which the ictus falls on the final syllable, also avoids a monosyllabic ending. In the pentameter the regular iambic word-ending is explained as producing a smoother ending or as the best possible means for making a strong pause (*Jour. Phil.* 1898, p. 10). Prose shows a decided tendency to avoid the iambic ending. If the iambic word gives a smoother ending for the pentameter the reason still remains to be explained. It is claimed that in iambic

verse a lightly accented iambic word, like *meom* and *tibi*, are preferred at the close of the verse because these words would have "no perceptible accent" (Lindsay: *Captivi*, p. 362), but would form a word-group with the preceding word and would be accented as such. Just as we find an increasing tendency in hexameter to avoid the final monosyllable, unless preceded by another monosyllable, this theory would lead us to expect this tendency to end the iambic line with a dissyllabic enclitic more marked in the later development of this verse, whereas the opposite is true of the iambics of Phaedrus and Seneca's tragedies.

Zielinski in his *Clauselgesetz* (*Philologus Supplementband IX*, p. 616, 657) under form I says that accented monosyllables are very rarely used, but that in the masculine clauses the accented monosyllable may be employed. He gives four examples and states that others may be found. It is to be noted in passing that three of the four quoted are given by Lindsay (*Capt.*, p. 358) as words often used as sentence-enclitics. According to Zielinski's theory we should expect to find the pentameter line ending with an ictus more frequently formed by an accented monosyllable than the hexameter which ends in a syllable without the ictus, but the reverse is true.

I desire to show the usage of prose and of the most important classes of verse in regard to monosyllabic endings. This study will throw some added light, I trust, on the vexed question of the influence of accent on verse structure.

Let us first consider the use of the monosyllable before a pause in prose and begin with the orations of Cicero. Zielinski (*op. cit.*, p. 657) admits the importance of a study of final monosyllables and he expresses regret that the subject did not occur to him till his work was too far advanced to include this topic. For the sake of brevity I have noted only the monosyllables occurring at the end of a sentence as indicated by a period, question-mark, or exclamation point. I do not include monosyllabic forms of *esse*, nor monosyllables used alone, as *quid*, *quis*, etc.

In Cicero's orations including about 1600 pages (Mueller, edit. *ster.*) I have noted 152 final monosyllables, or a little under 1 in 10 pages.¹ We cannot proceed far in examining these before we

¹ Doubtless some monosyllables in the thousands of pages examined have escaped my eye but the general results and averages will hardly be affected by the error.

realize that they are used almost exclusively in those passages which have a conversational tone. Marked characteristics of the conversational style are the short sentence, the question, and the frequent use of the personal pronoun. Examining the sentences in which the monosyllables occur in reference to these three relations we find the following results: of the 152 sentences 98 are questions or exclamations. Considering the sentences in relation to their length we find that 65 of them consist of only two or three words each, while only 12 consist of two or more lines. Examining them in relation to the final monosyllable we find that 81 of these are pronouns and of these pronouns 49 are personal pronouns, especially *me* and *te*. Such a pronoun stamps the sentence at once as conversational in style.

Cicero's usage in his orations is not the same for all periods. These final monosyllables average a little more than one in ten pages till we come to the Manilian Law in B. C. 66. In all the orations from this year to the Sulla oration in 62 the final monosyllable almost disappears. The only cases in the orations of 63 and 62 to the Pro Sulla are three cases, *nescio quid*, which may be considered a trisyllabic word, and two exclamatory phrases of two and three words each. In the third period from the time of the Sulla oration Cicero no longer uses the final monosyllable merely to introduce the more familiar style but he appears to desire to give it further justification by using it only when emphatic. In this period the monosyllables are almost exclusively nouns and pronouns. In the first period the final monosyllable is used in a very conservative and unobtrusive way. In this period three fourths of the number are found in questions or exclamations; in the third period about one half are in sentences of this form. In the first period more than one half are in sentences of not more than three words; in the third period about one fourth are found in such sentences. In the first period five only occur in sentences of more than two lines; in the third there are seventeen in such sentences. In the first period two thirds are preceded by another monosyllable, in the third one half are so preceded. In the first period five nouns occur and of these three are met with in the latter part of the period; in the third thirteen nouns occur.

The monosyllabic verb is not an effective ending because it does not either suggest the conversational style, for the verb is in its normal place at the close of a periodic sentence and, for the

same reason, it does not receive emphasis from this position. In the first period there are seventeen monosyllabic verbs; in the last period there are only six and of these *uult* occurs four times.

In the Atticus letters, and these are especially conversational in tone, the percentage of monosyllables is about the same as in the orations. Here they are naturally not so much used for rhetorical effect as to produce the tone of conversation. In the other letters of Cicero the percentage is not half so high. The final monosyllables in the letters are not used with the same precision as in the orations. They do not occur so often in questions and the percentage of short sentences is not so great, nor is the emphasis on the monosyllables so marked.

In the *De Oratore*, Brutus and Orator the final monosyllable is used about half as frequently as in the orations. In the three books of the *De Officiis*, which is less conversational in tone, we find but four final monosyllables. These are used for emphasis and two occur in questions.

Turning to Livy (Weissenborn, Achte Auflage was used) we find the same general principles exemplified but with a somewhat changed application. The final monosyllables do not occur half as frequently as in Cicero's orations, only one in twenty-two pages. Less than one eighth are monosyllables in Cicero's orations; two thirds are nouns in Livy. While the average length of the sentences ending with a monosyllable in Livy is much shorter than the general average length of the sentence in this author, still this average is much longer than in the orations. That the monosyllabic ending is in Livy a characteristic of the conversational style is also shown by the fact that 27 of the 82 cases occur in speeches, and especially in those parts which are conversational in tone. In Cicero as a whole about one half of the monosyllabic endings are preceded by another monosyllable, whereas in Livy only 11 such cases occur out of 82. In the orations two thirds of the cases are questions or exclamations, in Livy there are only three in this form.

All of these differences between the usage of Cicero and Livy depend largely on the difference in their style, or in other words, on the difference between the oratorical and the historical style. Cicero uses the final monosyllable chiefly to give a lively, conversational tone to his writing and secondarily to give emphasis; Livy uses the monosyllable in the first place to give emphasis and secondarily to introduce the conversational tone. For example,

the final monosyllable is more prominent and emphatic when it is preceded by a monosyllabic word as in Livy than when preceded by a monosyllable as occurs in a majority of cases in Cicero. The two following endings of sentences may be taken as representing the difference between these two types:

Cic. Vat. 10 . . . me ciuem in hac ciuitate nasci an te ?

Livy XXI, 54, 8 . . . adflabat acrior frigoris uis.

The lightness of the ending of the first example as compared with the weight and dignity of the second is in harmony with the general difference between the oratorical and the historical style (cf. Cic. Or. 212) and between the clause endings in Cicero and Livy (Zielinski, op. cit., p. 607).

Now that we have established what is the general usage of artistic prose we shall only touch briefly on other prose writers.

If we examine a technical work like Varro's *De Lingua Latina* (Spengel) we find a large percentage of monosyllabic endings. In this case 47 in the six books. These endings occur most frequently in the passages which are most technical. In Varro's *De Agricultura* (Nisard) there are 26 in the three books. They are not used with the same precision in this author as in Cicero and Livy. As far as may be judged from Cato's *De Re Rustica* and the fragments of early prose, the final monosyllable was sparingly used but not subject to the definite rules which prevailed later.

Caesar and his imitators (Dinter) are most sparing in the use of these endings. There are 6 cases in all Caesar and three of these are the verb *dat*. In Sallust there are six; three occur in speeches and the other three are the verb *fert*. In Quintilian (Bonnell) there are 31 cases. Of these 29 are found in the first nine books. These occur in quotations or in technical passages with the one exception of *non uult* and this may be considered a dissyllabic word. In books X-XII which are more rhetorical in form only two cases occur, *par* (X 1, 77) and *uox* (XI 3, 20), and both are used for emphasis.

Curtius Rufus has a larger percentage than even Cicero in his orations and he employs the final monosyllable with a definite view to rhetorical effect. Of the 18 cases 11 are found in speeches, 4 others occur in sentences of less than a line in length. Nepos has three cases and Suetonius three. In all Tacitus (Halm) there are but seven and these are all nouns. Even within the sentence the only monosyllable before a marked pause; i. e.,

such as might be indicated by a semicolon, is as a rule a noun. Turning to Pliny's Natural History (Detlefsen) we find in the first fifteen books 36 cases. These occur chiefly in technical passages and in short sentences. In the less technical parts of the work monosyllables are avoided. For example the chapters on the history of art in Jex-Blake and Seller's work contain but one final monosyllable, *etiam nunc*, and this is often written as one word.

It is interesting to note that in Pliny's letters and panegyric (Keil) we have a return to Cicero's method even in this minute particular. The percentage of cases is about the same as in Cicero. Nineteen of the 23 monosyllabic endings are pronouns and they occur chiefly in short sentences.

Seneca has about the same percentage as Cicero's orations. The monosyllables occur in short sentences and in questions. The emphatic pronoun occurs much less frequently than in Cicero, while the verb occurs much more frequently. The final monosyllable is used with less precision by Seneca than by any author after Cicero.

In Petronius (Buecheler) there are eight cases and they are all found in the first half of the author. With one exception they occur in the lively conversations carried on at the table of Trimalchio. The exception is *non uult* which as we have already had occasion to remark, may be considered a dissyllable.

In the first thirteen books of Augustine's *De Civitate* (Dombart) there are twenty-two cases, but of these fourteen are in quotations and the remaining eight are used for emphasis or rhetorical effect.

It has often been pointed out that the close of the line in poetry is subject to laws similar to those which prevail at the end of the sentence in prose. Judging from prose we should expect to find a relatively free use of monosyllabic endings in the drama. The writer of comedy might regard these endings from the point of view of their exceptional character and so employ them in the lyrical parts where exceptions most frequently occur or he might view them as characteristics of the conversational style and accordingly employ them in the dialogue metre. Plautus follows the first method and Terence the second, and both show a definite purpose in their plan. Meyer (*Beobachtung des Wortaccentes*, p. 48) takes Plautus' method as the standard and concludes that the usage of Terence is the result of accident and

that accordingly it will not reward investigation. In Plautus out of 334 cases only 59 occur in iambic senarius. If we exclude the pronouns and exclamatory words 98 cases remain and of these only 16 are found in the dialogue metre. Again of these 16 cases 10¹ consist of monosyllabic forms of *uolo* following the infinitive. Evidently the monosyllable in these cases is a sentence enclitic. The remaining 6² cases are as follows: *nunc* and the Greek *vaí* used as exclamatory words, *dem*, *des*, *res*, *rem* and these, if not sentence-enclitics, certainly have a relatively light accent.

In Terence, omitting exclamatory words such as *ah*, *oh*, *em*, etc., more than half of the monosyllabic endings occur in iambic senarius. Eliminating the pronouns only 7 occur outside of the dialogue metre and these are all found in that metre which closely approaches the iambic senarius in tone, namely the iambic septenarius. Four of the 7 are found in sentences of not more than four words each.

It is to be noted that the rhythm which results from the final monosyllable stands in a definite relation to the thought. This can be clearly seen in the case of those monosyllabic endings which are the most exceptional and hence the most emphatic. A monosyllable preceded by another monosyllable has not the same emphasis of a monosyllable preceded by a polysyllable, nor has a final monosyllable connected by elision with a preceding word closely connected in thought the emphasis of the monosyllable not so connected. The exceptional endings both in Plautus and Terence occur in passages in which a slow and emphatic delivery is evidently required. Take the four cases of monosyllabic nouns in Plautus. These are preceded by polysyllabic words. Three occur in soliloquies and the fourth in a moralizing passage. In each case the monosyllable or the phrase, of which it forms a part, is emphatic.

The kind of emphasis which a phrase receives from the final monosyllable is similar to that which results from hiatus. In both cases the final syllable of a phrase or of a word receives exceptional prominence. The final monosyllable and hiatus are both found in passages which require slow movement such as characterizes soliloquies of a deliberative nature (TAPA XXXVII, p. 192 ff.).

¹ Cas. 853, Curc. 74, Mil. 82, Per. 681, Poen. 677, 687, 963, 1021, 1119, Trin. 734.

² Rud. 512, Pseud. 488, Trin. 158, Most. 1036, Rud. 172, Most. 20.

In the above enumeration I have not included conjunctions and prepositions occurring at the end of a line. Most editors of Terence have been inclined to reject all, or a majority of these cases although in most instances the reading with the monosyllables is supported by all the MSS. Terence has suffered much at the hands of his critics. They have attempted to eliminate hiatus and these conjunctions and prepositions at the end of the line which produce run-on lines and thus give a larger sweep to the verse. They have failed also to appreciate his bold use of elision. After remodeling many of his most effective rhythms and shutting their eyes to many others they call his verse tame and monotonous.

In Terence there are 21 lines ending with a preposition or conjunction and united by elision to the preceding word. I wish to direct attention especially to the relation of the rhythm of these lines to the thought. These endings occur as a rule in passages in which a slow, deliberate and impressive utterance would be required. They are usually met with in connection with perplexity of mind when some trouble or difficulty arises and they are never found when rapidity of delivery would be natural. Eight occur in soliloquies of a contemplative character; most of the others occur in sentences in which the speakers are deliberating on the future or reviewing the past.

I shall not quote the articles which treat of these monosyllabic endings or the MS authority for the reading, as both are given by Vahlen (*Abh. der k. preuss. Ak. d. Wiss.*, 1900, p. 1 ff.). I shall quote the readings of the more recent editions to show the uncertainty which still prevails in regard to the subject.

We first consider the cases which occur in soliloquies. In the first soliloquy of the *Adelphoe* we have three examples.

Ad. 35

ego, quia non rediit filius, quae cogito, et
quibus nunc sollicitor rebus! ne aut ille alserit
aut uspiam ceciderit aut praefregerit
aliquid. uah, quemquamne hominem in animo instituere aut
parare, quod sit carius quam ipse est sibi!

In 35 *et* retained only by Dz-K. :¹ omitted by Um. Dz. Fl. Tyr. Sp. Fab. Pl.

¹Um. = Umpfenbach. Dz. = Dziatzko. Dz-H. = Dziatzko-Hauser, *Phormio*. Dz-K = Dziatzko-Kauer, *Adelphoe*. Fl. = Fleckeisen. Tyr. = Tyrrell.

In 38 *aut* retained by Um. Tyr. Dz-K.: omitted Dz. Fl. Sp. Fab. Pl.

Ad. 55 nam qui mentiri aut fallere institerit patrem, aut
audebit, tanto magis audebit ceteros.

Dz-K. Tyr.: omit Um. Dz. Fl. Sp. Fab. Pl.

The first of these exceptional rhythms occurs in the sentence in which Micio gives expression to his anxiety and fear for his adopted son; the second occurs in the next sentence in which he dwells on his overwhelming affection for him. In the following lines Micio in a simple and unemotional way compares his mode of life with that of his brother. The short clauses correspond to the rapid narrative. In line 55 he lays down what seems to him a most important principle in the rearing of sons and we again have the rhythm under discussion.

And. 629

idnest uerum? immo id est genus hominum pessimum, in
denegando modo quis pudor paulum adest.

Um.: omit Dz. Fl. Tyr. Sp. Fair.

Eun. 629 dum rus eo, coepi egomet mecum inter uias,
ita ut fit, ubi quid in animost molestiae,
aliam rem ex alia cogitare et ea omnia in
peiores partem.

Um. Fab.: omit Dz. Fl. Tyr.

The first lays down a general principle with regard to the evils of life and the wickedness of humanity; the second is Phaedria's soliloquy on the hardships of his own life and his tendency to make the worst of these.

Eun. 926 nam ut mittam, quod ei amorem difficillimum et
carissimum, a meretrice auara uirginem
quam amabat, eam confeci sine molestia.

Um. Fab. Sj., p. 51: bracketed Tyr.: omit Dz. Fl.

The rhythm emphasizes the *amorem difficillimum et carissimum* in contrast to the *sine molestia*, etc.

Phor. 827

sed ubi nam Getam inuenire possim,
ut rogem quod tempus conueniendi patris me capere iubeat?

Bracketed Um.: *ut* in next line Tyr.: omitted with next line
Fl.: bracketed with next line Dz. Dz-H. El.

Sp. = Spengel, *Andria*, *Adelphoe*. Fab. = Fabia, Eunuchus, *Adelphoe*. Fair. = Fairclough, *Andria*. El. = Elmer, *Phormio*. Pl. = Plessis, *Adelphoe*. Sj. = Sjögren: *De Particulis copulatiuis*.

And. 226

sed Mysis ab ea egreditur. at ego hinc me ad forum, ut
conueniam Pamphilum, ne de hac re pater imprudentem
opprimat.

Um. Sp. Sj., p. 811 : bracketed Dz. Tyr. : omit Fl. Fair.

The last two cases occur at the close of soliloquies in which the speaker is considering what he is to do next.

Eun. 859 conseruam? uix me contineo, quin inuolem in
capillum : monstrum, etiam ultro derisum aduenit.

Fab. : next line Um. : *monstro in capillum* contrary to MSS
Dz. Fl. Tyr.

This is said aside and is of the nature of a soliloquy. The sentence is perhaps usually read rapidly, as if it were "I can't restrain myself"; but it should be read slowly, for that interpretation is in harmony with the thought of "uix me contineo", and is also indicated by the rhythm.

Closely allied to these passages in the soliloquies we have the following four sentences introduced by *censen*, *spero*, *nescis*. These are also of a deliberative nature and are of such a character that they would be most effective if enunciated slowly.

And. 256

obstipui : censes me uerbum potuisse ullum proloqui aut
ullam causam, ineptam saltem falsam iniquam? obmutui.

Um. Tyr. : bracketed Dz. : in next line Fl. Sp. Fair.

Eun. 217 censen posse me offirmare et
perpeti, ne redeam interea?

Um. Tyr. : omit Dz. Fl. Fab.

And. 560 uxorem demus. spero consuetudine et
coniugio liberali deuinctum, Chremes.

Um. Tyr. Sj., p. 35 : bracketed Dz. : omit Fl. Sp. Fair.

Phor. 57 egone? nescis quo in metu et
quanto in periculo simus.

Um. Sj., p. 122 : bracketed Tyr. : omit Dz. Fl. Dz-H. El.

Compare the thought and rhythm of this passage with Ad. 35 considered above.

The five following are similar in tone :

Eun. 873 saepe ex huius modi re quapiam et
malo principio magna familiaritas
conflatast. quid, si hoc quispiam uoluit deus?

Omit Um. Dz. Fl. Tyr. Fab.

Here again a principle is laid down with emphasis and almost with solemnity.

Heaut. 595

quid tu? ecquid de illo quod dudum tecum egi egisti Syre, aut repperisti, tibi quod placeat an non?

Um. : omit Dz. Fl. Tyr.

Here the aged Chremes who is naturally slow and deliberate asks in slow and detailed form for suggestions in regard to carrying out a plan which he had previously suggested.

Heaut. 521

mulier commoda et

faceta haec meretrix.

Um. Sj., p. 51: omit Dz. Fl. Tyr.

Syrus in conversation with Chremes takes the lead and assumes a patronizing air. Deliberation and emphasis in the utterance of these words would be in harmony with Syrus' desire to fix Chremes' attention on the charms of the woman, for by this means he wishes to lead up to the main subject which is Clinia's love.

Ad. 392

nimum inter uos, Demea, ac

—non quia ades praesens dico hoc—pernimum interest.

Dz.-K. : omit Um. Dz. Fl. Tyr. Sp. Fab. Pl. Sj., p. 57.

Here Syrus with the assumed air of a judge is mockingly proclaiming in general terms the superiority of Demea to his brother. Compare Ad. 217 and especially 375 given below.

The pompous Gnatho would naturally utter the following lines in an especially slow and emphatic manner :

Eun. 260

ille ubi miser famelicus uidet mi esse tantum honorem et tam facile uictum quaerere.

Um. Sj., p. 107 : Dz. Fl. Tyr. Fab.

In the following four cases we have atque in double elision :

Ad. 216

pecuniam in loco negligere maximam interdumst lucrum : hui metuisti, si nunc de tuo iure concessisses paululum atque adulescenti esses morigeratus, hominum homo stultissime, ne non tibi istuc faeneraret.

Um. Dz.-K. Sp. Sj., p. 107 : bracketed Tyr. : omit Dz. Fl. Fab. Pl.

Here Syrus assumes an arrogant air and lays down a general principle and with great emphasis points out to Dromo that he is the loser because he has not lived up to it.

Ad. 374

quid agatur? uostram nequeo mirari satis

rationem. SY. est hercle inepta, ne dicam dolo atque absurda.

Um. Dz.-K. Sp. Sj., p. 57 : bracketed Tyr. : omit Dz. Fl. Fab. Pl. Syrus assumes a lofty moral tone and thus caricatures Demea. The emphasis given by this rhythm is in full harmony with Syrus' assumed virtue; for an imitation, conscious of its own weakness, always attempts to assert itself with especial force. Compare the feigned alarm of Pardalisca in Plautus' *Casina* (line 621 ff.) where pause-elision is freely used to heighten the effect (TAPA XXXVII, 193).

Ad. 465 nostrum amicum noras Simulum atque
aequalem ?

Dz.-K. Sj., p. 35 : bracketed Um. : omit Dz. Fl. Tyr. Sp. Fab. Pl.

Hegio does not think that Demea realizes the gravity of the situation and he accordingly wishes to emphasize the fact that the one wronged is his friend and an aged man like himself.

The following five cases included in Vahlen as ending with a monosyllable are rejected :

Eun. 7 qui bene uertendo et easdem scribendo male
ex Graecis bonis Latinas fecit non bonas.

Um. Dz. Fl. Tyr. Fab. : MSS except E place *ex* at the end of the line.

Exceptional rhythms are rare in the prologues (TAPA XXXVII, 168) and in this instance the thought does not seem to justify the exception.

And. 838 CH. erras : cum Dauo egomet uidi iurgantem ancil-
lam. SI. scio.

CH. uero uoltu, cum ibi me adesse neuter tum praesenserat.

Um. Dz. Fl. Tyr. Sp. Fair. Some MSS have *at uero*. If *at* occurred at the end of the line and began a sentence, it would be without parallel either in Plautus or Terence. An exclamatory word is the only one thus used in Comedy.

Ad. 845 ego istuc uidero :
atque ibi fauillae plena, fumi ac pollinis.

Um. Dz. Fl. Tyr. Dz.-K. Sp. Fab. Pl.

This reading is supported by better MS authority than *atque* at the close of line 845 followed by *illi* at the beginning of the next line. Also *ibi* seems more appropriate than the more emphatic *illi*.

Eun. 349 CH. nostin quae sit ? dic mihi,
uidistin ? PA. uidi, noui : scio quo abducta sit.

Dz. Fl. Tyr. Fab. : aut at end of line Um.

unknown author an illustration of the final *atque* in double elision.

situm inter oris barba pedore horrida atque
intonsa infuscat pectus inluvie scabrum.

The effect of *atque* at the end of a line (cf. Ad. 217, 375, 465) may be compared to Catullus' use of *atque* in the middle of the pentameter. To introduce this exceptional rhythm for the purpose of emphasizing the thought Catullus was willing to sacrifice the most characteristic feature of the elegiac verse.

73, 5 ut mihi, quem nemo grauius nec acerbius urget,
quam modo qui me unum atque unicum amicum habuit.
68, 82 quam ueniens una atque altera rursus hiems
noctibus in longis audidum saturasset amorem.

While elision in general denotes rapidity of expression combined with emotion, the elision under discussion denotes rather deliberation combined with emphasis. The elision at the end of the line, especially in the case of the double elision of *atque*, welds two lines into one and instead of two light lines we have the effect of one long line.

That these conjunctional and prepositional endings are an element of strength in a poet and not a weakness may be illustrated from Horace's Odes and Epodes. In the Epodes written before Horace attained complete mastery of his art we find no instance of this use, and in Book IV of his Odes which were written after he had passed the zenith of his power we find but two. In Book I are eight cases and in II and III are twenty-one. Of the 31 final monosyllables 26 are united by elision to the preceding word, while 5 are not thus united. Horace's method of employing this rhythm does not differ materially from that which we have found characterizes Terence's usage. Horace employs it to add impressiveness to the thought and to give a bolder sweep to the verse. The character of this rhythm in the Odes may be seen by examining a few instances taken in the order of their occurrence.

I, 3, 19 qui uidet mare turbidum et
infamis scopulis Acroceraunia.
I, 7, 6 carmine perpetuo celebrare et
undique decerptam fronti praeponere oliuam.
I, 9, 13 quid sit futurum cras fuge quaerere et
quem fors dierum cumque dabit lucro.

The first emphasizes the terrors of this dangerous promontory; the second brings out the wealth of song in honor of Athens; the third gives prominence to the main thought of the poem. The effect of this rhythm may be seen in a more or less marked degree in all the other instances. Compare the remaining cases in the first book: 14, 3; 21, 14; 28, 31; 35, 11; 39.

The two following instances may seem to be opposed to our theory of the use of this rhythm in Horace:

III, 8, 3 plena miraris, positusque carbo in
 caespite uiuo.

IV, 6, 11 procidit late posuitque collum in
 puluere Teucro.

These, however, are not final monosyllabic endings, but are added proofs that Horace regarded the third and fourth lines, as now printed, as one line. The fact that in three Odes I, 2, 19; I, 25, 11; II, 16, 7 a word would be divided between two lines if there were four lines in the Horatian strophe is usually accepted as proof that Horace followed Sappho in treating this strophe as one of three lines.

The two following lines in Plautus end with a conjunction according to the best MS authority, and these endings appear to be justified by the thought:

Mil. 1132 nunc ad me ut ueniat usut Acroteleutium aut
 ancillula eius aut Pleusicles. pro Iuppiter.

Rud. 1169
post sicilicula argenteola et duae conexae maniculæ et
sucula.—GR. quin tu i diirecta, cum sucula et cum porculis.

In the first example the speaker is soliloquizing on what he shall do. A slow, deliberate style is reproduced by the rhythm and in harmony with this we have hiatus in 1136. In the second example Palaestra is giving an enumeration of the articles in the casket. The context shows that this enumeration would be given with great deliberation and care and this very feature of the narration makes Gripius' impatient interruption appear the more natural.

In Plautus and Terence final monosyllables preceded by a pause, with the exception of the conjunctions and prepositions already mentioned, are very rare. We have two cases in Plautus and three in Terence besides the regular interjections. In Aul. 713 we have the endings *quem?* *quis?* An interrogative often stands alone in prose and thus forms an exception to the general rule that monosyllables do not stand before a pause.

Stich. 622 nam hic quidem genium meliorem tuom non facies.
eamus, tu.

The pause before the monosyllable is slight, and *tu* partakes somewhat of the nature of an exclamatory word in this clause.

Phor. 1002 NA. mi uir, non mihi dices? CH. at NA. quid "at"?

The pause before at is slight. In prose we often have a final monosyllable which is quoted. Compare In Verrem II, 2, 127 Respondent: "tres".

Heaut. 581 SY. credo: neque id iniuria; quin mihi molestumst.
Quin in this sentence is of an exclamatory character.

And. 804

quid uos? quo pacto hic? satine recte? MY. nosne? sic:
ut quimus, aiunt, quando ut uolumus non licet.

This is often translated "so so" but it seems rather to have the force of "as you see" with the interpretation suggested by the intonation of the voice. This view is in harmony with Donatus' note: ῥὸ "sic" nudum est, et est significatio languoris cuiusdam et lentitudinis. We accordingly see that the force of the word lies not so much in its literal meaning as in the method of its utterance and that here an exclamatory word like "alas" would reproduce the real meaning (Cf. Class. Rev. London X, 157).

Besides the four monosyllabic endings in Plautus already considered (Mil. 1132, Rud. 1169, Aul. 713, Stich. 622) we find in our modern editions several instances of a final monosyllable which is a conjunction or preposition or a word preceded by a marked sense-pause. For example in Lindsay and Leo together we find thirty one cases. But it is to be noted that they have only the seven following in common:

Amph. 584 b saluos domum si rediero: iam
sequere sis, erum qui ludificas
dictis delirantibus.

Cas. 643 nam nisi ex te scio, quidquid hoc est, cito, hoc
iam tibi istuc cerebrum dispercutiam, excetra tu.

Aul. 412 sequitur. scio quam rem geram: hoc
ipsum magister me docuit.

Bacch. 1084 a 1085
uiso ecquid eum ad uirtutem aut ad
frugem opera sua compulerit, sic
ut eum, si conuenit, scio fe-
cisse: eost ingenio natus.



- Cist. 699 in hoc iam loco cum altero constitit. hic
 meis turba oculis modo se obiecit:
Per. 801 b da illi cantharum, exstingue ignem, si
 cor uritur, caput ne ardescat.

None of these seven instances seem to be justified by the thought such as characterized the two cases in Plautus and the twenty-one in Terence. In the first two the difficulty is removed by a different punctuation, and one which seems to me more in harmony with the thought and with Plautus' usage. In the first case L. Havet (*Amphitruo*, Paris, 1895) and Geotz-Schoell connect *iam* with the preceding clause. The second example is usually accented as above. It may be as good Latin grammar to connect *cito* with the preceding clause as with the following but as a threat it is certainly less forceful. If *cito* modifies *scio* it seems unnatural that it should trail on after the subordinate clause almost as an afterthought, whereas if it modifies *hoc cerebrum dispercutiam* it stands in the most effective place. The arrangement of the five remaining cases is not based on MS authority; it is not found in Goetz-Schoell, nor in Audouin (*De Plautinis Anapaestis*, Paris 1898) who includes three cases: Bacch. 1084 a, 1085, pp. 2, 91, Cist. 699, pp. 26, 94, nor in Sjögren (op. cit.) who includes in his study Aul. 412, p. 82 and Per. 801 b, p. 55.

Lindsay has thirteen¹ cases not found in Leo and the latter has eleven² not found in Lindsay. Plautus is most sparing in the use of these monosyllabic endings. Lindsay and Leo are certainly in error in introducing them so freely into the text.

We now pass to the hexameter. It has been shown that beginning with Ennius there is the tendency to avoid more and more the accented monosyllable at the close of the verse. When we come to Ovid we find that the final monosyllable is never a word which would have a prominent sentence-accent, and only one in fifteen is not preceded by another monosyllable (*Class. Phil.* III, 54). In prose the tendency is in the opposite direction as far as the character of the monosyllabic ending is concerned. There is a tendency in Cicero, even more marked in his later

¹ Bacch. 969 a, 970, Capt. 499, Cas. 827, Curc. 119 a, Epid. 25 b, Men. 575, Merc. 181, Pers. 277 a, Poen. 555, Pseud. 918, 1272 a, Truc. 99.

² Bacch. 1098, 1182, 1185, 1195, Cas. 212, 678, Men. 763 a, 759, Pseud. 139, 1255, Trin. 276.

than in his earlier orations, to use the monosyllable, even when a pronoun, only when emphatic. In prose after Cicero's time there is the tendency to end the sentence with a monosyllable only when it is an emphatic noun. The tendency in hexameter, on the other hand, is to avoid more and more the emphatic monosyllabic ending.

In Livy, the contemporary of Ovid, two-thirds of these endings are nouns and more than five-sixths are preceded by a polysyllable. Why should hexameter reverse the rule of prose? The only rational explanation, as far as I am able to see, is the desire on the part of the poet to obtain harmony of accent and ictus in this part of the verse. No rules of caesura or word division will explain the phenomena. Were Lucan, for example, not prevented by the rule of harmony of accent and ictus at the close of the verse, we should expect him in his rhetorical epic, treating of an historical subject, to obtain emphasis by the use of the monosyllabic noun after the manner of the prose historians.

Turning to pentameter we find that the poet most carefully avoids the monosyllabic ending; and this rule is observed much more strictly in the pentameter lines than in the hexameters of the elegy. There are no monosyllabic endings in Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid, and Ausonius. Even in inscriptions in which the verse is often imperfectly constructed there is only one exception and this is the lightly accented pronoun *tu*. Buecheler: *Carm. Lat. Epigraph.* 1187, 8 *et poteras ambos Italiae dare tu*. In Martial there are six cases,¹ all occurring in satiric poems of a conversational character, unless 12, 47 is regarded as an exception. While it may seem surprising that Martial should not observe the rule established by his predecessors it is to be noted that these endings are remarkably few when we consider the freedom which he shows in the formation of his pentameter endings. He uses final words of any length from two to six syllables. The explanation of the rule in regard to the ending of the pentameter is evidently as follows: the final syllable with its ictus, if it also received a sentence-accent, would make too abrupt an ending of the verse, especially as the verse is also regularly the ending of the sentence. The regular ending is the iambic word and the reason for this is that the norm of the verse

¹ I, 32, 2 *amo te*; 7, 10, 12 *et hoc*; 14 *et hoc*; 7, 75, 2 *dare uis*; 10, 16, 8 *quo modo das*; 12, 47, 2 *sine te*.

is harmony of accent and ictus in the fourth and fifth feet and a final syllable without a sentence-accent. This form can only be obtained by ending with an iambic word.

The exceptional character of the Latin pentameter ending is more striking if we compare it with the Greek. In about 1500 Greek pentameters we find ten monosyllabic endings. Of these five are nouns and this fact is the more noteworthy because monosyllable endings in Greek prose are usually sentence-enclitics and very rarely nouns. The Greek pentameter seems to favor an emphatic monosyllabic ending because the word-accent is not a stress-accent and accordingly does not add to the ictus but the prominence of the final monosyllable is in harmony with the irrational length of this syllable.

Do not these facts give us a clue to the nature of the sentence-accent in Greek? The sentence-accent in Latin is a stress-accent but it does not necessarily add to the length of the syllable; accordingly it is avoided at the close of the pentameter, where length is required but the word-accent is shunned. The fact that at the close of the pentameter line in Greek words which would naturally have a sentence-accent are so freely used implies that the so-called sentence-accent is not stress but added length.

In the newly discovered Menander fragments of less than 1300 lines we have 192 final monosyllables. Of these six are nouns but five of the six are vocatives. From this we may infer that vocatives do not have a prominent sentence-accent but are treated as exclamatory words which are characteristic of the close of the line both in Latin and Greek. The same conclusion in regard to the vocative was drawn from our discussion of Latin pause-elision (TAPA XXXVI, 87, XXXVII, 155).

In Latin pentameter the rule in regard to the final monosyllable also applies, though not so strictly enforced, in all theses (ictus-syllables) before a pause. When monosyllables are thus employed they are usually sentence-enclitics. In Ovid there are only ten nouns before the caesura of the pentameter, and as a rule all monosyllables in this position are preceded by another monosyllable. In Greek anthology there are sixteen nouns before the caesura. In Horace's Odes there are five nouns¹ before the fixed caesura.

¹ *Maturior uis*; Od. 1, 12, 14 *qui res* 2, 17, 6; 3, 14, 15 *per uim*; 4, 3, 6 *neque res*; 4, 8, 9 *mihi uis*. It is to be noted that in Odes I-III when

One other fact of importance may be noted in regard to the caesura in pentameter. I have not discovered in any author after Catullus an instance of the conjunction standing before the caesura. There is one case in Friedlaender's Martial (9, 94, 2) but this is the editor's conjecture and is without MS authority and is undoubtedly incorrect. In the elegies of inscriptions there is only one exception :

1218, 6 Rufinus prior et Rufinilla dehinc.

This line with its two proper names is furthermore irregular, for its second hemistich begins with a spondee. Even in this line the *et* may be regarded as belonging to the second hemistich (Buecheler, note). 1319, 3, a poem of seven lines of which only one line professes to be pentameter, is not an exception. Here *et* is hypermetrical just as *cum* in 973, 8 and *si* 1265, 3. (P. Kessel De pentametro inscript. Lat. Trier 1908, p. 67). It may certainly be assumed that words which are not permitted before the fixed caesura of the pentameter would also be forbidden before the free caesura of the hexameter lines. None of the German metrists hesitate however to place a caesura after the connective in hexameter.

We have seen that in an ictus-syllable before a pause a word of prominent accent is avoided. Hence Zielinski's statement, based on the assumption that verse and prose are accented according to the same principles (op. cit., p. 828), that in the masculine ending of the period (op. cit., p. 657), but not in the feminine, an accented monosyllable may be used, is opposed to the facts of prose and verse alike.

Verse employs the preposition followed by the pronoun, as *intér se*, as one word but this principle does not apply at the close of the sentence in prose. It seems probable that in this respect poetry has adopted the usage of the colloquial style and that the more formal style of elevated oratory does not so readily form word-groups. The analogy of English poetry and oratory supports this theory.

We have attempted to show that in prose the monosyllable is as a rule avoided except when it is used to gain a definite effect. In the oratorical and the epistolary style it is employed with

Horace is at his best we have only two instances and in both the monosyllable is preceded by another monosyllable; of these per uim which is the more emphatic is a word-group.

relative frequency to introduce the conversational tone. In history it is very sparingly used and chiefly for emphasis. In poetry also these endings are used in connection with the conversational style to give emphasis. The monosyllabic conjunctions and prepositions in comedy stand in a definite relation to the thought and thus afford a criterion in cases of doubt in regard to the reading. MSS of Terence give us many such endings, while those of Plautus contain few. The tendency of modern editors is to disregard the MS authority in both cases, eliminating the majority of the instances in Terence and introducing them freely into Plautus. We have also attempted to show that the usage of hexameter and pentameter is due to the relation of accent and ictus.

ALBERT GRANGER HARKNESS.

III.—CHANGES IN VERSE-TECHNIC IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY ENGLISH DRAMA.

The student who seeks a true understanding of the development of the English drama during the sixteenth century finds his path well lighted at either end, but dark and perplex in the middle. The last twenty years of the hundred present him with an accomplished fact,—a new dramatic species of supreme literary excellence, whose chief characteristic is perhaps its complete assimilation of a diverse multitude of older varieties of the drama, native and foreign. These two decades he finds illuminated by study both minute and comprehensive from almost every point of view. The first twenty years of the century present him with the native English drama at its furthest point of development, the product of two centuries of growth practically untouched by foreign influence. The story of this development is also one that has been carefully investigated and the main outlines of which are comparatively simple and comparatively well understood. But the long sixty year period that lies between still awaits an adequate comprehensive interpretation. Yet in this period, the period of fusion and apparent confusion of all possible influences, native and foreign, the period of birth for all the types of drama enumerated by Polonius,—“tragedy, comedy, history, pastoral, pastoral-comical, historical-pastoral, tragical-historical, tragical-comical-historical-pastoral, scene indivisible, or poem unlimited” —we must certainly look to find explained the transformation of the simple and crude religious spectacles of 1500 into the richly composite romantic drama of 1600.

Much of the difficulty of a comprehensive understanding of this formative period has been due to the inaccessibility of the plays. Out of nearly three hundred sixteenth century plays extant, about one hundred fall between 1520 and 1580; and of these there are now about fifty available in satisfactory editions, most of these less than fifteen years old. This difficulty, fortunately, is now being rapidly overcome. Considerable progress has also been made in settling what may be called the accidental

features of these plays,—those features, that is, such as the facts of date, authorship, language, sources, and the like, which may be considered as outside the choice of the dramatist, but a knowledge of which is a preliminary necessity to understanding his production and discovering just what, in working upon the elements furnished him, he has created. Only when these points have been settled, or left definitely unsettled, can the student of the period make his final deductions about dramatic growth and development.

In studying the creative activity of the period, he must also keep in mind a further distinction, the distinction between what may be termed the external and internal features of a play. The internal features, or inner structure, of a drama—its handling of plot and incident, of cast and characterization, of ideal time and place, and its spirit and ideas—have sometimes been studied without reference to the external features which the dramatist had to determine first, and which consequently largely controlled all the rest. The external features, on the other hand,—the matters of production, staging, actors, and the like, and the questions of external literary structure, length, and divisions, and of form—have sometimes been studied without reference to that content and meaning which they exist to express.

The study of perhaps no dramatic feature has suffered more from this divorce of inner and outer than the matter of literary form. The cataloging of the different sorts of stanza and rhyme-scheme, of differences in structure and treatment of the line, and of the relative amounts of verse and prose employed remains a barren task when the relation of these things to content and character is left out of consideration.

Without an appreciation of this vital relationship, the literary form of the majority of early and mid-sixteenth century plays is particularly unintelligible. Their multifarious changes in versification and especially the frequent presence of many different kinds of stanza and line and of prose passages side by side in the same plays have accordingly struck many students as arbitrary and aimless. Studied by themselves they certainly appears so. But studied as the expression of an inner character present from the beginning to the end of the century—a character included under the term *romantic*, usually applied only to plays of its last two decades,—these constant variations of form take on a new meaning.

The kinship of this love of external diversity with the spirit of the romantic drama seems never to have been definitely treated for the century as a whole. It is the purpose of this article to illustrate it by a succession of plays written between 1480 and 1590. These have been selected as typical of the most important stages in the development of dramatic form; but for the present purpose no effort has been made to exhaust the list, or to enumerate all the other plays that belong under each category.

One essential characteristic of the romantic drama of 1600 is, as has of course often been remarked, its love of contrast. It differs from classic drama chiefly in its fondness for putting side by side scenes of tragedy and comedy, high life and low life, formal dignity and rollicking humor. The external reflection of this characteristic, in Shakspeare and his contemporaries, is found chiefly in the distinction between verse and prose. Various considerations of course there were, into which it is not necessary to enter, that guided the choice in various cases; but it is agreed that in general we have in the two forms the appropriate dress of two levels of dramatic feeling; the ideal, the elevated, the dignified, the aristocratic, the formal level, finding its normal expression in blank verse, and the lower scenes and passages, comic, plebeian, or realistic, being put into prose. This principle of dramatic form in Shakspeare, and its further development in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, have been studied in a recent illuminating article by Mr. R. M. Alden.¹ From the facts which he cites, one may clearly infer that the interchange of verse and prose, altho with a steady increase in the proportionate amount of prose, remained a constant feature of romantic tragedy and comedy, while uniformity became the rule for other types of drama,—verse throughout for classical tragedy, prose throughout for classical comedy and realistic tragedy. The romantic disregard for that most truly classic of the unities, the unity of tone, is thus reflected in a conspicuous avoidance of external uniformity.

If we turn back a hundred years from Shakspeare to the drama of 1500, we shall find ample evidence that the Elizabethan fondness for contrast was an inherited and not an acquired passion. Among the moralities then dominant on the stage, one type of plot had crowded out its competitors and practically monopolized the field; and this plot, the "Conflict of the Vices and Virtues",

¹ R. M. Alden, "The Development of the Use of Prose in the English Drama: 1600-1800", *Modern Philology* VII, 1-22 (July, 1909).

was precisely the one which afforded most the opportunity for contrast of tone and level. In these plays, in which the hero always shifts like a shuttlecock from one camp to the other and back again, the Tudor spectators found a pleasingly rapid succession of elevated precept and very unelevated practise, or as they called it themselves, of 'merry' and 'sad matter.'

It is of course not meant to imply that all changes in form, either in the moralities or in Shakspeare, were due to changes of 'level'. Throughout the century, on the contrary, and indeed in the drama of all ages, we find certain passages clothed in a special meter or a unique form in order to set them off from the strictly dramatic matter around them. The prolog and epilog, the formal opening or closing of a scene, monologs address to the audience as distinguisht from true soliloquies, choruses, songs, and intercalated documents such as letters and legal papers all fall under this head. Altho they may be used with a dramatic purpose, all of these are strictly speaking non-dramatic, and of the nature of prefixes, insertions, or suffixes. They naturally take an external shape suited to their special character as lyrics, declamations, or documents. Under this category belong Shakspeare's rich stock of lyrical meters, and his frequent use of the rimed octosyllable and the decasyllabic couplet, as for instance in the witch-scenes of Macbeth and the plays within plays of Hamlet and *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

Changes in form so motivated are to be carefully distinguisht from the changes due to differences of dramatic 'level' which we have been discussing. A drama which has no change of tone or 'level' may, as do a number that we shall have occasion to discuss, use more than one special form for these 'extra' passages. In the moralities, however, as in Shakspeare, we find both the 'extra' passages and the contrasted 'levels'.

For these two levels, the virtuous and the vicious, or, as they gradually became, rather the serious and the humorous, the aristocratic and the low, or merely the formal and the informal, the same demand for external differentiation was felt as later in Shakspeare's day. The demand was met in essentially the same way as Shakspeare met it, altho the verse-forms adopted at the beginning of the century to make up the scale were quite other than his. I have shown elsewhere¹ how the practise of utili-

¹ John Skelton's *Magnificence*, E. E. T. S., Extra Series 98 (1907); Introduction, pp. cxxxiv-cxlvii.

zing the differing *uses* of different verse-forms to characterize contrasted scenes or passages began with the moral plays in the fifteenth century, and advanced from the first hesitating efforts as exemplified in the *Castle of Perseverance* (1400-1440) to the complicated and studied scale worked out by Skelton. Three examples will be sufficient to cite here: *Wisdom* (before 1483), the earliest play in which the distinction is clearly made; *Medwall's* long moral play *Nature* (1486-1500), which fairly represents the practise as it obtained at the opening of the sixteenth century; and Skelton's *Magnificence* (1516), which marks the highest point of elaboration reached in the whole process.

Wisdom (ed. by F. J. Furnivall and A. W. Pollard, E. E. T. S., Extra Series 91; 1904). Lines 1-324, the scene of Innocence, during which the virtue *Wisdom* remains on the stage, are in the eight-line stanza (ababbcbc), with some irregularities. When *Wisdom* goes out at l. 324 and *Lucifer* enters, the meter changes at once to the tail-rime stanza (aaabcccb), and so remains during the vice-scenes of *Temptation*, ll. 325-519, and *Life in Sin*, ll. 520-876. On the return of *Wisdom* the meter returns to the eight-line stanza for the closing scene of *Repentance*, ll. 877-1168.

Nature (ed. by A. Brandl, Q. u. F. 80; 1898). The prolog and the opening debate held before *Man* (ll. 1-399) are in rime royal (ababbcc), as is also the first *Temptation* scene before the lordly vice *Mundus* (400-655) which ends in the expulsion of Innocency, with the exception of a few lines at its close in which *Man* gives his final assent in tail-rime. Then begins the vice-portion proper. Lines 656-74 are in tail-rime. Lines 675-723, spoken principally by *Wordly Affection*, the leading vice, and *Sensuality*, the *Bad Angel*, are in rime royal, which is composed in a lighter line than that used in the virtue-scenes. Lines 724-1051 again revert to the tail-rime, as *Man* falls under the power of the more degraded vices. Lines 1052-1292, a long scene where *Man* is off the stage and the vices are gleefully reporting his increasing degradation at the tavern, are written in tail-rime with light rime royal stanzas intersperst, the rime royal reflecting the boastful tone, also perhaps the speakers, *Sensuality* and *Wordly Affection*. The remainder of the *First Part*, ll. 1293-1439, constitutes, a sort of halfway *Repentance* scene, also composed in a mixture of tail-rime and rime royal. The *Second Part* begins with a short prolog, ll. 1-63, of course in rime royal. The second *Temptation* scene is quickly successful, ll. 64-163, and after only two rime royal stanzas *Man* plunges into vice again in couplets and tail-rime strophes. The second vice-portion, ll. 164-1012, is altogether in the tail-rime, except for two of the light rime royal stanzas put in the mouth of *Pride* (304-317). Then follows a weighty and thoroly adequate *Repentance* scene, ll. 1013-1421, in heavy rime royal throughout.

To be noted is the growing subtlety in applying the metrical marks of contrast. There is in Nature the same broad differentiation between virtue and vice as in Wisdom, but the vices of the latter play are not all equally black. Differences of dignity and rank among them are felt to be worth indicating. This is a secular application of the metrical scale which will be constantly made during the coming century. Another significant alteration is the substitution of the seven-line for the eight-line stanza as the upper member of the scale.

The two stanzas here set over against each other were destined long to remain fixt in the drama as conventionally appropriate for the high level and the low. For nearly sixty years virtue was regularly to speak in the seven-line rime royal stanza, vice in the tail-rime. The choice of these two rime-schemes is not difficult to understand. The rime royal owed its dignified position partly no doubt to its distinguisht Chaucerian ancestry, and partly to its own inherent stateliness. The tail-rime, on the other hand, was distinctly non-Chaucerian, going back instead to a long line of popular versifiers and romancers, and it was well adapted by its rattling repetition of the same rime for two, three, four, or more lines, and its jingling tags, to characterize the farcical vice-figures and scenes.

But altho the forms at the top and bottom of the scale had become conventional, room was left for much further ingenuity in metrical matters. Many dramatists felt the need not only of an appropriate form for the high level and the low, but also for a middle level, a neutral or staple verse-form which should have no markt connotation, either elevated or degraded. Such a common medium for virtue and vice was generally found in the colorless couplet. Even more complicated systems were workt out by some of the early dramatists of the century. The furthest point of elaboration is probably reacht in Skelton's really astounding scale of no less than twelve different verse-forms.

Magnificence (E. E. T. S., Extra Series, 98). The detailed analysis is too long to repeat here (see Intro., pp. li-lxxi). The essential points to be noted are the four distinct dramatic levels: rime royal with the heavy line for the top, the heavy couplet for the middle, the light couplet for the low level, and two forms which enter the drama with Skelton for the lowest and broadest passages of all,—the 'leash' (aaaa, etc.) and the half-line couplet, called after him the 'Skeltonical'. Very significant is the extension of the couplet in its two forms into

territory which was formerly below it in the domain of the tail-rime, which it here ousts completely, and also to some extent into the domain of the rime royal above it. Finally, there is a set of special forms for what are really extra-dramatic passages, the monologs: the seven-line leash, the half-line leash, the half-line rime royal, the tail-rime, and others.

Additional proof of Skelton's metrical ingenuity is to be found in his miracle-morality *Queen Hester* (probably written 1525-9), altho his authorship of this piece, first suggested in 1904 by Mr. W. W. Greg,¹ is by no means certain. The ascription is strengthened by a comparison of its versification with that of Skelton's undoubted play. Altho there is not a complete identity, there is a considerable similarity in verse-technic between the two dramas.

Queen Hester (ed. by W. W. Greg, *Mat. z. Kunde d. ält. eng. Dramas*, Band 5; 1904). Lines 1-337, including the prolog, the opening court-scene, and the promotion of Hester and Aman, are in rime royal freely mixt with the couplet. During ll. 338-580 the stage is left to the vices, who carry on their discussion in the half-line tail-rime. The rest of the play alternates between these two forms, with one exception: Aman rises in favor (581-635, rime royals and couplets); the vice-fool Hardydardy enters Aman's service (636-661, half-line tail-rime), and amuses him in a typical fool's dialog (662-679, half-line quatrain); Aman gets a decree from the King against the Jews (696-790, rime royals and couplets); Aman talks with Hardydardy (791-812, half-line tail-rime); Hester gives her banquet (813-1009, rime royals and couplets); the King talks with Hardydardy (1010-1062, half-line tail-rime); the consummation (1063-1180, rime royals and couplets).

The history of the period from 1520 to 1590 is the history of the passage from the metrical scale revealed in such plays as these,—rime royal, couplet, and tail-rime,—to the blank verse-prose scale of Shakspeare. For nearly forty years longer, and in many plays written after 1560, the system of Medwall and Skelton was fairly well preserved. But two influences were at work which were destined at first to modify the proportions and eventually to destroy the old metrical scale altogether.

The first of these influences was peculiar to the time and the special situation in which the drama of the century found itself. It may be termed the impulse toward refinement in the drama, toward conformity to recognized literary models, in a word, fashion. The drama up to the sixteenth century had been a rude

¹ Intro. to his edition, pp. viii ff. Cf. also *Magn.*, Intro., pp. cxvi, cxvii.

and plebeian department of English literature, which the courtly Chaucer and his contemporaries felt as beneath their dignity. Now it was being taken up by professional men of letters such as Skelton, Heywood, and Bale, who looked upon themselves as inheritors of Chaucer and Gower. Such men naturally favored the Chaucerian rime royal and couplet, and disliked the tail-rime of the miracle plays and romances, the verse-form ridiculed by their master in his *Tale of Sir Thopas*. Consequently we find the tail-rime stanza falling more and more into disuse as we approach 1560. In *Magnificence* we see Skelton already substituting for it the 'Skeltonical' half-line, the leash, and the light couplet, and using it in *Queen Hester*, if that be his, only in the modified half-line form. With his successors its place is taken more and more by the neutral couplet.

The second influence behind the metrical changes of the century was one far more organic,—the fundamental dramatic impulse to realism. The inward change from a drama of declamation address to the audience to a drama of living dialog is paralleled by the never-ceasing demand for further and further simplification in external form. The same impulse that Mr. Alden has shown to have been present in the steady drift toward prose in the later English drama, reaching its logical conclusion only in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when it drove verse almost entirely from the stage, even in tragedy, and the same impulse that led Ibsen to discard verse for prose in our own day, was at work also in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. The fourteenth and early fifteenth century miracle-plays and moralities were written largely in complicated stanzas of thirteen, fourteen, or even fifteen lines. When the dramatists of 1500 discarded these in favor of stanzas of only seven lines like the rime royal or of six lines like the commonest form of tail-rime, they must have felt, quite as Ibsen did in discarding his earlier poetical for a prose medium, that they were making a step toward real life. Their successors came to feel that even a seven-line stanza was not so much like real talk as was the couplet.

Consequently we find, in passing from 1520 to 1560, the couplet, favored both by the highest literary sanctions and by the practical demands of effectiveness on the stage, gradually displacing both the rime royal from its place in the scale above it and the tail-rime from its place below. In plays that have but

one level, as some of the interludes and later miracles, it becomes the sole or almost the sole verse-form. The two stanzas do not disappear entirely, and when used they still retain their dramatic coloring, but they become more and more restricted to brief passages. The rime royal is regularly employed, even in 'one-level' plays for 'extra' passages of formal declamation, such as the prolog and epilog, or the formal opening and close of a play or scene.

These statements may be illustrated by brief metrical summaries of some of the chief dramas of the period 1520-1560. The five plays of John Bale, the six of John Heywood, Redford's Wit and Science, Udall's Ralph Roister Doister, and Gammer Gurton's Needle have been selected as representative.

The chronological order of Bale's five extant plays is unsettled; the order here adopted, first the morality *Three Laws* ("compiled", as the title-page declares, in 1538, but at least revised after 1547), next the three miracle-plays *God's Promises*, *John Baptist*, and the *Temptation* ("compiled" in 1538; performed at Kilkenny in 1553), and last the historical morality *King John* (written before 1548, but revised after 1558), shows a certain metrical development.

Three Laws (ed. by A. Schroeer, *Anglia* V, 137-264; 1882). After a prolog in rime royal, *Deus Pater* opens the first Act, in which only the virtues appear, with rime royal, and is answered by the three Laws in a couplet apiece. The Laws are formally introduced and explained in six rime royal stanzas, and then the rest of the Act is devoted to a discussion in couplets. Act II, which is concerned with *Naturae Lex* and his downfall, is opened by its hero, as yet virtuous, with the rime royal. When the vice *Infidelitas* enters at l. 178, the verse changes at once to tail-rime and so remains during his presence on the stage and that of his degenerate children *Sodomismus* and *Idolotria*. Near the end (l. 744), *Naturae Lex* reappears and laments his debased condition in rime royal. Act III, which tells of the crippling and blinding of *Moseh Lex* by *Infidelitas*, *Avaritia*, and *Ambitio*, likewise begins and ends with rime royal; but the intervening vice-scenes (794-1291) are here put into couplets broken by the tail-rime for grosser or livelier passages (806 f., 810 f., 822 f., 984 f., 1068 f., 1244 f.), and once by the rime royal (1187 f.) for *Avarice's* mock creed. Act IV, in which *Christi Lex*, or *Evangelium*, is assailed, this time unsuccessfully, by *Infidelitas*, *Pseudodoctrina*, and *Hypocrysis*, begins as usual with rime royal, and passes (l. 1341) to the couplet, which prevails unmixed for the vices till the end of the Act. Act V, which is devoted to punishment and restoration, begins in couplets with the expulsion of *Infidelitas* by

means of water, sword, and fire; then (l. 1954) proceeds with the reformation and instruction of the three Laws in mixt rime royal and couplets. There is a formal close (ll. 2026-81) and a prayer for King and Council in rime royal.

The neutral quality of the couplet, making it equally suitable for vices and virtues, is here conspicuous. There is a curious progress in the vice-scenes: in Act II they are in unmixt tail-rime, in Act III in tail-rime mixt with couplets, and in Act IV in couplets only. These differences were perhaps associated for Bale with the lessening grossness and increasing subtlety of the vices involved. To be noted is the single instance of rime royal in the mouth of a vice, for an ironical passage.

God's Promises (Dodsley, vol. 1). Rime royal is used for the prolog and epilog, for the beginning and end of each of the seven "Actus", and for all longer speeches; the couplet serves for shorter speeches and the rapid dialog in the middle of each act.

John Baptist (ed. by J. Malham, *Harleian Miscellany* I, 202-216; 1808). Rime royal in prolog and epilog, in the opening speeches of John and Jesus, in Jesus's prayer, and in the words of Pater; couplets elsewhere.

Temptation (ed. by A. B. Grosart, *Fuller Worthies Library, Miscellanies*, vol. I; 1870). Rime royal in prolog and epilog, and in the opening speeches of Jesus and Satan; couplets elsewhere.

Since these three miracle plays are without vices, they have no occasion for a 'low' verse-form; and hence no argument can be drawn from their dispensing with the tail-rime. They use rime royal partly to mark passages of special dignity or pathos, but chiefly merely for the formal rounding off of beginnings and ends.

King John (ed. by J. M. Manly, *Specimens of the Pre-Shaksperian Drama*, vol. I; 1903). Rime royal is used in the following passages: King John's opening monolog (ll. 1-21); Civil Order the lawyer's formal plea (381-394); the monolog of the priest Dissimulation (983-1024); Interpreter's 'Chorus', marking the division between the two Acts (1085-1119); King John's monolog (1275-1302); King John's lamentations (2015-28, 2125-45); Verity's address (2158-85); Imperial Majesty's address (2331-51, 2560-66); and the closing speeches pointing the moral (2569-96, 2615-56). Everywhere else the couplet is used, except for a touch of the leash in Dissimulation's song (ll. 2051-6).

Here we might have expected to find the tail-rime in the frequent vice-scenes; and its absence, tho perhaps due to the seriousness of these scenes, is a mark of the waning popularity of that verse-form. A clear distinction is made between the rime royal and

the couplet, altho it is not so carefully workt out as it probably would have been had the piece ever been finisht.

Heywood's six undisputed plays, altho probably earlier than Bale's, show on the whole a later stage of verse-technic. They were written between 1515 and 1535. As there are practically no external criteria for a chronological arrangement, I have put them in a possible order of metrical progress.

Weather (ed. by A. W. Pollard, in *Gayley's Representative English Comedies*; 1903). Of Heywood's plays this is by all odds the most complicated and the most painstaking in its metrical architecture. It has three distinct levels. Highest is the rime royal, used only by Jupiter (1-97, 161-74, 179-85, 279-85, 374-80, 1133-39, 1156-1211, and 1242-55); intermediate is the quatrain, used by the more dignified suitors, but only when speaking to Jupiter (by the Gentleman, 259-78, 286-97, 1148-55, 1212-19; by the Merchant, 346-73, 1220-23; and by the Water Miller, 443-70); and the couplet, used where the 'Vice' Merry Report dominates the scene, and by the humbler suitors, is distinctly the meter of the low level. There are two instances of the half-line tail-rime (1058-1123, 1140-7), for humorous sallies by the Vice.¹

Love (ed. by A. Brandl, Q. u. F. 80; 1898). Here there are but two levels. Rime royal is used for the serious passages and the debate of the two miserable characters, Lover-not-Loved and Loved-not-Loving (1-245); also for the opening monolog of Lover-Loved (246-301), for an interjected speech of Lover-not-Loved (320-26), and for the re-entrance of Lover-Loved (689-702). The couplet is used for the debate of the two happy characters, Lover-Loved and the 'Vice' No-Lover-nor-Loved (302-96), for the Vice's long humorous monolog (397-688), and for the scenes following where he is present (703-1454). In the closing scene, in which the decisions are rendered (1455-1573), the rime royal and couplet are intermingled, the rime royal being used for the formal decision in each case (1455-61, 1478-84, 1491-1525, 1530-36) and for the closing passage (1539-73). There is one short passage of half-line couplets, or 'Skeltonical' (425-64), for a humorous description in the middle of the Vice's monolog.

The four remaining pieces belong together in having no change of level. They are also similar in using only the 'light' line,

¹ The four lines uttered by Jupiter (787-90) are probably to be considered as an incomplete rime royal stanza. The fact that the Water Miller is given a speech in quatrains, and not the Wind Miller, is not necessarily to be interpreted (as Brandl affirms, Q. u. F. 80, p. lii) as making an invidious distinction between the two; it happens because the Water Miller, like the Gentleman, makes a formal prayer to Jupiter, whereas the others deal informally with Merry Report.

whereas *Weather* and *Love* are written throughout in the 'heavy' line.¹

Four PP (ed. by Manly, *Specimens*, vol. I). Couplets throughout, except a passage in quatrains (ll. 1-28), comprizing about half of the Palmer's opening sermon, and two stanzas of rime royal at the end (ll. 1223-36), for the closing prayer and remarks to the audience.

Wit and Folly (ed. by F. W. Fairholt, *Percy Society* no. 20; 1846). Couplets throughout, except for epilog in rime royal. The prolog and first part are lost.

Pardoner and Friar (Dodsley, vol. 1). Couplets throughout, except for two stanzas of tail-rime inserted respectively at the ends of the introductory speeches of the friar (73-8) and the pardoner (183-88). To this statement the apparent quatrains produced by 'interference' during the simultaneous sermons of the two rogues form no exception. It is interesting to note, however, how carefully Heywood marks the exact point in each case where they suspend their edifying remarks to the audience and turn on each other in mutual abuse, by changing from quatrains to couplets: five times the rival sermons and the resultant quatrains begin (ll. 189, 315, 363, 435, and 526), and five times come the abusive interruptions in couplets (ll. 253, 343, 407, 507, 530).²

Johan Johan (ed. by A. W. Pollard, *Gayley's Repr. Eng. Com.*). Couplets throughout, save for about half a dozen quatrains used apparently at random.

In these plays the almost complete triumph of the couplet in the nascent comedy is apparent. The same tendency is further

¹ Cf. *Magnificence*, Intro., pp. liii, lviii; and for a different view see Brandl, *Q. u. F.* 80, p. lii.

² The only other quatrain in this play is found at ll. 626-9:

Friar
Nay, churl, I thee defy!
I shall trouble thee first;
Thou shalt go to prison by and by;
Let me see, now do thy worst!

The speech does not fit the friar, except in part; and the sense would be improved by regarding this as another case of 'interference', and assigning it as follows:

Parson
Nay, churl, I thee defy!
Friar
I shall trouble thee first!
Parson (or Neighbor Prat?)
Thou shalt go to prison by and by!
Friar (or Pardoner?)
Let me see, now do thy worst!

exemplified in three later plays which are considerably closer to the goal of real comedy than any of Heywood's: Redford's *Wit and Science* (1541-48), Udall's *Ralph Roister Doister* (either 1534-41 or 1552), and Stevenson's *Gammer Gurton's Needle* (1552-3).

Wit and Science (ed. by Manly, *Specimens*, vol. I). The staple is the couplet. Rime royal is used for the prayer at the end. There are two humorous passages in the half-line: the first, the monolog of the giant *Tediousness* (ll. 141-192) begins with the half-line quatrain and passes (l. 169) to the half-line couplet; the second, a humorous colloquy between *Wit* and *Honest Recreation* (ll. 289-332), begins with the half-line couplet, and changes first (l. 299) to the half-line quatrain, and then (l. 303) to the half-line tail-rime. In these 'Skeltonical' passages, the contrast in line is evidently the main thing, the rime-scheme unimportant. Redford's play also has a passage which is probably to be regarded as prose, the comic spelling-lesson (ll. 455-491); and if so it is the first example of the comic use of prose in the drama. There are four songs in the play.

Ralph Roister Doister (ed. by Manly, *Specimens*, vol. II). Couplets throughout, except for the prolog in rime royal and four songs.

Gammer Gurton's Needle (ed. by Manly, *Specimens*, vol. II). Couplets throughout, except for the grossly humorous conjuring passage (II. 1. 71-2. 18), which is put into half-line tail-rime; a whimsical passage in quatrains with an iterated tag at the end of every line (IV. 2. 5-28), where Hodge tries to tell a story; and a single rather futile rime royal stanza (V. 2. 1-7) where the Bailie begins his judgment.

The scale of metrical values which the middle of the century thus saw established was familiar to the earliest theorists on the subject of English versification. In the first treatise on the subject publisht in English, Gascoigne's *Certain Notes of Instruction concerning the Making of Verse* (written shortly before 1575), we find the couplet under the name 'riding rime' expressly placed over against rime royal, and their difference in ~~for~~ described as follows: "as this riding rime serueth most aptly to wryte a merie tale, so Rythme royall is fittest for a graue discourse."¹ King James VI, in his youthful *Reulis and Cautelis* (publisht in 1584) gives the couplet a more neutral character: "there is ryme quhilk seruys onely for lang historeis, and yit are nocht verse"² (i. e., not properly to be called stanzas; no disparagement of the couplet is intended); and he advises that the rime royal, to which he gives the name of 'Troilus verse', be

¹ G. Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, 1904, vol. I, p. 56.

² *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 221.

used 'for tragicall materis, complaints, or testamentis'. These dicta hardly fit the plays that were precisely contemporary with them; but they do fit the plays of twenty or thirty years back very well, and Gascoigne and James, like other law-givers of literature, may well have been belated in their deductions.

The change in metrical usage which had come about when Gascoigne set down his Notes was, however, a radical one. The old scale had been completely upset by the most important innovation in versification of the century. This was the introduction into the drama of regular verse, in contrast with the old purely accentual or 'tumbling' verse that had reigned alone up to that time.¹ The plays of Medwall and Skelton, Heywood and Bale, Redford, Udall, and Stevenson were written mainly in the native long line of four stresses. Besides this they used at times a lighter, four-foot line, not always distinguishable from it, which was ultimately derived from the regular octosyllable used by Chaucer; and they have also the four and three-foot lines of the tail-rime. But these, altho regular in their origin, had become thoroly popularized and, under the influence of the native accentual verse, extremely free, especially in their treatment of unstress syllables. A fourth variety of line was added in the half-line, or two-stress line, which first appears in Skelton and which evidently arose from internal rime in the four-stress line.

There were thus in the drama of the first half of the sixteenth century lines of two, three, and four accents, all permitting considerable liberty in the matter of unaccented syllables, and one, the descendant of the old native line, permitting such expansion almost without limit. Beyond these it is unnecessary to go in scanning the English dramatic verse of the period mentioned. The attempt to find pentameters, alexandrines, or septenaries, even of an imperfect kind, in these plays reduces their versification to chaos. Those who attempt to force it into regular verse-molds are inevitably driven to doubt whether it has the right to be

¹ I have given elsewhere my reasons for adhering to this view (see *Magnificence*, Intro. pp. li-lxii). For other opinions pro and con on this important question see the references there cited and also A. Schroeer, *Anglia* V, 238-267 (1882); L. Kellner, *Eng. Stud.* XIII, 188, 9, 196-203 (1889); C. Grabau, *Herrig's Archiv* XCIX, 318 (1897); A. Brandl, *Q. u. F.* 80, lxxxv (1898); R. W. Bond, *Complete Works of John Lyly*, II, 238, 242 (1902); E. Fluegel, *Gayley's Repr. Eng. Com.*, 189 (1903); L. A. Magnus, *Respublica*, E. E. T. S., Extra Series 94, xviii, xix, xxxi (1905).

considered verse at all, and even to wonder whether its composers could count. Read as verse that is frankly rhythmical, however, it becomes very fair verse of its kind, the descendant of the alliterative line of *Beowulf* and *Piers Plowman*; and we can give deserved credit to men whose care for their stanza-forms shows that they were keenly alive to all questions of verse-technic.

To this assertion of the entire absence of strictly regular verse from the drama of the first half of the century there is one notable exception. This is found not in any English play, but in our only example of the early Scottish stage, the *Three Estates* of Sir David Lyndsay, written about 1540. Scottish versification pursued a very different course during the century and a half after Chaucer from that of English versification; and in view of the wide divergences in other departments it is not surprising that we should find the only Scottish play provided with smooth and perfectly regular lines.¹

The number of different stanzas which it exhibits is, however, distinctly remarkable. The regular pentameter or decasyllable is found in four rime-schemes,—the couplet, the quatrain, the rime royal, and the eight-line stanza (ababbcb⁵); the octosyllable appears in the couplet, quatrain, and a five-line stanza (aabab⁴); the trimeter is found alone in the quatrain, and combined

¹ It is not of course meant to deny that Lyndsay takes the usual liberties, and sometimes rather considerable liberties, in his regular verse; but the difference between the following stanzas from *Three Estates* and Ralph Roister Doister is one of kind of line, not degree of freedom:

O Queene Venus! vnto thy Celsitude,
I gif gloir, honour, laud, and reuerence,
Quha grantit me sic perfite pulchritude,
That Princes of my persone have pleasance.
I mak ane vow, with humbill obseruance,
Richt reuerentlie thy Tempill to visie
With sacrifice vnto thy Dyosie.

Three Estates, ll. 499–505.

What Creature is in health, eyther yong or olde,
But som mirth with modestie wil be glad to use
As we in thys Enterlude shall now unfolde,
Wherin all scurilitie we utterly refuse,
Avoiding such mirth wherin is abuse:
Knowing nothing more commendable for a mans recreation
Than Mirth which is used in an honest fashion.
Ralph Roister Doister, ll. 1–7.

with the octosyllable in three forms of tail-rime (aaa'b'ccc'b', aa'b'cc'b', a'b'a'b'); and finally the 'tumbling' or accentual four-stress verse is found, clearly distinguishable from the regular, in two forms,—the couplet and a complex thirteen-line stanza (ababbcb'c'deed').

These thirteen different verse-forms are scattered through Lyndsay's immense production in a way that looks at first like mere confusion. But further attention reveals an intelligible metrical plan running through all the five different plays¹ of which the Three Estates is made up. Lyndsay has a metrical scale different in detail, but very similar in general character, to the one we have observed in his English contemporaries. It provides for at least three distinct levels. Elevated scenes, aristocratic speakers, formal speeches and proclamations, pathos, and the like, in a word, the 'high level,' is throughout indicated by the eight-line stanza (ababbcb'), the strophe to which King James gives the name 'ballat royal'.² The rime royal (ababbcc') occurs also, tho rarely, with this connotation, and more rarely still the quatrain (abab'). The middle or neutral level is regularly put in the couplet, either aa' or aa'; the decasyllable seems slightly more dignified than the octosyllable, while for dialog of rather less

¹ It has not, I believe, been pointed out that the Three Estates consists in reality of five plays differing a good deal in length, structure, and spirit, tho manifestly composed by the same hand and for successive performance. We have first the Proclamation preserved only in the Bannatyne MS, which was presented some time in advance of the regular performance, and which is a short (267 ll.) parade or *revue* bringing forward some of the most popular characters in the coming performance in a kind of medley. Then comes a regular morality (1925 ll.) of much the same type of plot as the contemporary English moralities. This, which may be entitled *Rex Humanitatis*, is brought to an adequate conclusion at l. 1925, altho with a hint of more to come. There follows a farce or interlude (368 ll.), *The Puir Man and the Pardoner*, very much like some of the interludes of Heywood. Then comes a second long morality (1978 ll.), *The Parliament of Correction*, constructed on a plan entirely unlike that of any English moral play. Last of all is a mock Sermon of Folly (357 ll.), which is also unparalleled in English literature. It is interesting to note the similarity of this structure to the contemporary performances of the French dramatic guilds, with their *sottie*, *moralité*, *farce*, and *sermon joyeux*. I wish to discuss this and other indications of Lyndsay's indebtedness to French models elsewhere.

² Reulis and Cautelis, *Elizb. Crit. Essays*, I, 222: "For any heich and graue subiectis, specially drawin out of Learnit authouris, vse this kynde of verse following, callit Ballat Royal . . ."

dignity the octosyllabic quatrain is employed. The low level is put chiefly in tail-rime, in any one of the three distinct forms. It is once replaced, in a vice's monolog, by the five-line octosyllabic stanza (aabab⁴); and a trimeter quatrain is frequently used as a kind of tag at the end of a long speech in tail-rime. For the lowest level of all, in some passages of gross jesting, and the homely complaints of the rude Pauper and John the Commonweal, the tumbling couplet is used. The tumbling thirteener at the beginning of the first morality seems an archaic reminiscence from the miracle plays.

Naturally the relative proportion of these different verse-forms differs widely in the three comic and the two serious pieces. In them all the shifts from one form to another occur so frequently that a detailed analysis here would be impossible. The following are brief summaries in each case.

The Proclamation (ed. by D. Laing, *Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay*, vol. II, pp. 316-28; 1871). The formal prolog by the Nuntius is in ballat royal. There are two humorous monologs in tail-rime by the Cottar (25-48) and Fyndlaw the braggart (101-133). The rest of the piece, in which three unrelated incidents (the Cottar henpeckt, the Braggart exposed, the Auld Man deceived) are conjoined, consists of dialog in decasyllabic or octosyllabic couplets.

Rex Humanitatis (ed. by F. Hall, *E. E. T. S.* 37; 1869). The prolog by Diligence seems intended to furnish samples of the stock of verse-schemes which is to come: it begins with an old fashioned tumbling stanza, then tells in ballat royal (14) of the coming of King Humanity, in tail-rime (30) of his temporary life in sin, and in ballat royal again (46) of how the three estates will appear and the virtues will return, and closes by disclaiming in tail-rime (70-77) any personal application. Throughout the long performance which follows, the changes are equally frequent, and every type of verse mentioned above is used except the decasyllabic quatrain. Noteworthy are the gross passage in tumbling couplets (489-498), the single case of rime royal for Lady Sensuality's 'aureate' speech (499-512), and the single case of the five-line stanza in Flattery's entering speech (602-637).

The Pair Man and the Pardoner (ed. by F. Hall, *E. E. T. S.* 37; 1869). Naturally the ballat royal finds no place in this farce. The decasyllabic couplet is used for the more serious passages; for the comic ones, the tail-rime; and for the roughest and lowest comic bits, the tumbling couplet (Pauper's impudent entrance, ll. 1926-70, and the indecent sentence of divorce, ll. 2172-79).

The Parliament of Correction (ed. by F. Hall, *E. E. T. S.* 37; 1869). Eleven different verse-forms are found in this second of the two long moralities, the five-line stanza and the tumbling thirteener failing to

reappear. The two couplet forms, the decasyllabic and the octosyllabic, are much more used than in *Rex Humanitatis*, as is natural in a piece consisting almost wholly of discussion. They form the staple for the long debates, with no great difference between them. Distinct elevation and formality is secured by the ballat royal usually, but once by the rime royal (2352-86); a less degree belongs to the decasyllabic quatrain (2495-98, 3599-3602, 3787-90). Slightly below the neutral level is the octosyllabic quatrain (2475-94, 3529-48); but the regular form for low, humorous, or vicious passages is the tail-rime in its three varieties. An excellent illustration of the homely rough color of the tumbling couplet occurs in the passage at the beginning of John the Commonweal's opening complaint (2443-74).

The Sermon of Folly (ed. by F. Hall, E. E. T. S. 37; 1869). The ballat royal naturally does not occur, except in the epilog, which belongs rather to the whole production. The octosyllabic couplet is the staple, with the tail-rime constantly used for the broader passages. A slightly more formal tone is given by the octosyllabic quatrain (4453-66) when the King becomes prominent; and the peroration of the sermon is put in the comparatively dignified decasyllabic couplet (4601-12).

The earliest example of regular verse in the English drama proper is Jasper Heywood's translation of Seneca's *Troas* in 1559. The innovation, when it comes, has no connection with the brilliant example of regular verse furnished across the border by Lyndsay. It is strictly a part of the Renaissance movement toward classical and Italian models. Regular meter had been reintroduced, into an England that had practically lost it, by Wyatt and Surrey in the third and fourth decades of the century. The foreign importation was used first in lyric poetry, then in various specimens of epic, and last of all, after about thirty years, crept into the drama.

The important Senecan translations begun by Heywood were not the first English versions of the classical drama. The translation of Euripides's *Iphigeneia at Aulis* by Lady Jane Lumley about 1550, which has been recently published for the first time,¹ precedes it and may also claim the distinction, usually credited to Gascoigne's *Supposes*, of being the first drama entirely in prose. But it exerted no contemporary influence, whereas the influence of 'English Seneca' on every feature of the advancing drama, versification included, was of course profound. The meters chosen by Heywood in his *Troas* of 1559, with which may be included his *Thyestes* in 1560, his *Hercules Furens* in

¹ Malone Society Reprints, 1909.

1561, and the *Oedipus* rendered by Alexander Neville in 1560, deserve especial attention in this investigation.¹

Heywood's *Troas*. Of the non-choric scenes, ten in number, seven are put in the regular septenary couplet (aa'); two (I. 2 and III. 2) in the decasyllabic quatrain; and one (II. 1) in regular decasyllabic rime royal. Of the four choruses, one (in Act I) has the decasyllabic quatrain, two (Acts II and IV), as well as the Argument prefix to the play, are in regular decasyllabic rime royal, and one (Act III) has the octosyllabic quatrain.

Heywood's *Thyestes*. All the scenes but one have the septenary couplet; that one (V. 2) has been put into the decasyllabic quatrain. All four choruses are in the decasyllabic quatrain.

Heywood's *Hercules Furens*. All the scenes have the septenary couplet, and all the choruses the decasyllabic quatrain, except part of the third chorus, which is in the octosyllabic quatrain.

Neville's *Oedipus*. In the septenary couplet throughout, including nine scenes and four choruses.

The direction of the movement here is obvious. After considerable uncertainty in his first drama, Heywood settles down to the septenary couplet as his conventional medium for strictly dramatic parts, and the decasyllabic quatrain for the 'extra', more lyrical choruses. The scenes where he departs from the septenary couplet in the first two plays are all four distinctly lyrical, three of them being soliloquies. His successor Neville neglects even this distinction between strictly dramatic and 'extra' parts, and puts all alike into the septenary couplet.

The romantic distinction of 'level' is naturally not to be found in these or in any of the purely classical plays that follow them. Such diversity of verse-forms as they have is due always to the desire to set off a lyrical or declamatory insertion, or simply for the sake of experiment. The rooted national passion for dramatic contrast, however, was not suspended by them; for, as we shall see, plays of the older type were being produced about them unintermittently. The classical translations and imitations form a side-channel in the stream of sixteenth century drama, but one that affected the greater stream profoundly, and not least by conveying into it a succession of new and valuable verse-forms.

The septenary couplet of Heywood and Neville was the first form of regular verse to gain a dramatic foothold, and it kept

¹For all the ten tragedies of Seneca the edition of the Spencer Society, nos. 43 and 44 (1887) has been used; and Miss Evelyn M. Spearing's valuable study (*Mod. Lang. Rev.* IV, 437-461) must also be acknowledged.

the place it had won for over twenty years. But its title was disputed almost immediately by the rival that was destined eventually to dethrone it, the decasyllable, and that too in its dramatically most advanced form of blank verse. This entered the drama first, of course, in Sackville and Norton's *Gorboduc* in 1562, the metrical scheme of which is comparatively simple.

Gorboduc (ed. by J. M. Manly, *Specimens*, vol. II). All nine scenes are in unmixed blank verse; three of the four choruses use the six-line stanza (ababcc⁶), no. 2 with an extra couplet at the end; and the chorus for Act III is in the decasyllabic quatrain, ending with an extra couplet.

It is perhaps a little remarkable that blank verse did not win acceptance at once as the fittest dramatic medium, for it had in its favor both the impulses that I have suggested above,—refinement and realism. It was in conformity with the highest accepted models, for did it not follow the example of the classics? and it is certainly simpler and closer to the speech of real life than any other possible form of verse. But *Gorboduc* was a little ahead of its decade, and the step from the stiff and lumbering rimed septenary to the supple unrimed decasyllable was too great a one to be taken all at once. A natural transition lay through the rimed decasyllable, and this compromise was adopted by the author of the fifth Senecan translation, the *Octavia* of Thomas Nuce, which appeared in 1566. Whether under the influence directly of *Gorboduc* or not it would be hazardous to say, but the *Octavia* is unique among the ten Senecan plays in discarding the septenary altogether, and it thus becomes to modern taste the most readable of the whole dreary collection.

Nuce's *Octavia*. The play has fifteen scenes, the choruses not being distinguished from the rest. Nine of these are put by Nuce in the decasyllabic couplet; the remaining six are in the octosyllabic quatrain. Of these six, two (I. 5 and IV. 2) are purely choric; two others (III. 2 and IV. 6) have the chorus taking part in the dialog; and the other two (I. 1 and I. 3) apparently do not differ in any way from the scenes in decasyllabic verse. The Argument at the head of the play is put in the decasyllabic quatrain.

The successors of Nuce in the task of translating Seneca lackt his boldness or his insight in metrical matters, and the remaining plays, John Studley's *Medea* (1566), *Agamemnon* (1566), *Hippolitus* (1581), and *Hercules Oetaeus* (1581), and Thomas

Newton's *Thebais* (1581), return to the septenary couplet of Heywood. Their metrical make-up may be considered together.

All the scenes in these five plays are put in the septenary couplet with one exception, Studley's *Herc. Oet. I. 2*, in poulter's measure (a^aa'). There is considerable variety and more independence of choice in the choruses: out of seventeen in Studley's four plays (the *Thebais* lacks a chorus), five are put in the decasyllabic quatrain, Heywood's favorite choric form; five (*Med. III*, *Agam. III* and *IV*, *Hipp. II*, *Herc. Oet. IV*) in the septenary couplet; one (*Herc. Oet. III*) in poulter's measure; two (*Agam. I* and *II*) in the alexandrine couplet; and three (*Hipp. IV*, *Herc. Oet. II* and *V*) in the six-line stanza (ababcc^a).

But Nuce's preference for the pentameter was followed to an increasing extent by other contemporary imitators of the classic drama. An excellent instance of this is the classical tragedy composed about 1567 by five students of the Inner Temple, *Gismond of Salern*. This play, which the youthful collaborators chose to clothe principally in the decasyllabic quatrain, was written with extreme care for metrical exactness, as the diacritical signs found in the MS bear witness.

Gismond of Salern (ed. by A. Brandl, Q. u. F. 80; 1898). Acts I, II, and V are in the decasyllabic quatrain, with an occasional decasyllabic couplet at the end of a scene or a long speech. The author of Act III allowed himself a little more freedom in inserting couplets among his quatrains, and put one passage of some length (scene 3, ll. 1-56) in eight-line stanzas (abababcc^a). In Act IV we find the only departure from decasyllables in the play: the author of this share of the work (Christopher Hatton?) puts part of scene 2 (ll. 1-122) in alexandrine couplets. The rest of his act is in the normal decasyllabic quatrains with an occasional couplet, and his striking departure in this single passage is perhaps due to the fact that it is the most obviously pathetic in the whole tragedy.

While the rimed decasyllable was thus displacing the unwieldy septenary and alexandrine, it was beginning itself to feel the competition of blank verse. Almost contemporary with *Gismond of Salern* was the second blank verse drama of the language, Gascoigne's *Jocasta* (1566).

Jocasta (ed. by J. W. Cunliffe, Belles-Lettres Series; 1906). All the scenes, including choric passages within the scenes, are in blank verse, with frequent couplets, usually marking gnomic passages. For the 'extra' parts Gascoigne uses a variety of forms: the Argument is in decasyllabic couplets; the choruses after Acts I, II, and IV are in

decasyllabic rime royal; the chorus after Act III is in a special eleven-line stanza (ababbccddcc⁶); that after Act V is an Elizabethan sonnet; and the Epilogus is in decasyllabic quatrain.

The other two plays extant from the hand of this important writer, *Supposes* (1566) and the *Glass of Government* (before 1575), complete the list of forms which the English drama owes to the classical school by furnishing the first examples of effective dramatic prose.

Supposes (ed. by J. W. Cunliffe, *Belles-Lettres Series*; 1906). Excellent prose throughout its five acts and thirty-one scenes.

Glass of Government (ed. by W. C. Hazlitt, *Complete Poems of George Gascoigne*, vol. II; 1870). In this later comedy the prose, used throughout the dramatic parts proper, is intersperst with a considerable number of 'extra' passages in a variety of verse-schemes: the prolog and second chorus are in decasyllabic quatrain; the first chorus and epilog in decasyllabic rime royal; the third chorus in a six-line stanza (ababcc⁵); the fourth chorus in poulter's measure; and finally the two depressing exercises in versification which Philotimus and Philomusus submit to their godly instructor in Act III. 6 are respectively in the septenary couplet and the decasyllabic quatrain.

In the verse passages here we have variety for variety's sake. The new and effective distinction between verse and prose has completely overshadowed old distinctions of stanza, and Gascoigne feels free to show his ability to exemplify any of the stock of rime-schemes which he had discust in his treatise.

By the eighties the twenty years rivalry between septenary, alexandrine, rimed decasyllable, and blank verse was practically over, and the struggle had been settled in favor of the simplest form. An interesting sign of the changing metrical conventions is the revision of the tragedy of 1567, *Gismond of Salern*, which we possess from the hand of one of its authors made twenty-four years later. On the title-page he informs us that it has been "newly revised and polished according to the decorum of these days"; and on comparing the two versions we find he has largely eliminated the rimes and rewritten the whole in blank verse.

Wilmot's *Tancred and Gismunda* (Dodsley, vol. VII). The rimes are not everywhere eliminated with equal thoroughness: in the choruses (except that to Act IV) and in four scenes (I. 1, 2; III. 1, 2), all of which are monologs, the quatrains of the original are preserved with but a few departures; and this is evidently done with intention, since added passages in these scenes are also put into quatrains. Elsewhere

the aim is evidently to do away with the quatrains altogether, altho many traces of them remain behind. The passages of the original in eight-line stanzas (III. 3) and in alexandrine couplets (IV. 2), are wholly transformed.¹

While this twenty years struggle was going on among the learned and courtly authors of exotic classical tragedy and comedy, the real English drama was assimilating little by little such of the new improvements as it found good. The plays of the classical school had been composed exclusively in regular verse. As they were one and all uniform in tone, that is, written on but a single 'level', they had not felt the need of two forms markedly different in connotation. The native plays, on the other hand, were generally possessors of at least two distinct 'levels', and it was to be expected that when regular verse was first introduced into their metrical system, it should enter at the top of the scale, dislodging all forms of 'tumbling verse' found there hitherto. So it proves in fact; and two excellent instances are found in the two earliest plays to combine the regular and the accentual varieties of line, *Misogonus* (somewhere in the '60's) and *Bugbears* (after 1561, probably before 1566).

Misogonus (ed. by A. Brandl, Q. u. F. 80; 1898). Composed throughout in the heavy four-stress line, riming in quatrains; except for a humorous fool's tirade (IV. 3) in half-line couplets after the manner of Skelton, a few interjected scraps of prose, and two songs; and the further exception of two passages in regular septenary quatrain (the prolog and IV. 1, 149 ff.). This curious insertion in the fourth act is a father's prayer of thanks over his prodigal son returned, and probably ranks as the most elevated in tone of the play.

Bugbears (ed. by C. Grabau, *Herrig's Archiv*, vols. 98 and 99; 1897). Heavy four-stress couplets are used throughout (contrary to the opinion of Grabau; see vol. 99, p. 318), except for five songs, and one scene (III. 4) in septenary couplets. The reason for differentiating this

¹ A comparison of this revision with the text we have of *Selimus* (printed 1594) suggests that in this anonymous play we have the result of a similar bringing up to date and partial rewriting in blank verse. Traces, sometimes undisturbed for pages at a time, are to be found of at least three stanzas: one of eight lines (abababcc⁹) in scenes 1, 9, and 19; one of seven lines (rime royal) in scenes 2, 3, and 9; and one of six lines (ababcc⁹) in scenes 10, 15, and 20. In scenes 4, 5, and 15 also, stanzas of some kind, altho less clearly identifiable, are perhaps to be discovered behind the present text. It seems impossible that any author could have originally composed in so haphazard a way.

scene from the rest of the play is not so apparent as in the parallel case in *Misogonus*; but it is a monolog, rather lyrical and elevated in form, in which the heroine expresses her joy over good fortune that has come to her.

It may be noted that in both these cases the metrically unique scenes are not especially organic, and have somewhat the air of being later reworkings or additions, altho either scene may have been introduced experimentally by the original author. In either event, however, their illustrative value for the matter in hand remains the same. It was natural that the first regular verse-form to enter the native drama should be either the septenary, the first form adopted in the classical plays, or its close kinsman poulter's measure.

Where the regular septenary was adopted as the conventional form for the 'high level', the tumbling verse in all its varieties of rime-scheme sank to the 'low level'. An excellent specimen of the new scale thus created is the recently discovered comedy of *Patient Grissel* by John Phillip (about 1565). The two forms are here combined in the most studied way, the changes from one to the other frequently occurring within the same scene, but always with manifest intention. The regular septenaries and alexandrines mark off the aristocrats from the common people of the play, impassioned from calm speech, serious and formal from humorous or conversational passages. The latter in each case are put in the tumbling line, of which the different rime-schemes are apparently felt as indistinguishable. The new and sharp distinction between the lines has completely overshadowed the old differences of stanza, just as did later the still sharper distinction between verse and prose.

Patient Grissel (Malone Society Reprints; 1909). Poulter's measure (either a⁶a⁷ or aa⁷ being used at random) is found in the Preface and in all elevated passages; tumbling verse in the epilog, for all humorous passages and all speeches of the 'Vice', and to mark the low estate of certain characters. Tumbling rime royals, tumbling six-line stanzas (ababcc), tumbling quatrains, and tumbling couplets are mixt at random in these passages, the rime royal and the six-line stanza being perhaps preferred for longer and more formal speeches.

Further analysis of plays using this verse-scale would be unnecessary. It is found in *Appius and Virginia* (about 1563), *Damon and Pithias* (about 1564), *Horestes* (about 1567), *Cambyses* (1569-70), *Clyomon and Clamydes* (1570-84), *Common Conditions* (about 1576), and a number of others.

Toward the end of the seventh decade the regular decasyllable, rimed and unrimed, began to creep into plays of this class, without at once driving out the tumbling verse from its place at the bottom of the scale. A capital example of the wide gamut of choice open to the dramatist at this moment of transition is the *Promos and Cassandra* of George Whetstone (before 1578),—an important play from many points of view, and one that deserves careful re-editing. Until that is done it will not be safe to pronounce on the exact boundaries of the remarkably large number of different verse-forms which Whetstone uses; but the main facts are clear.

Promos and Cassandra; in *Two Parts* (ed. by W. C. Hazlitt, Shakspeare's Library, vol. 6; 1875). The First Part has five verse-forms: regular decasyllabic quatrains and couplets are used for the 'high level', especially for the great officers of state, *Promos* the viceroy and his fellow-dignitaries; poulter's measure is used in pathetic or impassioned passages, and for soliloquies; and the tumbling couplet and quatrain are used for scenes of low life, humorous passages, and clownish speakers. The staple or neutral form is the decasyllabic couplet.

The Second Part uses all these forms, and adds three others: when the King, who has been absent during the whole of the First Part, returns, his speeches are given a dignity above that even of the high officials who speak in decasyllabic quatrains by being put into blank verse (I. 8; III. 2; V. 4); there is a passage in prose, a formal proclamation (II. 2); and the clown John Adroynes has a humorous passage in the old "Skeltonical", or half-line couplet (III. 2). The double play is also rich in songs, no less than ten being inserted, written in as many as nine different rime-schemes.

As the septenary was gradually displaced from its old position by the entrance, at the top, of the rimed and then of the unrimed decasyllable, it tended to sink in the scale; thus in *Promos and Cassandra* it is put in the mouth of a vicious character like *Lamia* the courtesan. In some plays of the eighties it was relegated altogether to the humorous or 'low' scenes, just as it had previously relegated the tumbling verse. Thus in the *Troublesome Raigne of King John*, Part I (before 1591), in the midst of a play mostly in blank verse, there occurs a humorous scene (sc. 11), depicting the exposure of the licentious friars. Here we find the septenary couplet alternating with the old half-line couplet or 'Skeltonical' and once with the ordinary tumbling couplet, all evidently being felt as equally suitable for gross and broad humor.

But the septenary was too stiff and lumbering for permanent success in a comic capacity, and so it was generally discarded altogether. The tumbling verse remained even in the nineties in extensive use for such passages, and some trial was made also of the shorter regular verse-forms, such as the octosyllabic couplet and quatrain. But the ideal solution was not found till the introduction of prose for the 'low level.'

Prose we have seen used as early as 1550 for an entire play, and again for an entire comedy by Gascoigne in 1566; and Lyly had made a brilliant success of it as used alone in his seven court comedies. Yet the combination of blank verse and prose in the same drama is comparatively late, preceding only by a few years the earliest plays of Shakspeare himself. If we accept one theory of the date of Lyly's *Woman in the Moon* (1578-81), this should perhaps be given the credit of first using the Shaksperian scale. It is at any rate one of the first, and also one of the most skilful.

Woman in the Moon (ed. by R. W. Bond, *Complete Works of John Lyly*, vol. III; 1902). Blank verse throughout, except for prose in single speeches of the clown Gunophilus *passim*, and occasionally by the other characters in jocose mood (*Pandora and the Shepherds*, III. 298-332; *Stesias*, IV. 305; *Pandora*, IV. 112; the *Shepherds*, IV. 124-145). The unit is everywhere the single speech rather than the scene or character.

The Shaksperian scale is employed also, of course, by Peele, Greene, and Marlowe, and was thus fairly establisht, tho not old upon the throne, when the youthful Shakspeare came up to London. He entered into the labors of his predecessors. He was not a metrical innovator; he used and perfected the instruments which he found ready to hand. In Shakspeare's plays, indeed, we find examples of almost every form of dramatic verse that the century had tried. Beside his usual blank verse and prose, he makes frequent use, of course, of octosyllabic verse for certain definite effects; he uses the decasyllabic couplet, as for example in his plays within plays, in a way that must have been intended to remind his auditors of a fashion not so long outworn. He has a larger quantity of tumbling verse, e. g., in the clown-scenes of *Love's Labor's Lost*, *Comedy of Errors*, *Taming of the Shrew*, *Merchant of Venice*, *King Lear*, than is always realized, as well as some tail-rime and half-line bits; and he has even some examples of the septenary couplet and poulter's measure. The presence of such obsolete and obsolescent forms reminds us

of those superfluous organs in the human body which we are told are relics of our prehistoric ancestors.

Fortunately in this case we have the literary ancestors at hand to explain them. We can look upon them as the residuum of a hundred years of experimentation, during which four metrical scales, each intended to express the romantic contrasts of tone and level that were sought throughout the sixteenth century, had been tried successively. First there had been tumbling rime royal for the high level, tumbling couplet for the middle, and tail-rime for the low; second, the septenary couplet and poulter's measure for high, tumbling verse of any kind for low; third, rimed decasyllables at the top, the septenary, tumbling verse, or octosyllables at the bottom; and finally blank verse and prose. But the change had been one of methods only; it was essentially the same sort of contrast that Heywood in the third decade sought to make between Jupiter and his man in one way, and Phillip in the seventh decade between Prince Gautier and his malicious servant in another way, and Shakspeare in the tenth decade between Prince Hal and his whilom companions in still a third way:

Jupiter. Now, syns we have thus farre set forth our purpose,
 A whyle we woll wythdraw our godly presens,
 To embold all such more playnely to dysclose,
 As here wyll attende, in our foresayd pretens.
 And now, accordynge to your obedyens,
 Rejoyce ye in us with joy most joyfully,
 And we our-selfe shall joy in our owne glory!

Mery-Reporte cometh in.

Mery-Reporte. Now, syrs, take hede! for here cometh goddes servaunt!
 Avaunt! carterly keytyfs, avaunt!
 Why, you dronken horesons, wyll yt not be?
 By your fayth, have ye nother cap nor kne?
 Not one of you that wyll make curtsy
 To me, that am squyre for goddes precyous body?
Weather, ll. 179-191.

Gautier. I know that pryde imbrassed is, and some ther state exsceed,
 But my ellected mate God knowes, with vice will not proceed,
 She will obserue a modest meane, hir vertues shall increase,
 All hatfull hate in hyr shall end, she loueth perfyte peace,
 She feareth God, she dreads his name, she leades a Godly
 life,

And dayly sekcs for to subdue, contensyon and strife,
 She will as dutie byndes, hir spoused mate obaye,
 From husbandes heastes at no time she for any cause will
 straye.

Politicke. If shee bee so hollye a saynt as you make hyr,
 Refuse hyr I besече you and I my selfe will take hyr,
 Such a Marriage would I haue, if I should chuse,
 Then should I be sure she would me not mysuse,
 I might saie what I would, and do what I list,
 Hee that hath such a wife of God he is blist!
 Patient Grissell, ll. 388-401.

Poins. Now, my good sweet honey lord, ride with us to-morrow: I
 have a jest to execute that I cannot manage alone. Fal-
 staff, Bardolph, Peto, and Gadshill shall rob those men that
 we have already waylaid; yourself and I will not be there;
 and when they have the booty, if you and I do not rob
 them, cut this head off from my shoulders

Prince. I know you all, and will awhile uphold
 The unyoked humor of your idleness:
 Yet herein will I imitate the sun,
 Who doth permit the base contagious clouds
 To smother up his beauty from the world,
 That, when he please again to be himself,
 Being wanted, he may be more wondered at,
 By breaking thru the foul and ugly mists
 Of vapors that did seem to strangle him.

1 Hen. IV; I, 2.

ROBERT L. RAMSAY

IV.—SALISSATIONES, SIVE AD PLAUTI MILIT. 694.

The purpose of this article is twofold; first, to present a fairly complete conspectus of one of the less-known forms of divination among the Greeks and Romans, and second, to apply this to the interpretation of the Miles Gloriosus, 694. It will incidentally afford also a more complete commentary than any hitherto published on the Pseudolus, 107, and on Theocritus, III, 36.

The form of divination in question is that known to the Greeks as ὁ παλμός, τὸ παλμικὸν οἰώσιμα, ἡ παλμῶν μαντική, τὸ παλμαστικόν or ἡ παλμοσκοπία, and to the Romans as *salissatio*. By this, auguries were sought from the palpitation of the heart, the throbbing of a vein, the itching of a foot or other bodily member, the twitching of an eye or of any muscle and from the ἦχος ἐν ὤσσι or *tinnitus aurium*. It is thus akin to, yet distinct from, the divination sought from the πταρμός or *sternutatio*, and αἱ τοῦ σώματος ἐλαΐαι or *naevi*, etc.

The first mention of the term *salissatio* in the extant Latin seems to be that in Marcellus Empiricus who in his work *De Medicamentis Empiricis, Physicis ac Rationabilibus*, XXI, 15, prescribes a remedy *ad cordis pulsum sive salissationem*. This is as clearly a technical term in the physician's craft as is the equivalent παλμός in Hippocrates, Aristotle and others.

The mantic use of the term is, however, clearly implied in the Origines (VIII, 9, 29) of Isidorus Hispalensis: *Salisatores vocati sunt, quia dum eis membrorum quaecumque partes salierint, aliquid sibi exinde prosperum, seu triste significari praedicunt*. We have found it elsewhere only in the Glossaria Labbaei, which cites Philoxenos for the gloss, παλμός, *salissatio*.

It is not improbable, however, that the term even in its mantic signification is much older. Plautus, at any rate, gives a clear instance of such divination in Pseud. 107 :

Nisi quia futurumst : ita supercilium salit,

where the wily slave interprets the twitching of his eyebrow as a sign that his hope will be fulfilled. Commentators generally

compare with this the query of the goatherd in Theocritus, III, 36:

Ἀλλεται ὀφθαλμός μεν ὁ δεξιός ἢ ῥά γ' ἰδησῶ
αὐτὴν;

Augustine also refers to same class of auguries when speaking in his *De Doctrina Christiana* (II, 20, 30 f.) of the superstitious he mentions among *millia inanissimarum observationum*, "*si membrorum aliquod salierit.*"

On the Greek side there are more witnesses for this mode of divination. Suidas, s. v. Ποσειδώνιος, says that P. wrote a work on τὸ παλμικὸν οἰώνισμα· ἐπεὶ ἂν πάλλῃ ὁ δεξιὸς ὀφθαλμός, τότε σημαίνει and repeats this with slight verbal change, s. vv. παλμικὸν οἰώνισμα.

The Pseudo-Justin Martyr, in the Ἐρωτήσεις πρὸς τοὺς ὀρθοδόξους (Ἐρ. 19), condemns such means of divination: Ὁ δὲ παλμός πάθος ἐστὶ σωματικὸν ἐκ τῆς διαδρομῆς τοῦ φυσικοῦ πνεύματος, ἐν τῇ στόματι ὑφισταμένου πάντων τῶν ζώων. Διὸ ἀνάξιον ἔκρινον οἱ ἄγιοι εἶναι κριτήριον τῶν μελλόντων τὸ τοιοῦτον σωματικὸν κίνημα.

Nonnos Abbas in his commentary on Greg. Nazian. Stelit. I. (c. 72) has: παλμαστικὸν δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ διὰ τῆς πάλσεως τοῦ σώματος γνωριζόμενον· οἷον ἐπάλθῃ ὁ δεξιὸς ὀφθαλμός, τότε σημαίνει· ἢ ὁ ἄμος ἢ ὁ μῆρς (ἢ κνημὸς ἐν τῇ ποδὶ ἢ πρὸς τὸ οὖς ἡχος ἐγένετο),¹ τότε (συμβαίνει)¹ ὁ συνεγράψατο Ποσειδώνιος καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί.

Ps. Eudocia (Ἰωνία), No. 734, coincides closely, but does not count (A. J. P. III 489, IV 109, V 114 f., VII 104, XX 351).

Eustathius Macrembolites, or Eumathius, as some MSS give the name, in his erotic novel, τὸ καθ' Ὑσμίνην καὶ Ὑσμινίαν δρᾶμα (IX, 4), writes thus: ἐπὶ δὴ τούτοις πᾶσιν ὀφθαλμός ἤλατό μου ὁ δεξιός, καὶ ἦν μοι τὸ σημεῖον ἀγαθόν, καὶ τὸ προμάντευμα δεξιότατον.

Eustathius of Thessalonica, in commenting upon Iliad VII, 184, says: ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ ἐκ δεξιῶν πταρμός οἰωνίζεται τι ἀγαθόν, παλαιὰ νόμισις ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτό. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὁ παλμός τοῦ δεξιοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ κατὰ τὰ, ἄλλεται ὀφθαλμός μεν ὁ δεξιός. This seems echoic of Theocritus.

Earlier than any of these and by far the most important authority that has survived is the Egyptian Greek Melampus, author of a work, Περί² παλμῶν μαντικῇ, addressed to one of the Ptolemies, supposed to be Philadelphus. There are numerous and considerable lacunae in the work in its extant state, but the

¹ Words in parentheses are omitted in some MSS.

² Edited by Franz in *Scriptores Physiognomiae Veteres*, pp. 450 ff., Altenburg, 1780.

significance of *παλμοί* for 189 parts of the body¹ is given, with a total of 546 omens. Of these, 227 are of general, the rest of specific² application. They cover in a general way the whole range of human experience. Melampus twice cites interpretations made by Antiphon, the famous interpreter of dreams, signs, etc., cites Phemonoe twice and the Egyptians once and has forty-six references to anonymous interpreters of the palmic art. In two instances there are two sets of *ἄλλοι* cited, with interpretations differing from each other and from Melampus. In seventeen instances, Melampus and *ἄλλοι* give interpretations of general application but different. In eleven he gives interpretations of general, they of specific application; in eleven others he gives specific, they general applications. In seven instances both give specific only, with more or less overlapping in five of these. We have here some justification for the *καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί* of Nonnos.

In four instances the commentator Trillerus has found resemblances to the *Oneirocritica* of Artemidorus, in four others to that of Achmet and in five others to both of these. These resemblances are slight and general in character but are at least remotely suggestive of the idea that certain augural fancies were rather widely associated with certain parts of the body.

Only in connection with the fingers of the right hand does Melampus give any clue at all to the rationale of his interpretations. Here the basis is mythological. In one other instance he indicates a like basis for an interpretation cited from one of his anonyms.

We have, then, ample evidence of an elaborate system of *παλμοσκοπία* as early as the time of Theocritus and the Greek originals of Plautus. The citations from Antiphon show the existence of such superstitions and attempts to divine from them as early as the fifth century. In this system, so far as it is preserved in Melampus, the brow and the eye³ take a prominent

¹ There are 197 omens drawn from the 57 parts of the head, 258 from the 83 parts of the trunk and upper limbs and 91 from the 49 parts of the lower limbs.

² These are distributed as follows: *δόλυψ* 92, *παρθένψ* 79, *χήρα* 75, *στρατιώτη* 11, *τῷ πλουσίῳ* 10, *πένητι* 8, *τοῖς λοιποῖς* 6, *ἐλευθέρῳ* 5, *ἐμπόρῳ* 5, *κυβερνήτῃ* 5, *γονακί* 3, *γεωργῷ* 2, *ναύτῃ* 2, *τῷ νοσοῦντι* 2, *ἀνδρί*, *τῷ ἄπόρῳ*, *τοῖς ἀτέκνοις*, *τοῖς δανείζουσι*, *τοῖς ἐν δάνει οὔσιν*, *τοῖς ἐνδύμοις*, *τῷ κακῶς πράσσοντι*, *κλέπτῃ*, *κυνηγῷ*, *τῷ μοχθήσαντι*, *τοῖς ξένοις*, *ὀδοιπόρῳ*, *τῷ ὑγιαίνοντι*, *χειροτέχνῃ*, 1 each.

³ As the work of Melampus is so little known and there are so few copies in

part, surpassed in the number of "points" only by the hand and the foot. The quotations from the literature would indicate that in the minds of the people these were pre-eminently associated with this mode of divination.

If now we test the work of Melampus by these passages we shall see how well they harmonize with the system. If it was the right brow of the slave Pseudolus that twitched, it meant *ἀγαθόν*; if the left, *ἀγαθὸν πολὺ ἀπροσδόκητον*· ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐτυχῆσει καὶ πίστιν ἔξει. What better omen could the rascal want? Had the goatherd of Theocritus consulted the palmoscope, he might have learned on the authority of Phemonoe, Antiphon, Melampus and the Egyptians that the twitching of his right eye indicated *ἐχθροὺς ὑποχειρίους ἔξει*. ἄγει δὲ καὶ ἀποδήμους, which in his case would mean the defeat of his rivals and the presence of the absent Amaryllis. Surely the love-lorn Hysminias in the romance was amply justified by the sequel in pronouncing the same *παλμὸν* to be *σημαῖον ἀγαθὸν καὶ προμάντευμα δεξιότατον*.

America, the most relevant passages have been excerpted. [The text followed is that of Diels, for which see p. 208.—B. L. G.]

Ὁφρὺς δεξιὰ ἐὰν ἀλληται, νόσον ὀηλοὶ ὀλίγον χρόνον, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον εὐπορίαν· πένητι, πλούτῳ· δούλῳ, ἀγαθόν· παρθένῳ, ψόγον· χήρᾳ, ὕβριν. Ὁφρὺς ἀριστερὰ ἐὰν ἀλληται, ἀγαθὸν πολὺ σημαίνει ἀπροσδόκητον· ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐτυχῆσει, καὶ πίστιν ἔξει. Ὁφρὺων τὸ μέσον ἐὰν ἀλληται, κατὰ Φημονόην, κακὸν ἀπασί· δούλῳ, ἀγαθόν· παρθένῳ, συμβουλὴν· χήρᾳ, ὠφέλειαν.

Ὁφθαλμὸς δεξιὸς ἐὰν ἀλληται, κατὰ Φημονόην καὶ Αἰγυπτίους καὶ Ἀντιφώντα, ἐχθροὺς ὑποχειρίους ἔξει. ἄγει δὲ καὶ ἀποδήμους. Ὁφθαλμοῦ δεξιῷ τὸ ἄνω βλέφαρον ἐὰν ἀλληται, ἐπικτήσιν πάντως ὀηλοὶ· κατὰ δὲ Ἀντιφώντα, πρᾶξιν καὶ ὑγίαν. δούλῳ, ἐπιβουλὴν· χήρᾳ, ἀποδημίαν· ὀφθαλμοῦ δεξιῷ τὸ κάτω βλέφαρον ἐὰν ἀλληται, δάκρυα ὀηλοὶ· δούλῳ, ἀγαθόν· παρθένῳ, ὕβριν· χήρᾳ, ὑποταγήν. ὀφθαλμοῦ δεξιῷ κανθὸς ἐὰν ἀλληται, ἢ ὁ βόλος, πένητι ἀηδίαν ὀηλοὶ· δούλῳ, διαβολὴν· παρθένῳ, κίνδυνον· χήρᾳ, ψόγον· ἐχθροῦ ἀποδημοῦντος ἐπέλευσιν ὀηλοὶ.

Ὁφθαλμὸς ἀριστερὸς ἐὰν ἀλληται, ἤξει τις αὐτῷ ἀπὸ ξένης, ὃν μάλιστα ἀγαπᾷ· ἢ αὐτὸς ὁδὸν πορεύσεται· καὶ εἰ προσέφυγέ τις ἐξ αὐτοῦ μακρὰν ὁδὸν, εὐρήσει τοῦτον. καὶ ἐπὶ θηλυκῶν προσώπων ἑλπίδα ὀηλοὶ· πένητι δὲ ὁδὸν πορευθῆναι ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ, ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ πολλὰ κοπιᾶσαι, καὶ ὀλίγα κτήσασθαι ὀηλοὶ. Ὁφθαλμοῦ ἀριστεροῦ τὸ ἄνω βλέφαρον ἐὰν ἀλληται, πένητι ἐπικτήσιν ὀηλοὶ, καὶ εὐπορίαν· δούλῳ, ἐπιβουλὴν· παρθένῳ, ψόγον· χήρᾳ, ἀγαθόν· πλουσίῳ, εὐωχίαν· γεωργῷ, καὶ κτηνῷ, ὠφέλειαν· στρατιώτῃ, προκοπὴν. Ὁφθαλμοῦ ἀριστεροῦ ὁ δεξιὸς κανθὸς ἐὰν ἀλληται, ἦγουν ὁ πρὸς τὴν ῥίνα, ὑγίαν καὶ σωτηρίαν ὀηλοὶ. ὁ δὲ ἀριστερὸς ἐὰν ἀλληται, ἐπὶ πάντων ἀγαθὸν ὀηλοὶ. Ὁφθαλμοῦ ἀριστεροῦ τὸ κάτω βλέφαρον ἐὰν ἀλληται, ἀηδίαν σημαίνει· δούλῳ, διαβολὴν· παρθένῳ, ἀφθαρσίαν· χήρᾳ, ὕβριν. Ὁφθαλμοῦ ἀριστεροῦ ὁ κανθὸς ἢ ὁ βόλος ἀλλόμενος, ἀηδίας καὶ λύπας ὀηλοὶ παντὶ· δούλῳ, ὠφέλειαν· παρθένῳ, νόσον. Ὁφθαλμοῦ ἀριστεροῦ ἢ οὐρὰ ἐὰν ἀλληται, ἀγαθὰ πολλὰ ὀηλοὶ· δούλῳ, πίστει· ἐπιτυχεῖν, ὅθεν ἂν ὠφελήσεται· παρθένῳ, ψόγον· χήρᾳ, λύπην.

The words *quae supercilio spicit* in Miles 694 have been a puzzle to the commentators. Ussing (1882) frankly confesses: "*Quid sit supercilio spicere ignoro*". He would even like to read *quae supercilia inficit*. Brix (1882) is silent. Lorenz attempted no explanation in his first edition (1869) and in his second (1886) remarks: "Was *supercilio spicere* bedeutet, ist ganz unklar". Tyrrell, though following in his text the traditional reading of the old editions and in his notes the traditional exegesis, had already in the critical commentary to his edition (1881) made the happy suggestion of the reading *quae supercilio spicit* and the interpretation: "Some woman who practised some obscure mode of divination from the eyebrows". He cites Pseud. (l. c.) and Theocritus (l. c.) in support of this. Palmer in *Hermathena* (IV.¹ 145) heartily endorses Tyrrell's suggestion but would read *supercilium* or *supercilia*. He makes a farther advance in noting the augural use of *spicere*. In the light of the evidence adduced above, it is clear that Tyrrell and Palmer were on the right track but lacked definitiveness. We have no hesitation in reading *quae supercilio spicit* with A B C D and Festus and interpreting as "who divines from the brow", a reference to a female palmoscope. In the vv. 693-4,

*Praecantatrici, coniectrici, hariolae atque haruspicae :
Flagitiumst si nil mittetur, quae supercilio spicit,*

there is but a list of five different kinds of female diviners, for whom the hypothetical wife would demand money from Periplocomenus. It will be remembered also that the figures cited above from Melampus indicate that slaves and women were among the chief patrons of the palmic *μάρτυς*.

In conclusion we would note that in this form of divination we have but a development of a piece of general, or at least widely spread, Indo-European folk-lore. Thus in the ninety-fourth *śloka* of the Megha Duta of the Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa we find palpitations in the left leg and a throbbing in the left eye mentioned as auspicious omens in the case of a female. Passing from the easternmost to the western branches of the Indo-Europeans we find in the Cornish folk-lore that "A twitching in the eyelid is lucky; but you must not say when it comes nor

¹ Not VII. 145, as Tyrrell's second and third editions and the *editio maior* of Goetz and Schoell have it.

when it goes".¹ In Horne's *Daemonologie*, p. 61, we find: "If the right eye itcheth it betokens joyful laughter". Bradshaw in the *Shepherd's Starre* has: "But my right eye watereth, 'tis a sign of somewhat; do I see her yet"? This is probably an echo from Theocritus. Gaule in his *Mag-astromancers Posed and Puzzl'd*, p. 181, includes in a list of "Vain observations and superstitious' ominations thereupon", "the tingling of the ear and the itching of the eye". The student of folk-lore may extend *ad libitum* the list of ominous *salissationes* of the eye and other parts of the body. One of the most familiar examples of the latter is Shakespeare's (*Macbeth* IV, 1),

" By the pricking of my thumbs
Something wicked this way comes."

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¹ Cornish Folk-lore, by M. A. Courtney in *Folk-lore Journal*, V, 219.

² EDITORIAL NOTE.—Since the acceptance of Professor OLIPHANT's article, the publication of which has been delayed for some six months, the attention of the Editor of the *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY* has been called by Professor MILLER of the Johns Hopkins University to a comparatively recent work by Diels: *Beiträge zur Zuckungsliteratur des Okzidents und Orients*. I. Die griechischen Zuckungsbücher (*Melampus περί παλμών*). Abhandl. der Königl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. 1907. Phil.-hist. Klasse, IV. 42 pp. II. Weitere griechische und aussergriechische Literatur und Volksüberlieferung. *Ibid.* 1908. Phil.-hist. Klasse, IV. 130 pp. In this work the author has anticipated many of the results of Professor OLIPHANT's study, which was prosecuted under conditions unfavorable to an exhaustive command of the material.—B. L. G.

V.—EPIGRAPHICA.

The interpretation of the Duenos inscription which I recently advanced in this Journal (30, 121 sq.) interested me in inscriptions written from right to left and without interpuncts. Now that a set of the Corpus has become accessible to me I have been able to look further into the subject, though it is certain that the indices now available do not give one a complete control even of the material of the indexed volumes. I have found, however, several matters, chiefly in the volume of Pompeian inscriptions (IV)¹, that I deem worthy of published comment.

A. Inscriptions containing the name Aemilius written from right to left:

IV, 1759 SVILIMEA, with the annotation, "retrorsum legenda est: Aemilius, itemque n. 659, 660, 660 a, 2400 d, id quod nuper demum intellexi":

ib. 659 SVILIMEA · CISSONIO · FRATRABILITER · SAL

" 660 " c<af> (= fac<it>).

" 660 a O.V.F." ROG, CAIC . . .

" 2400d SVILIMIA · DVRVIO · SAL

" " e s · VIVRV · OI · LIMIA SAL

" " c RVFINVS · DVR | IXSALM

The fondness of Aemilius for writing his name from right to left—not but that the form Aemilius is also extant (n. 1689)—is curious. In the last word of 2400 c, for which Zangenmeister advances no interpretation, he has undertaken to disguise his name even more completely. Here he uses an archaic type of A, and the I must be read several times in different syllables, while the letters have been jumbled as to their order. The most curious character is X, which I take for an upturned V modified by a diacritic. A parallel use of interlaced letters is to be found in

II, 6247, 6 IAN · I · v · AVATON · I (*in massa plumbi*)

interpreted as L. Anton<i> L<uci> l<iberti> Eunuc<hi>?

¹ Further references may be found in vol. xii, index, p. 949, s. lem. "litterae inversae in vasculis passim", Vol. III, Suppl., p. ii, p. 2567, s. lemm. "litterae inversae in vasculis", "tituli a dextra ad sinistram scripti", "monogrammata."

with the note, "lectio certa est, interpretatio incerta, cum litterae, fortasse consulto, ordinem iustum non servant". It is noteworthy that here also, if the interpretation is correct, the second character is an upturned V.

Other sodales of Aemilius also practised right-to-left writing :

IV¹, 2400f SVNIBAS OIVRVJ SAL | SVA . .

" " g s · VIVRVJ ONIBAS SAL

" 3045, VSSKCCVS (cf. ib. 1530 SVCCHSSVS)

B. Right-to-left alphabets and numerals.

ib. 2540a D EA | . . EK | , 3217 B^A, <3218> B^A², 1219 IIVXXC.

C. Other inversions.

To the previous inversions we may assign as a motive the desire of playful mystification. This motive less easily applies to legionary tituli like the following :

III. 8065, 22 a G iix GEL | NEMRVA | ANDER

= leg. xiii G. Aur. Menander (written boustrophedon).

" 8074, 16 ΘΕΛΙΗΘ (= coh. i Aelia Gallorum)

" 8074, 1 a SAJA (= ala i Asturum);

cf. also ib. 8075, 7, 8077, 2 a and b; and iv 1534 to be cited in full below.

D. Syllables interlaced.

Besides II 6247, 6 already cited, we may note

IV. 1687 ! RW ! TEM HAM,

with the annotation "altera pars fortasse est Martem³ legenda". This inscription was found "in conclavi ad sinistram tablini sito, in pariete meridionali summo ad sinistram intranti ex atrio, litteris subtilibus", and may be seen in facsimile on Pl. xxxii, 17 of

¹ Here we may cite, for its bearing on the two nominatives of 2400c., iv, 2401 CVRVIVS | SABINVS | SABINVS | SABI . . .

² The Corpus index omits 3218 and gives 3219, but there is a manifest error: 3219 reads AXVCCD, which we must, in view of CE, interpret as an alphabet giving two signs for each letter: on X as a form for A "in inscriptionibus graphio factis" see the index, p. 216; and for the confusion of B and V on Pompeian walls, *ibid.*, pp. 275, 279. For an upturned alphabet with X as a genuine x, and the letters arranged alternately from the opposite ends of the alphabet cf. ib. 2541 XRSCTDABXV.

³ Cf. 1620 a where MAR is found—which is as likely to stand for Marcus or Maria as for Mars.

vol. iv of the Corpus. If I am right in interpreting the transcription symbols ! as meant for interpuncts, the solution of the puzzle that presents itself to me may be graphically represented by $\overbrace{\text{MET}}^{\text{MVR}}\text{-RAM}$. With this we may compare the entry in the index volume to the Corpus Gloss. Lat.: "Metra (= merra = *μύρρα*), genus unguentum (-ti, *cod. Epin.*) V. 372, 41". True, the accusative here is of somewhat difficult interpretation, but we may group it with the street-vendor's cry of Cauneas in the famous Crassus anecdote Cicero tells, or take recourse in the explanation by ellipsis. In MVRRAM we may well see an equivoque involving some fair one named Myrrha. Another solution of our rebus may be to read Metrum Mar<ci Porci Catonis?>, a phrase which appears in a 9th century MS as the title or subtitle of a collection of riddles (cf. Riese, Anth. Lat. II, p. 376). Similarly in 2400a to be cited presently we have a 'rebus' extant in a Greek Anthology.

IV, 1532 I · NTVM · VMLA.

Were it not for the uncertainty of the reading (cf. Zangenmeister, ad loc.) we might with much probability interpret this inscription as *aluminum*; i. e., *alimentum* (perhaps gen. plur.). The provenience of the inscription admits of our taking it as the name of a sort of pantry or store-room.

E. Omitted interpuncts.

The only purposed omission of interpuncts I have noted is to be found in the anacyclic hexameter presented in

IV, 2400ab EDEMAIDIOSARAPATAFVRASOIDIOMEDE.

A proper word-division would here destroy the absolute identity of the forward and backward readings of the lines. But the intention of the scribe to make difficulty cannot be doubted if one notes the variety he has employed in the forms of A and the long I found in the 6th place from the left. It is noteworthy that this anacyclic verse is found in the Anth. Graec. Plan. vi. 13, but with the faulty form *ἀρα πηγῇ* instead of *ἀρ' ἀνὰρᾶ*.

F. The following inscriptions present points of individual interest: 1° an oculist's prescription, written from right to left, and containing interesting monograms, viz.:

III, 1636: . . . IME x for impet<um>.

We can hardly doubt that here the script peculiarities (cf. also no. 1639, 4) hark back to a time when the medicine-men and

Shamans attached importance to mystic formulae—and even today perscriptions are written in a curious jargon.—2° a possible love charm,

IV, 1534 OVOBISV EREPICTA = ? O<ro> vobis n<os>
accipere,

taking *accipere*—so written as to convey the hint of its having a special meaning—in an amatory sense (cf. the Thesaurus, s. v. 312, 8; 311, 76).

Apropos of the interpretation of *DZeno*i as *Zeno*[n] (A. J. P. 30, 134), I note the tantalizing parallel(?) found in

IV, 1527 RUSTICUS EST CORYDOI

with the annotation, "litterae DO sat neclegenter exaratae; ultima linea litterae N principium esse potest."

For the monogram λ recognized in $\mathcal{M}\mathcal{A}\mathcal{L}\mathcal{L}\mathcal{O}\mathcal{S}$ *ibid.* I can now cite something like parallels in a) IV, 1604 (= Pl. viii. 6) where the script-form \mathcal{V} is transcribed as \mathfrak{v} in 'fallacem', and b) *ib.* 1645 (= Pl. xiii. 1) where a rustic-looking \mathcal{Z} is transcribed as \mathfrak{z} in 'puellam'. If the monogram in *mallos* is *lv* (i. e. *malvos*), the upturned Λ may be paralleled by the two instances noted under A above.

To the examples cited for the doublet a/ai (l. c., p. 132), I can now add LAIVI, interpreted as LAVI in IV, 816: though dialectic vowel infection from the following *i* may be the truer explanation.

A possible objection to my arrangement of the lines of the Duenos inscription (l. c., p. 123) may arise from the position of the name Duenos, low down on its little pot. This is not to be interpreted, however, as meaning that Duenos begins the last of the three script series (= lines), but Duenos is rather in a 'display' position. I do not assume that Duenos, the potter, composed the legend for our jocose 'tripod', but we are at liberty to surmise that he made free to advertise his wares by 'featuring' his name.

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REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

ROBERT, Pausanias als Schriftsteller. Studien und Beobachtungen. Pp. VII + 347. Mit 2 Plänen und 7 Planskizzen, Berlin, Weidmann, 1909.

Ever since Wilamowitz over thirty years ago launched the question of the trustworthiness of Pausanias, there has been much debate with regard to his sources and how far his periegesis is autoptic. Kalkmann's book was a confirmation of Scaliger's sweeping criticism that Pausanias was *omnium Graeculorum mendacissimus*; but he found champions to vindicate him in Gurlitt, Schoell, Heberdey and Frazer. So a Phantasiebild has arisen which pictures Pausanias as "ein antiquarisch und archäologisch sorgfältig vorgebildeter Gelehrter", "ein unsäglich trockener Schriftsteller"; but in this heated discussion the literary characteristics of Pausanias have been lost to view in the background and it is to bring these to the front that Robert presents after long observation and frequent reading another most interesting and original volume on Pausanias, *the author*. The belletristic manner of composition, the rhetorical character of the style, the literary methods, the use of chiasmus especially with *μέν* and *δέ*, antitheses, parallels, synonyms, effective endings, and all the literary conditions are here investigated with a sharpened keenness which is in places almost too keen. Throughout the book Robert protests, often with scorn and sometimes with violence, against absurd views which in fact few hold. He does well, however, to expose the misleading character of the modern analogy with Baedeker. Pausanias is not a systematic guide-book. His description of Greece and its Monuments, as Robert says in the first chapter, *Die Tendenz des Werkes*, is nothing more than the foundation (cf. p. 4) on which to build the superstructure of mythological, historical, and other *λόγοι*; or to quote from p. 6, "es ist nichts als eine grosse Zusammenstellung von *λόγοι*, für die die Periegesis ebenso nur den Rahmen abgiebt wie bei Athenaios das Gastmahl". The order is influenced by considerations which are rhetorical and not topographical and we must not censure Pausanias if he fails to mention this or that important monument. "Die rhetorische Wirkung steht dem Autor höher als die Vollständigkeit und Anschaulichkeit der Beschreibung" (cf. p. 49). Robert is likely correct in his idea that Pausanias was a belletrist more interested in *λόγοι* than in antiquities, but it must not be forgotten that the contemporaries of Pausanias had no need, such as we, of a detailed description of monuments which were visible to

them but have since disappeared. Granted all that Robert says, Pausanias is after all a kind of guide, as is proved by the fact that every excavator and archaeologist in Greece to-day has a copy with him in the field. Frazer's commentary is full of folk-lore and λόγος and probably his main interest was here, yet his volumes are an excellent guide to the traveller in Greece to-day; and so is also Pausanias, who describes many outlying places which even the modern Baedeker omits.

In the second chapter Robert divides Pausanias' *παντοδαπή ιστορία* into λόγος and θεωρήματα. "Da findet man historische, mythologische und novellistische Berichte, Biographien, antiquarische und naturwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen, ethische Reflexionen. Also an Abwechslung fehlt es wirklich nicht, Trockenheit und Langeweile sind der letzte Vorwurf, den das Buch verdient." The analysis of the λόγος (pp. 8-38) is excellent. The mythological and historical are the most frequent. Pausanias is shown to be very fond of parallel stories from other lands, of ethical and mythological controversies, and of philosophical excursions. He also lays great stress on an effective ending of his λόγος with a long reflexion, with sententiae about love (cf. p. 24), with a reference to Homer, Hesiod, Herodotus, Sophocles or Euripides, or with an encomium on the Romans, especially the emperors Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.

In the third chapter (pp. 39-68) on the θεωρήματα, the things τὰ ἐπιδείξιν or τὰ θίας ἄξια, Robert finds that Pausanias is fairly exact in his descriptions but that he rarely speaks of the ground-plan, style, or measurements of a building and rarely goes into detail except at Olympia and Tegea. The formula μέγεθος καὶ κόσμος, often occurs. In the case of the Athenian Propylaea, Paus. I, 22, 4, Robert considers the words τῶν λίθων probably a gloss and does not limit the praise to the roof by changing καὶ to ἢ καὶ (ἢ is twice a misprint). Instead of κόσμος Pausanias sometimes uses the words κατασκευή, ἐργασία, and τέχνη and as correlate to μέγεθος we have σχῆμα or εἶδος. Pausanias almost always gives the material of the monuments, often in antitheses, contrasting bronze with marble or wood, or wood with marble. Antitheses of draped and nude, of standing and seated statues are also frequent.

The fourth chapter (pp. 69-114) has the caption "Die Anordnung der Beschreibung". Here Robert insists repeatedly that Pausanias' periegesis is not an exact and continuous account of his travels and we should not speak of a Wanderung or Reise-route. When Pausanias took his meals and when he slept are topics still unconsidered. It is often not a question of topographical but categorical arrangement. So at Olympia we have five categories, the four principal temples, the dedications, the statues of victors, the treasuries, and the agonistic buildings. Pausanias often mentions together pairs of statues or monuments, even when they are far apart in situation. The names of the artists, however, are often given in other passages than where the

statues are described. Things very incongruous are related for an effective close. So the description of Tanagra ends with an excursus about the famous personality of the city, Corinna, including her grave and a painting of her in entirely distinct places, and about two species of cocks. Robert's analysis of the section dealing with the Athenian acropolis is good, and it may be advisable to adopt his change in the text, I, 22, 8, where he reads *κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑσοδοὺν αὐτὴν ἤδη τὴν ἐς ἀκρόπολιν Ἑρμῆ(ς ἐστὶν), ὃν Προπύλαιον ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ Χάρμ(ε)ς, ἃς Σωκράτην ποιῆσαι τὸν Σωφρονίσκου λέγουσιν.* P. 113 Robert finds another case of haplography in I, 18, 7, where he inserts *ἐκτός* before *ναὸς* to produce an antithesis, *ἔστι δὲ ἀρχαῖα ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς καὶ ἐκτός ναὸς Κρόνου κ. τ. λ.* But much needed excavations in the precinct of the Olympieum would probably prove Robert wrong.

The fifth chapter (pp. 115-200) entitled *Die Städtebeschreibungen*, is one of the best and Robert's analysing faculty which was already recognised in his *Studien zur Ilias* is here at its zenith. There are twenty-six such descriptions including Olympia and Delphi, and they may be divided according to the following *schemata* (cf. p. 118). A. Topographical Principle: (a) τὸ ἐπιφανέστατον, (1) acropolis in four cases (Sicyon, Phlius, Patrae, Pheneus), (2) agora in five (Corinth, Troezen, Argos, Sparta, Messene), (3) a special building in three (Tegea, Epidaurus, Elis); b. Gate in six cases (Delphi, Athens, Pellene, Plataea, Aegina, Thebes); c. special cases (Megara, Megalopolis, Hermione); B. Systematic Principle in 5 cases (Mantineia, Aegium, Tanagra, Thespieae, Olympia). The topography of all these places is discussed in detail and for Argos (pp. 132, 140), Sparta (pp. 150, 161), and Megalopolis (p. 187) the reconstructions are embodied in sketch-plans which are rude and faint rather than accurate and exact. But perhaps some truth lies hidden in them which only excavations can reveal. In any case Robert's conjectural plan for the agora of Argos, which has most of the temples on the west, is better than that of Vollgraff in B. C. H. XXXI, p. 172, which crowds the north, east, and south sides with temples, presenting their side or back to the agora, but leaves the west open. However, his interpretation of Deiras as another name for the Aspis or its west slope is doubtful; also his idea (cf. p. 200) that the graves of Paus. II, 16, 5 at Mycenae are the shaft-graves rather than the "bee-hive" tombs. The shaft-graves could hardly be called *ὑπόγαια οἰκοδομήματα*.

The sixth chapter (pp. 201-217), *Einiges vom Stil des Autors*, which is not very satisfying, analyses some of the literary characteristics of Pausanias. He has a liking for paraphrase and perissology, but the most characteristic feature is an oratio variata or avoidance of similar words.

The seventh chapter (pp. 217-265), *Der Gesamtplan des Werkes*, considers the time and manner of composition and publication. The only definite dates are I, 1, 1-39 between 143 and

161 A. D. and V, 1, 2 about 174 A. D. The present separation into books is not original and that between I, 44 and II, 1 is "ganz absurd". Robert would make four main divisions and have book I end with chapter 39, 3 which was probably published first by itself. The portion I, 39, 4-IV, 36, 7 also forms a unit and was either published with the Attica or more probably later and separately. Then came books V to VIII, with the end of VIII binding together all the parts relating to the Peloponnesus. Books IX and X were perhaps published later. Not only in the description of the cities, but also of the routes, Pausanias employs the same principle of radical centres, from which branch the different roads. So for the Doric part of the Peloponnesus there are five principal centres, Corinth, Argos, Sparta, from which branch four roads, Gythium, and Messene; and five secondary centres, Sicyon, Troezen, Lerna, Acraiae, Boeae. In all there are twenty-five such centres so connected that a kind of genealogical table can be drawn on p. 260. In this chapter, too, Robert argues that Pausanias intended to put the Arcadica after the Messeniaca so that there would be no interruption between books VII and VIII, for the Eliaca easily join on to the Arcadica. But it is dangerous to say an author had a different plan from the one he actually carried out, especially since Robert can discover no reason for the change. P. 261 f. in discussing the incompleteness of the work of Pausanias, Robert calls special attention to a neglected passage in Stephanus of Byzantium s. v. *Τάμνα*, where he thinks there is a corruption *ιά—ἐνδεκάτη—ἐν δεκάτῃ—ί* and where he would read *Παυσανίας ιά* (Pp. i' R) *περιηγήσεως*. The work was completed by Pausanias himself and existed in more complete form in the time of Stephanus, but the archetype of our manuscripts was damaged at the end. Aetolia may have been omitted entirely and book XI may have dealt with Euboea, book XII with Opuntian Locris, Doris, Aeniania and Malis, book XIII with Thessaly. Or book XI may have described Aetolia and Acarnania, XII Doris, Opuntian Locris etc., XIII Thessaly and XIV Euboea. In that event we should have a northern tour in a half-circle around Boeotia and Phocis just as the Peloponnesian tour was in a complete circle about Arcadia: and the change from *ΙΑ'* to *ΙΔ'* would be easy. The main objection to this I take from Robert's own words, p. 263, "Aber das sind reine Hypothesen, und es darf nicht verschwiegen werden dass es dann sehr auffallend sein würde, dass Stephanus, der die übrigen Bücher im ganzen achtzigmal zitiert, aus den vier letzten Büchern nur dies eine Zitat haben sollte. Das aber dürfen wir als Tatsache betrachten dass Stephanus das Werk vollständiger las als wir, und dass es also von Pausanias vollendet worden ist". Perhaps not even the last sentence is true since Robert's theory rests on a change of text. The work may well be complete as it is with perhaps a lacuna here and there.

The eighth chapter has the title *Lebenszeit und Heimat des*

Autors. According to Robert the periegesis appeared in four parts, the Atthis about 160 A. D.; I, 39, 4-IV between 160 and 174; V, VI, VII about 174, VIII-X ff after 177. Born under Hadrian, at the latest in 115, Pausanias composed his description of Greece under Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius and finished it in his sixties, taking about twenty years in all. P. 271 f. Robert argues against the current opinion that Pausanias' home was Magnesia on Mt. Sipylus, and favors Damascus as his birthplace, identifying with him the Pausanias cited by Stephanus of Byzantium and by Constantinus Porphyrogenetus *De Them.* p. 4, 12. With this Pausanias would also be identical the sophist who went to Rome from Syria mentioned by Galen, *De Locis Affectis* III, 11. Pausanias must then have written a book on Syria before 177, probably between the publication of the second and third parts of his *περιήγησις*. There may be a reference to it in VIII, 43, 4, but Robert has again to change the text from *τάδε μὲν ἄλλοι ἔγραψαν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον τὸ τάδε ἐν ἄλλοις ἔγραψα*.

Robert ends his book with two long Beilagen on Delphi (pp. 277-309) and the Athenian agora (pp. 309-344). There is not space to point out all the details in which Robert goes astray throughout his book, but a few remarks may be allowed with regard to the first Beilage which I read carefully *ἐν τόπῳ* during a stay of a week at Delphi last autumn. It will perhaps illustrate the faulty method of Robert, at least in details. The first ten pages are devoted to Marmariá. Here on the lowest terrace Homolle excavated the large tufa Doric temple at the east dating from the fifth cent. B. C., which is a rebuilding of an earlier temple, the two small but beautiful temples of the sixth cent., the well-known Tholus of the fourth cent. which Robert, p. 286, wrongly assigns to the fifth, and toward the west the large Doric prostyle temple also of the fourth cent. B. C., all orientated south. Of the two small temples only the western is Ionic; the other is Doric and a Doric drum can be seen on the spot (cf. Poulsen, *Bull. de l'Acad. de Danemark* 1908, p. 332f.). Yet Robert speaks repeatedly (pp. 277, 285, and three times p. 286) of "zwei kleinere ionische Antentempel". Paus. X, 8, 6 mentions only four temples in order, and Robert strangely argues that perhaps Pausanias coming from the Schiste was so tired from his journey that he saw nothing, but went straight to the city to the hotel or to his host and when he returned from the city to the region called to-day Marmariá, the west temple would be the first and the east temple the last. Pausanias considers the temples a unity and it makes no difference whether he begins at the east or west. So the east temple was that of Athena Pronaia orientated south but with the image facing east as at Phigalia. This would be the fourth temple mentioned by Pausanias. The west temple would be the first, which was in ruins. Homolle had interpreted the eastern temple as that of Athena Ergane because of an inscription found near by; but as Robert rightly says an epiklesis

different from that of the divinity is often used for dedications in the precinct. So in the precinct of Athena Polias on the Athenian acropolis there were offerings to Athena Ergane. Here Robert is right, but in his visit to Delphi (cf. p. 277, n. 2) he might have noticed built into the polygonal wall near the temple the inscriptions of Eileithyia and Hygieia and near the stele of Athena Ergane another of Athena Zosteria, which also shows that no argument can be drawn with regard to the temple from the one stele of Athena Ergane. (In 1907 Keramopoullos discovered near this region also a stele of Zeus Polieus; cf. 'Εφ'. 'Αρχ. 1909, col. 269.) On the other hand Robert is probably wrong when he fails to believe that this early temple of poros is the one whose *ἱερίαια* Pausanias saw. It is this temple of Athena Pronaia at which (cf. Her. VIII, 37, 39) the Persians in 480 were driven back by thunder and falling rocks which undoubtedly destroyed the temple so that it had to be rebuilt, just as it was similarly damaged recently in 1905. In the fourth century the site may have been abandoned as dangerous (cf. Poulsen, l. c. and Karo, B. C. H. XXXIV, p. 217) and a new temple built to the same goddess at the west, the building which despite its size and pedestal for statues (wrongly interpreted as an exedra by Poulsen) Robert explains as a treasury (the *ἱερίαια* of Pausanias). The statement of Herodotus (VIII, 39) applies only to the time of the Persian wars and further Homolle's identification of the small upper eastern terrace as the precinct of Phylacus is not absolutely certain. Graef (Arch. Anz. 1902, p. 86) associated the Tholus and Poulsen the so-called priests' dwelling with this precinct. Both of these buildings, however, cannot date before the fourth century B. C. (cf. Karo, B. C. H. XXXIV, p. 217), whereas the *τέμενος* dates before 480. But it is also possible that the precinct lies in the ground of this region not yet excavated. In any case Robert here again bases his conclusions on an uncertain hypothesis. The two small temples he rightly identifies with *τοὺς κάτω ναοὺς* which Plutarch Praec. Gerendae Rei Publicae 825c mentions as erected after a feud between two Delphian families (so also Pomtow, Klio VI, 120; Keramopoullos, whose excellent *Ὁδηγὸς τῶν Δελφῶν* has recently appeared in a revised French version, p. 74; and Karo, B. C. H. XXXIV, 215). They were probably treasuries as is indicated by the absence of regular steps as in the treasury of the Athenians and were doubtless built to Athena Pronaia in atonement for the outrage committed in her precinct. The *τέμενος* would then at the end of the sixth century B. C. include these two treasuries or *ἱεραγικοὶ ναοί* as well as the old temple to the east and would be extended later to take in the Tholus and the new western temple built to Athena Pronaia in the fourth century, so that perhaps the whole precinct was sacred to Athena. Robert rightly doubts Thiersch's ingenious theory (cf. p. 286 "diese nach jeder Richtung verblüffende Hypothese") that the Tholus was a music hall, and he might have given as a

reason that the pit in the middle was completely closed as was also the case in the Tholos at Epidaurus, thus refuting the idea of resonance chambers (cf. Cavvadias Sitz. d. Berl. Akad. 1909, pl. II). But, as I have indicated, Robert's interpretation of Pausanias which makes him describe all these temples from west to east, although his words are *ἰσχυρόντι δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν εἰσὶν ἐφεξῆς ναοί*, and then jump back to the west to proceed to the gymnasium is more violent and less reasonable than that of Homolle, Poulsen, Keramopoullos, and Karo, even if Pausanias is describing only a purely literary journey.

The second part of the first Beilage deals with the sacred way. The problem of identifying the different buildings reminds Robert of a Parisian burlesque of the eighties in which Charlemagne was represented with his horse under his arm running about and asking, "vous n'avez pas une place pour moi?" But he makes the matter still worse by adding to the already voluminous literature on Delphi, and by proposing even more names and those not in Pausanias. The treasury which all others call Sicyonian he labels Spartan because the style and subject (the Dioscuri) of the sculptures point to Sparta. But even if the sculptures belong to the building its material is the reddish-buff Sicyonian poros found also in the Sicyonian treasury at Olympia and its situation fits the description in Pausanias. From the architectural fragments built into this treasury Pomtow has reconstructed a kind of Tholos or Pantheon in Berl. Phil. Woch. 1909, col. 351. But his sixth century Pantheon is rather fanciful and falls when it is shown that the curved architraves had no columns under them because of the irregularity of the joints. This point which I owe to Mr. Dinsmoor, the Carnegie fellow in architecture, proves that the columns built into the Sicyonian treasury did not support the curved architraves found there. The last treasury on the south side of the sacred way, which some assign to Cnidus and others to Siphnus Robert, who would have at least six Argive monuments at Delphi, names Argive, because the frieze bears the signature of an Argive artist. But the frieze is Ionic, not Argive work and a close examination of the inscription itself and my squeeze convinces me that it does not contain an Argive lambda and that Wilhelm's reading — — — — — *τάδε καὶ τῶπισθεν ἐποίησεν* is far better than Homolle's? *Ἀ[ργεῖ]α[ς] Θρασυμή[δους] Καλιόρισος (?) ἐμ' ἐποίησεν* (cf. Wilhelm, Beiträge zur Griechischen Inschriftenkunde p. 137). Where Pomtow locates the Clazomenian and Keramopoullos the Corinthian treasury Robert places the Sicyonian. The Cnidian would then be next to the south-west, what Keramopoullos calls Siphnian. At the second bend in the sacred way where Pomtow has certainly¹ discovered the Corinthian treasury (cf. Berl. Phil.

¹ Mr. B. H. Hill, the director of the American School in Athens and the man best qualified to speak on things Corinthian because of his long experience in the American excavations at Corinth tells me that the material is absolutely like Corinthian poros, that the working of the stone, the type of

Woch. 1909, col. 318f., and Karo, B. C. H. XXXIII, p. 201 f.) Robert has only a nameless base. P. 299 Robert denies to the blocks with the Tarentine inscription their dedication because the letters cannot possibly date before 480 B. C., but even if that is true there was an earlier inscription on top which Contoléon discovered (cf. Berl. Phil. Woch., 1909, 187). The Tarentine dedication, the Seven against Thebes, the Trojan Horse, and the Marathon group are crowded into the space above the hemicycle for the Argive kings and the long niche, though there is neither room nor suitable foundations. Those which remain to-day at the spot where Robert puts the Monument of the Seven are mostly late Roman. It seems strange that these monuments should be cramped in here at a time when there was no long niche beside the sacred way. Here again Robert makes Pausanias leap in unsystematic fashion from the Septem all the way down to the Epigoni and then back to the Argive kings. Robert is really indulging in hypotheses again and has forgotten to take into account the great difference in levels. This is also the case when he says (p. 296) that the statues of the Arcadians would obscure the admirals if they stood on bases in the long niche, even the floor of which would be as high as the heads of the Arcadians. But in general, Robert's argument against Pomtow's identification of the long niche as the monument for Aegospotami is correct and the niche must go unnamed (cf. Karo, B. C. H. XXXIII, p. 219 f.; XXXIV, p. 201 f.). The discussion of the three Athenian dedications is sound and will probably withstand opposition. The treasury, which one would like to date immediately after Marathon, dates soon after 510, the base beside it soon after 490, the stoa of the Athenians about 504, and the large Marathon group between 465 and 460. P. 304 the fact that the rock of the Sibyl is mentioned after the stoa of the Athenians in Paus. X, 12, 1 is proof that we have not a continuous wandering, but if we have Pausanias leave the sacred way at the treasury of the Athenians and go along the lower terrace past the front of Robert's Sicyonian treasury (which might be that of Potidaea or Syracuse) and up the stair-case and then on to the Corinthian treasury he might easily mention the stoa and then the rock of the Sibyl; and this would account for silence about the so-called *bouleuterion*, etc.

The second Beilage can only be briefly summarised as this review is already too long and space fails for detailed criticism. Two false ideas have led Athenian topographers to make the agora too enormous; namely, that the stoa of Attalus lay either directly on the agora or at least on its northern continuation and that the temple of Ares was situated on or near the Areopagus.

cramp used, and the methods of construction can be easily paralleled at Corinth. The character of the remains is confirmatory of the identification based on the topographical evidence of Pausanias, Plutarch and Herodotus.

The stoa of Attalus was rather on the street leading from the Dipylon to the agora and the stoa of the Giants was not in the centre but at one end or on a street leading from the market place. The temple of Ares was near the Stoa Basileios and not near the Areopagus. He puts the agora further east as well as further south than other topographers, and would place the Prytaneum to the west and not to the east of the Aglaurium, and the temple of Demeter, the Kurotrophium and Aglaurium nearer the Propylaea than most others (so also Weller, A. J. A., 1908, p. 69, not cited by Robert). The Aglaurium lay outside the agora and the south side was bounded from west to east by the Tyrannicides, Metroum, Bouleuterion, Tholus with the Eponymous Heroes to the south, and at the extreme southeast by the Prytaneum. On the west would be the Stoa Basileios and stoa of Zeus Eleutherios to which Robert relates the passage in Arist. Eccl. 684 f. The scholia interpret τὸ δὲ θῆτ' as referring to the Theseum, but Robert argues that since there was a painting of the twelve Gods in the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios it may have been called *στοὰ τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν*, and the passage in Aristophanes informs us that it actually was so named, an ingenious argument but not entirely convincing. *στοὰ τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν* is only a hypothetical name and actually occurs nowhere. Moreover the letter θ might refer to *Θεσμοθίσιον*, if we must discard *Θησαῖον*. We know from Hypereides (apud Pollux IV, 122), where the nine archons *εἰσιῶντο ἐν τῇ στοᾷ* that the Thesmothesium was a stoa. It would be natural for Aristophanes to associate the stoa of the Archon Basileus with the stoa of the Thesmothetae. The Stoa Poecile Robert would make the only building on the east. The north side also seems rather bare in his reconstruction-sketch on p. 330, where we have only the stalls of Pythodorus, the triumphal gate, and the Pherephatteum. The Hermae Robert would place, one row in front of the stoa of Zeus, the other in the south-east corner connecting the Prytaneum with the Stoa Poecile. The result is an agora 60 by 120 metres. Let us hope that the project of the Greek Archaeological Society to excavate the Athenian agora will not be long delayed, for only the spade can decide definitely the questions raised by Robert. It may be of interest also to state that Robert adopts Dörpfeld's position for the Enneacrurus but argues against his identification of the so-called Theseum with the temple of Hephaestus. He is also opposed to his own previous theory that this was the temple of Apollo Patrous and now defends the view of Lange and Lolling that it was a temple of Aphrodite Urania. The altar of Aphrodite Hegemone was found in situ near by and Aphrodite Urania is the same as Aphrodite Hegemone.

In brief Robert's book swarms with new suggestive and excellent ideas, but the theories put forward are inconclusive and premature. There are too many "reine Hypothesen" and we must postpone judgment till the spade brings further proof.

Robert's studies, however, will doubtless change our conceptions with regard to the methods of Pausanias. Their great value lies in this and in emphasizing the literary and rhetorical spirit of Pausanias as an author and not a merely erudite antiquarian.

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A Literary History of Rome from the Origins to the Close of the Augustan Age. By J. WIGHT DUFF, M. A., Professor of Classics, Armstrong College (in the University of Durham), Newcastle-upon-Tyne. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909, 695 pp.

This handsome volume is the latest addition to the series known as the Library of Literary History. It is a model of typographical accuracy and the reader's chief regret upon closing the book will be that the author did not go on with the story beyond the limit imposed. He approaches his theme with a remarkably open mind, his freshness and thoroughness of treatment are evidently derived from a real acquaintance at first hand with the authors as well as with the authorities, and his literary style seems to reflect in its attractive directness and simplicity his own frank and straightforward methods of dealing with the problems before him. Moreover, the taste and skill of his illustrative translations indicate a critic whose independent judgement of literary quality, and whose divination of the final and essential charm of a masterpiece are far better worth recording than is usually the case in works of this sort.

As a matter of fact, however, we have had no works of this sort, at all events, in our own tongue. In conformity with the excellent plan of the series to which it belongs this is a Literary History of Rome, not a History of Roman Literature. The difference is a difference in scope as well as a difference in method. A Literary History of Rome, as its name suggests, covers a wider field; it even includes some account of men like Strabo and others who, though they wrote in Greek, represented in their work and in their life the essential unity of the Graeco-Roman empire. More important still, a work like this owes its existence primarily to the comparatively recent discovery that a correct and adequate interpretation not only of Roman literary art as a whole, but even of the individual masterpiece demands a knowledge far more varied, accurate, and extensive than was dreamed of in those halcyon days of Cruttwell and Simcox when it would seem that a more or less desultory reading of one's favorite authors was a sufficient excuse for writing a history of Roman literature.

It may be fairly doubted, however, whether in those days a book like this could have been written at all. There have always been a few great scholars, who looking ahead from their higher altitude, have been able to direct the steps of those on the lower levels, but speaking in general, the eminence now supporting our modern scholarship as a whole, was slowly raised by that intensive study of classical antiquity which has been going on steadily and methodically for the last sixty or seventy years. The minuteness of these investigations as well as their subjects is still an unfailing source of merriment to many, but it is largely the fund of knowledge so accumulated that furnishes the foundation of a book like this, and that in the long run has created an atmosphere favorable to its reception. For example, now that we are familiar with the doctrine of evolution in the physical world we are quick to detect its presence and to realize its importance in the world of the literary and the aesthetic. We see that no literary phenomenon can be safely termed unique. The individual author, the department he represents, the nation to which he belongs, his environment, his historical significance, the question of literary heredity, the influence of racial evolution or literary evolution, the springs of native feeling, the basis and scope of native criticism, are constantly acting and reacting upon each other; to know one we must know all. In short, the theme of a Literary History of Rome is the articulate record of the mind and personality of a great nation and to interpret it satisfactorily we must explore every available source of contributory knowledge.

A counsel of perfection which is of course beyond the reach of mortal man, but the beneficent effect of it upon this book is seen on every page.

The Introduction (pp. 1-60) is devoted to an interesting and suggestive discussion of standard opinion concerning environment, geographical and tribal origins, history and qualities of the language, and the Roman character and religion.

Professor Duff lays particular stress upon the strong, steady centripetal tendency of thought and ambition. The power of Rome was indeed spiritual as well as temporal. To adopt the closing phrase of a well-known anecdote, Rome was a 'state of mind'—a state of mind impressed first upon the motley population of the Italian peninsula and long afterward upon the babel of nations and tongues comprising a universal empire.

It is interesting to observe, especially for us Americans, that the Romans themselves were undoubtedly of mixed blood. In the literature, too, as among the people, much was exotic. Suetonius himself observed that the earliest writers were 'semi-graeci'; Plautus was an Umbrian, Terence an African, Caecilius an Insubrian Gaul, and so on through a long list of distinguished names, but Professor Duff's suggestion that "Livy's 'Patavinity' was partly of the North" is perhaps capable of discussion. At

all events, this famous utterance of Asinius Pollio is still somewhat cryptic. We can certainly accede to the statement, however, that there may be something Etruscan in the obscurity of Persius. Pichon, the only authority quoted for this observation, also includes Propertius and Tacitus as typical Etruscans. Propertius, however, as Duff observes, 'was at most an Umbrian borderer, and the birthplace of Tacitus is too uncertain to form either the basis or the example of a theory'. The real and illuminating parallel to Persius in this respect, as was noted many years ago, is another Etruscan by the name of Maecenas.

Duff also gives considerable attention to the dialects, to their persistence, particularly in Italy itself, to traces of them in the literary speech, and to the part played by them in forming the so-called *rusticitas Latina* from which the Romance tongues are descended. The discussion is interesting and as a rule, the examples and illustrations, here as elsewhere, are well chosen and incontrovertible. Many, however, will probably object to one of them. This is the statement that 'not a little of the Latin of Apuleius and of Tertullian is due to the way in which people talked their Latin in Africa'. Of course, it is more than likely that the language of Tertullian does preserve some traces of local African usage, it may even be true, that an observant contemporary of Apuleius could have detected a Punicism here and there in his literary style, but the final result of the long dispute upon this question seems to suggest that *Africitas*, so far at least as we of to-day can distinguish it as such, was more a way of writing than a way of talking, a question of rhetoric rather than a question of dialect.

Having given a general review of his theme the author proceeds to develop it in detail. It is a long journey as well as a far cry from the *axamenta* to the *Aeneid*, from Manios the maker of a shawl-pin to Augustus the arbiter of an empire; but the clue is the relentless persistency and consistency of the Roman character and Duff is a sure and inspiring guide. For that very reason it is unnecessary to review his work in detail. I content myself therefore, with a few brief notes and observations suggested by his text.

The bibliographies appended from time to time, though well chosen and generally sufficient, make no attempt to be exhaustive. Criticism, therefore, from this point of view is practically disarmed. Otherwise, I should have suggested that Minton Warren's important contributions (*A. J. P.* XXVIII 249 and 373) to the interpretation of the *Lapis Niger* ought to have been mentioned. So, too, the work of Hendrickson on the early Satura (*A. J. P.* XV 1; XIX 285) cannot be safely ignored. If, as he shows, Livy's famous account of the early Italic drama is a mere *rifacimento* of Aristotle at second or third hand it is clear that Nettleship's theory, or anyone's theory, of the Satura in so far as it is founded on the suggestion that Roman criticism of the

matter is of real value, needs to be thoroughly revised. Again the statement (p. 114) without qualification or comment that the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* is 'ascribed to one Cornificius' is somewhat misleading. A cross reference to his own discussion of Marx's views, on p. 260, would have been advisable.

Not of course, that the latest theory or the generally accepted theory is always the best. Gellius's *plenum superbiae Campanae* for instance, is no proof in itself that Naevius, to whom the words were applied, was a Campanian. Campanian braggadocio was proverbial and as Duff very pertinently observes, "a display of 'Hielan's pride' is conceivable in one who is no Kelt". So too, after discussing Leo's brilliant attempt to explain and demolish the famous story of Plautus as a baker's drudge, Duff goes straight to the heart of the matter (p. 161, n. 1) with the dry comment, 'This is ingenious enough to deserve to be true. But it is beyond proof'.

The chapters on Plautus and Terence and as a rule, on the drama in general, are unusually good, but the scanty and somewhat perfunctory treatment of the mime inevitably suggests, though this can hardly be the case, that Reich's great work was not utilized. It is true that the book is bulky, sometimes inconsidered, and occasionally wordy, but the general results are valuable and illuminating to a high degree.

The statement on p. 330 that Varro (116-27 B. C.) was born 'two years after the death of old Cato' (234-149 B. C.) is due of course, to a slip of the pen or to some oversight in proof-reading.

I observe that Professor Duff perhaps approves of Marx's theory (p. 281, n. 3) that 'the Lucretian invocation to Venus may have been suggested by the fact that Memmius was son-in-law to Sulla, who was devoted to the goddess'. The reasons furnished by the text itself of Lucretius impress me as quite obvious and entirely sufficient.

It has often been observed that of all literary qualities the one most directly affected by the personal equation of the individual reader is humor. Otherwise, I should be surprised by Duff's statement (p. 603) that humor is a rare quality in Ovid—even as Duff might be surprised by my statement that Tibullus echoes the traditional idyllic-erotic type of elegy as modified by the Alexandrians quite as clearly in his humor as in his 'elegiac melancholy'.

The value of studying the departmental in combination with the individual is visible in the recent criticism of nearly every Roman author who has been seriously investigated by competent scholars during the last few decades. A knowledge of departmental tradition for example, proves that Catullus was not a lyric poet but an epigrammatist. This reduces the old dispute over the comparative merits of Catullus and Horace to a matter of personal taste, and justifies Horace's assertion that he 'first wedded the Aeolian lyric to Italian measures'. It also nullifies

the most serious charge against Martial, for Catullus (as well as all his successors) is never more of an epigrammatist than when he chooses to issue 'the coinage of the heart' in phrases 'the like whereof', as Saxe says, 'are not in Watts his hymns'. It also disposes of persons like Vergil's Alexis (p. 440), Horace's Ligurinus and Tibullus's Marathus. No one accustomed to the methods of the Roman poets in dealing with the traditional themes of Greek erotic poetry troubles himself about these literary lay figures. Why should they be any more real than Herrick's Julia?

Of course, as Plessis well says in his recent *Poésie Latine* (A. J. P. XXX 447), there is danger that in the study of literary inheritance the real services, the real genius, of the individual may be misunderstood or underrated. Many of us see a glaring example of it in some of the recent German pronouncements on the genius of Vergil. These, however, neither in Germany nor elsewhere, will seriously affect the wider outlook of sane and thorough scholarship. This is shown by Professor Duff's own words.

'Virgil', he says (p. 482), 'has many claims to greatness. His amazing verbal art is one. His power to touch the feelings is another. His influence on literature, and even his fame in the Middle Ages, are others still. But his historic position alone, as the poet of the empire, would assure him one of the highest places. To minimise his creative gifts—either on the ground of his borrowings and conventions, as if he were a second-hand plagiarist, or on the ground of his conscious aim, as if he overdid the didactic—is to miss the significance of Virgil's relation to his age. In this respect French criticism has more consistently appreciated Virgil than German criticism. English criticism has had its fluctuations. But to write the supreme epic of an empire like the Roman is not given to any but a deep thinker and a great artist'.

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REPORTS.

ARCHIV FÜR LATEINISCHE LEXIKOGRAPHIE UND GRAMMATIK, Vol. XIII. Second Half.

301-372. G. Funaioli, Der Lokativ und seine Auflösung. The locative, which was unknown to the ancient grammarians and was explained in the middle ages by ellipsis (e. g. *in urbe Romae*) was discovered in 1826 by F. Rosen of Berlin. After an interesting sketch of the history and bibliography of the case, which F. thinks would better have been named *localis*, the form is discussed, by declensions, as well the use of attributives and appositives to the locative, and the employment of prepositional phrases as substitutes for it.

372. K. Mayhoff, Accessus februm bei Plin. nat. hist. 28. 46. Regards a *decessu* as the correct reading in this passage in the temporal sense of post *decessum*.

373-378. E. Lattes, Etruskisch-lateinische oder etruskisierte Wörter und Wortformen der lateinischen Inschriften. III. A continuation of the articles on pp. 119 ff. and 181 ff.

378. O. Schlutter, Stimulus. A peculiar use of this word in Serv. Aen. 8. 138.

379-406. C. Weyman, Zu den Sprichwörtern und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer. A continuation of the article on pp. 253 ff.

406. H. Meltzer, Cyprianus. Koprianus. This word-play, which occurs in Lact. Inst. V. 1 ff. is evidence for the pronunciation of *c* like *k* before *y* in the fourth century, at least in the language of educated people, and makes it probable that the same was true of *c* before *e* and *i*.

406. H. Schuchardt, Curva = meretrix. Cf. ALL. XIII. 58. Modern Greek *κούρβα* has nothing to do with the Latin word, but is borrowed from Slavic.

407-414. E. Wölfflin, Die Adjectiva relativa. This term is applied to adjectives which govern a genitive, since their meaning is incomplete without the genitive. An historical study of a number of such adjectives and participles.

414. E. Wölfflin, Lucania. That the name did not exist in early Latin (see ALL. XII. 332) is shown also by Cato, Agr. 135. 1 *Suessae et in Lucanis*.

414. Eb. Nestle, Anaboladium. Another instance of this word.

415-426. A. Zimmermann, Die lateinischen Personennamen auf -o -onis. A continuation of the article on pp. 225 ff.

426. Eb. Nestle, Armona mons. A correction of Thes. Ling. Lat. II. 621.

427-438. Miscellen. J. E. Church, Jr., Sepultura = sepulcrum. Examples of this use from inscriptions, and corrections of Forcellini-De Vit. The use does not occur before the Christian period.

A. Miodoński, Sileo verbum facere. This expression, found in Bell. Hisp. 3. 7, is supported by a parallel in De imitatione Christi III. 58. 5, the author of which may have had access to a collection of excerpts from Caesar and his successors.

W. Heraeus, Sprachliches aus Märtyrerakten. Notes on the language and its importance for our knowledge of colloquial Latin.

P. Mass, Prosodisches zu conubium. Criticism of the view of L. Müller and Munro that the u is short whenever it would otherwise be necessary to assume synizesis of -ia. The u was long in the Augustan Age and probably in the early period, but short in post-Augustan Latin.

K. Mayhoff, Que an Präpositionen angehängt. Notes on this usage in Plin. N. H., showing a correspondence with that mentioned on pp. 194 ff.

Eb. Nestle, Adlas. This word, in Consul. Ital. (Chron. I, p. 281 barb.), is not a proper name (cf. Thes. Ling. Lat. I. 724). It is perhaps an error for altus.

Eb. Nestle, Actio = ἀποσκευή. In Iudic. 18. 21, but not otherwise known.

E. W. Fay, Lateinisch cena, cersna (Festus) "Fest". Would derive this word from Ceresna, "feast of Ceres."

E. Wölfflin, Eine adiuratio des Hieronymus. In cod. lat. Monac. 12361 a passage precedes the Chronicle of Hieronymus in which future copyists are exhorted to take care to be correct. A comparison with Hieron. Epist. 71 suggests that this adiuratio is the work of Hieronymus himself.

E. Wölfflin, Enervis und der Redner Calvus. This word is found first in Val. Max., and hence was not used by Calvus; cf. Tac. Dial. 18.

E. Wölfflin, Minus = non. This must be the meaning in Catull. 62. 58.

439-452. Review of the Literature for 1903.

453-473. C. Collin, Zur Geschichte der Nomina actionis im Romanischen. Would derive Romance substantives in -ta, -sa, and -ata from Latin nomina actionis in -tus (-sus), instead of (with Meyer-Lübke) from the perfect participle with ellipsis of a substantive. The change in gender he explains as due to confusion between the second and the fourth declensions, which led to neuter forms, the plurals of which later became feminine singular; cf. folium, la feuille. The participle in -tus in its neuter form served as an intermediary.

474. J. Denk, Der Angelus templi bei Pseudo-Cyprian. The source for this angel is either Victorinus Petabionensis or his model in the Exegese Origenes.

475-501. A. Zimmermann, Die lateinische Personennamen auf -o -onis. Conclusion. P-Z, with an appendix.

502-530. E. Lattes, Etruskisch-lateinische oder etruskisierende Wörter und Wortformen der Lateinischen Inschriften. IV. Conclusion.

531-571. T. Sinko, Die Descriptio orbis terrae, eine Handelsgeographie aus dem 4. Jahrhundert. Text with introduction, parallel passages and critical apparatus.

572. H. Stadler, Zum Corpus glossariorum. Notes on three passages.

572. H. Schuchardt, Cyprianus. Koprianus. Questions the correctness of the conclusion of Meltzer; see p. 406, above.

573-578. E. Wölfflin, Bemerkungen zu der Descriptio orbis. Notes on the language and style. The date of the work is 350 A. D., since line 479 can refer only to the emperor Magnentius. The writer probably came from Egypt.

579-584. Miscellen. M. Bonnet, Cambus, subcambaster, subcalvaster, surosus. In the description of the Apostle Paul in the Passio Theclae we should retain cambus, and in the Thes. Ling. Lat. the Passio Theclae should be cited in connection with this word. Subcambaster, which may be perhaps derived from cambus, subcalvaster, and surosus may all find a place in the Thes. as probably existing in late Latin.

J. Grentz, Syri und Chaldaei in der Vulgata des Hieronymus. Although H. usually makes no distinction between the Syrians and the Chaldaeans, regarding them as one people, he does make this distinction in his translation of the Hebrew (Aramaic) text of the Old Testament, where he had the assistance of Jewish scholars.

G. Funaioli, Locative bei dem älteren Plinius. Corrections of his article on pp. 301 ff. in the light of Mayhoff's new edition of Pliny and of new interpretations.

S. Pieri, Fattucchiere, -a: Fatuclus. Fatuclus, the name of a divinity (see Serv. Aen. 6. 775 and 7. 47) is the origin of fattucchiere, -a, "a magician". The tt comes from a fancied connection with fare, fatto.

J. Denk, Adiuratio (Pseudo-?) Hieronymi. This adiuratio (see p. 437 above) originated with Irenaeus and the translation is probably not the work of Hieronymus, but of some monk of the middle ages.

J. Denk, Aduro = vulgäres obduro. Aduro occurs in the Itala, confirming Gröber's inference in ALL. I. 223.

E. Wölfflin, Das Parhomoeon. This term, originally applied (see Diom. 447. 3 K) to a long alliterative series, is used by Donatus of the alliteration of three successive words, as casus Cassandra canebat (Aen. 3. 183). This is frequent in Vergil, following Ennius, but died out later. Tibullus has an instance in 1. 10. 43.

585-598. Review of the Literature for 1902, 1903, 1904.

599. Necrology. August Otto by M. Schwabhäuser.

JOHN C. ROLFE.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM FÜR PHILOGIE, Vol. LXIV (1909).

Pp. 1-38. Zur Wiederherstellung von Philodems sog. Schrift ΠΕΡΙ ΣΗΜΕΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΗΜΕΙΩΣΕΩΝ. R. Philippson. Textual notes on the treatise published by Gomperz in 1865.

Pp. 39-49. Der Chor in den Fröschen des Aristophanes. J. M. Stahl. The chorus of Mystae is composed of both men and women, and is present throughout the play. Lines 372-377 should be assigned to the half-chorus of men, lines 378-381 to the half-chorus of women. In lines 397-413, "Ἰακχε πολυτίμητε, κ. τ. λ., the first strophe is sung by the men, the second by the women, the third by the leader of the chorus. At 414, φιλακόλουθός εἰμι means "ich schliesse mich gern an, bin gern mit dabei". At 416, κοινῇ means, not "communitar, gemeinsam", but "publice, in öffentlicher Versammlung"; and the line is spoken, not by the whole chorus, but only by the chorus leader. At 445, for θεᾷ we may read θεᾶ (Demeter and Persephone). The scholiast on Equ. 589 tells us that in a mixed chorus there were 13 men and 11 women; and this suggests the simplest explanation of line 444, ἐγὼ δὲ σὺν ταῖσιν κόραις εἰμι καὶ γυναιξίν. That is, the leader has stepped forward to address the audience, and now returns to his place on the women's side—beside the συμπαιστρία of line 411.

Pp. 50-56. Randbemerkungen (cp. vol. LXII, p. 86). W. Kroll. XIV. The writer examines, and rejects, the ancient story

that Virgil's farm was saved for him by Pollio, Varus and Gallus. XV. In Plautus, Men. 120-122, the speaker seems to be adapting the words of his marriage contract. Cp. Tebtunis Papyrus, 104, τὰ δὲ δέοντα πάντα καὶ τὸν ἱματισμὸν καὶ τὰλλα ὅσα προσήκει γυναῖκι γαμετῇ παρέχέτω Μενεκράτης Ἀρσινόη.

Pp. 57-97. Die Epistel des Auspicius und die Anfänge der lateinischen Rhythmik. Wilhelm Brandes. Polemic against Wilhelm Meyer.

Pp. 98-107. Lucians Nigrinus. Th. Litt. In this dialogue Lucian has worked over one of his earlier pieces, and added something of the tone of the Hermotimus.

Pp. 108-119. Der Agon zwischen Homer und Hesiod. Adolf Busse. A part of the Agon seems to be older than B. C. 431, the year of Aristophanes' Peace.

Pp. 120-136. Etruskische Inschriften aus Suessula. Gustav Herbig. One of them contains the word *χυλίχνα*. Cp. *κυλίχνη* (from *κύλιξ*).

Pp. 137-150. Noch einmal die Makrobier des Lukianos. Franz Rühl. Defence of the writer's article, Rhein. Mus., LXII. 421 ff., against an irreverent Leipsic dissertation.

Miszellen.—Pp. 151-153. Karl Meiser. Hat Ammianus Marcellinus (22, 16, 22) Jesus erwähnt? The question is answered in the negative. The passage should read: ex his fontibus, per sublimia gradiens sermonum amplitudine, Iovis aemulus, *Platon visa Aegypto libavit sapientiam gloriosam*.—Pp. 153-155. Th. Gomperz. Zu Arnobius. Textual notes.—Pp. 156-157. Carl Weyman. Nodus virginitatis. Cp. *ἄμμα κορείας*, or *παρθενίας*.—Pp. 157-160. A. Brinkmann. Kosmas und Damian. Textual notes to L. Deubner's edition, 1907.

Pp. 161-184. Spicilegium Dioneum (ad Cassium Dionem ed. V. Ph. Boissevain). H. van Herwerden.

Pp. 185-201. Ionier und Eleaten. Otto Gilbert. A comparison of the two schools of philosophy.

Pp. 202-223. Vitruvstudien. Carl Watzinger. A comparison of Vitruvius' theory of architecture with the Stoic theory of rhetoric, and a suggestion that Poseidonios is largely responsible for it all.

Pp. 224-234. Die Caesarüberlieferung. Alfred Klotz. The α MSS are derived from a copy of β, but contain variants borrowed from the 'codex Celsi et Lupicini'.

Pp. 235-243. Die Hellenika von Oxyrhynchos und Xenophon und Diodor. A. v. Mess. A study of the two expeditions of Agesilaos in 395.

Pp. 244-283. Die Ueberlieferung der Schriften des Sextus Empiricus. Hermann Mutschmann. An account of the MSS

and their relation to each other, and of the history of the text in Western Europe.

Pp. 284-309. Aus Rhetoren-Handschriften. IX. Griechische Briefsteller. Hugo Rabe. A study of ancient and mediaeval letter-writers.

Pp. 310-317. Der älteste Briefsteller. A. Brinkmann. The oldest Greek letter-writer, Τύποι ἐπιστολικοί, which goes under the name of Demetrios of Phaleron, seems to have come from Egypt. It may be referred to a time between the second century B. C. and the middle of the first century A. D., and probably to the earlier part of this period.

Miszellen.—Pp. 318-320. Rudolf Asmus. Zur Textkritik von Julian. or. V.—Pp. 320-322. H. van Herwerden. Ad Libanii Orationes, vol. IV ed. Foerster. Textual notes.—Pp. 322-325. Giovanni Mercati. A proposito di un' oscura sottoscrizione (cod. Ambros. Q. 114 sup.). The "circiter M. C. XLV" is not the date of a MS, but the number of corrections it supplied.—Pp. 325-327. Alfred Klotz. Das Ordnungsprinzip in Vergils Bucolica. The principle is, that dramatic poems alternate with narrative.—P. 327. Carl Weyman. Zum Carmen de figuris.—Pp. 328-329. C. Weyman. Zu Ambrosius (De Elia, 6, 18). Read "*inemptis silvestribus (h)oleribus*".—Pp. 329-330. C. Weyman. With *vexare*, Verg. Ecl. vi. 76, compare the words of an African inscription, "caede traditorum *vexata*".—P. 330. Joh. Cholodniak. Zu Petronius. (1). In Sat. 30 (p. 21, 5 Büch.) perhaps we should read "quorum *imam* partem". (2). In Sat. 46 (p. 31, 7 B) *dispare pallavit* may represent a verb **disparpallavit*; cp. Ital. *sparpagliare* and Fr. *éparpiller*.—Pp. 331-333. J. M. Stahl. ἔσομαι—ero. These are really present forms.—Pp. 333-335. S. Eitrem. Hermes Πολύγυος (= Πολυλύγιος).—Pp. 335-336. E. Ziebarth. Zum "Gasthaus der Römer und Richter" in Sparta.

Pp. 337-392. De itinerario Aetheriae abbatissae perperam nomini s. Silviae addicto. Carl. Meister. Aetheria probably lived in the lower valley of the Rhone, in the sixth century. A study of her language.

Pp. 393-411. Zur Monobiblos und zum Codex N des Properz. Th. Birt. The 'Monobiblos' was not the first book of Propertius' poems, any more than the 'Liber spectaculorum' was the first book of Martial's Epigrams. His first book was probably made up of the poems which are now numbered as I-XI of the second book. A detailed study of Codex N.

Pp. 412-432. Der Kampf um die Perikeiromene. S. Sudhaus. An attempt at the reconstruction of the play.

Pp. 433-448. Das Lied von Marisa. W. Crönert. Text and interpretation of an inscription in Ionic verse lately found at Marisa (about half way between Jerusalem and Gaza).

Pp. 449-468. Römische Sondergötter. W. F. Otto. Explains some of the names as 'nomina gentilitia.'

Miszellen.—Pp. 469-470. Th. Birt. Zu Cicero ad Atticum IV 5, 5. Read "bibliothecam mihi tui pinxerunt *cum structione* et *sittybis*".—Pp. 470-473. G. Némethy. Coniecturae in Tibullum. In I 7, 1 read Hoc . . . die (for Hunc . . . diem); in I 7, 4, Scaliger's Atur (for Atax); in I 7, 53, hodie: reddam tibi (for hodie: tibi dem); in III 1, 11, minium for tenuis. I 8, 36 becomes, dum *tutum*, et teneros *conserere* usque sinus. I 10, 37 is re-written, illic *exustisque* genis *lostoque* capillo (apparently because Propertius has *exustae* genae, and Ovid *tostos* crines).—Pp. 473-474. Alfred Klotz. Der Titel von Statius' *Silvae*. 'Silvae' probably means 'sketches'.—Pp. 474-475. A. Klotz. Zu Dionysius Periegetes.—Pp. 475-476. S. Sudhaus. Philodemeum.—Pp. 476-478. Hermann Schöne. Zu den Aratscholien.—P. 478. H. Mutschmann. Die Ueberlieferung der Schriften des Sextus Empiricus (addenda to the article, pp. 244 ff.).—Pp. 479-480. A. Brinkmann. Lückenbüsser. In Photios' extract from Konon's *Διηγήσεις*, he says that Tereus cut out Philomela's tongue, *δεδιδως τὸν ἐκ λόγων θρίαμβον*. Cp. the gloss in his Lexicon, *θριαμβεύσας* = *δημοσιεύσας*.

Pp. 481-538. Pausanias der Perieget. E. Petersen. A long reply to Carl Robert's 'Pausanias als Schriftsteller', with a discussion of many passages in detail. Pausanias' main purpose was to write a genuine guide-book, not merely to make an interesting collection of *λόγοι*.

Pp. 539-590. Aus Rhetoren-Handschriften (continued from p. 309). Hugo Rabe. X. Einleitungen. XI. Der Dreimänner-Kommentar W IV. XII. Die Hermogenes-Handschrift der Bulgarischen Literarischen Gesellschaft in Sofia.

Pp. 591-600. Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte Herodots. Wolf Aly. The archetype of the AB class is assigned to the first century A. D., that of RVS to the second century.

Pp. 601-632. Tibulls erste Elegie. Ein Beitrag zum Verständniss der Tibullischen Kunst. Felix Jacoby. 1. Die Komposition von I 1. 2. Der Schluss von I 1 (Tibull und die Diatribe).

Miszellen.—Pp. 633-635. W. Crönert. Ein Epigramm des Nikarchos (A. P. V 40).—Pp. 635-636. R. Kunze. Zu Plutarch, de facie in orbe lunae. A proposal to write (932 C), Ποσειδάωνος ὁρμαίνοντος οὕτω τότε τὸ πάθος 'ἐκλειψίς ἐστιν ἡλίου σύνοδος σκιᾷ σελήνης' τὴν ἐκλειψιν <οὐκ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀστρου πάθος, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ὄψεως εἶναι ὁρθῶς λέγει>. *ἐκείνοισι γὰρ μόνοις* κ. τ. λ.—P. 637. W. Aly. Herodots Vorlesung in Athen.—Pp. 637-640. A. Brinkmann. Lückenbüsser. On an allusion to Herodotus in Konstantinos Manasses.

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BRIEF MENTION.

The critics from Aristarchos down have had much to say about the ineptness of Andromache's lament in the *Ἑκτορος ἀναίρεσις*. 'The tone', we are told, 'is Hesiodic rather than Homeric'. Why not 'Hesiodean'? I detest 'Hesiodic'. And what if it is Hesiodean? Condemnation like this always stirs my sympathies. *χείλεα μὲν τ' ἔδην, ὑπερφῶν δ' οὐκ ἔδηνεν* has been a prime favorite of mine ever since I learned to know that life is a series of sips—one unsatisfactory sip after another; and *ἡμῶν δ' ὀρφανικὸν παπαφηλικά* *ἡαῖδα τίθησιν* comes home with especial force to the *dis païs*. Old age has its *παπαφηλικία* also, and some months ago as I was sitting apart in an academic company and musing on my *παπαφηλικία*, a man, much my senior, with the courtesy that belonged to a bygone day, came up to me and consoled with me not on the decline of life but on the decline of Greek studies, a matter which I take less to heart than might be expected, whether from robustness of faith or the selfish Hezekiah spirit, I am not prepared to say. 'The ancient classics seem to be doomed', said this dean of American authors. 'Fortunately the French are left', and these comforting words come back to me, as I take up Dr. ROBERTS's long-expected (A. J. P. XXIV 102) Denis of Halicarnasse (Macmillan), a Frenchified form of *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, which falls in with the consolatory remarks of my ancient friend. Denys d'Halicarnasse has had a hard time of late, as I have set forth elsewhere (A. J. P. XXV 356). Of course, schoolmasters are fair game and in certain moods I sympathize with the world in its attitude towards these *cuiستres fieffés*.¹ But I am after all a member of the guild and some years ago, in fact thirty years ago, I was almost moved to anger when one of my younger associates opened his batteries on Quintilian and vilipended the famous first chapter of the Tenth Book. With a fuller experience of life and a closer acquaintance with Quintilian, the young critic, now as dead as Quintilian himself, would have been less severe in his judgment, for Quintilian was a schoolmaster who had learned from life as well as from literature, and who that has once read can ever forget the touching words in which he records the death of the

¹ Des *cuiستres* qui prétendirent donner des règles pour écrire . . . Je tiens pour un malheur public qu'il y ait des grammairiens français. Étudier comme une langue morte la langue vivante, quel contresens. Notre langue, c'est notre mère et notre nourrice, il faut boire à même. Les grammairiens sont des biberons.—ANATOLE FRANCE.

son for whom his Institutions were written (Lib. VI, Prooem.)? 'Optimum fuit,' he cries, 'quidquid hoc est in me infelicitum litterarum super immaturum funus consumpturis viscera mea flammis iniicere neque *hanc impiam vivacitatem novis insuper curis fatigare*'. Yes, Quintilian was something more than a grammarian. He was a man of letters as well: and as one who once tried to be both, I took especial pleasure in illustrating one of my text-books by sentences drawn from what Stuart Mill has justly called 'a repertory of the best thoughts on all subjects connected with education'. But Quintilian's stare is a dead stare and his gasp a last gasp. Greek is doomed and Latin is doomed, said my ancient friend. But French abides. And if French abides, there is no danger that the laws of literary art which Dionysios and Quintilian championed will perish from off the face of the earth. Your genuine Anglo-Saxon cares little for these things. It is the Kelt in Dr. ROBERTS that responds to the call of the blood. It is perhaps the Keltic vein in the American that makes us more sympathetic than is the average Englishman with the line of studies that Dr. ROBERTS has been pursuing so long and with such success. At all events, it is to Americans that Mr. Saintsbury made his appeal some years ago when he sought a publisher on this side of the water for some of his stylistic studies. To this Keltic passion for language as an art, there is a long line of witnesses from Cato down, and to quote one of the later authorities, 'Pour tous ceux qui ont un style', says Bourget, 'les mots existent d'une existence de créatures. Ils vivent, ils palpitent, ils sont nobles, ils sont roturiers. Il en est de sublimes, il en est d'infâmes. Ils ont une physionomie, une physiologie, une psychologie'. In his *Dix-Neuvième Siècle*, where he discusses Rhythm in Victor Hugo, the celebrated critic, Faguet, deals with vowels and diphthongs, very much as Dionysios does and discourses of 'la valeur du mot pris en soi comme son'. 'Tel mot est sourd et triste, tel autre chantant et gai'. And another writer whose aid I invoked not long ago in my defence of the 'concrete style', Remy de Gourmont (A. J. P. XXIX 239) has written a volume on the question of the mute *e*. No wonder then that Professor ROBERTS has drawn so largely on French literature and French literary criticism for his illustrations. In this whole domain Greek tradition and French artistic susceptibility go hand in hand and in the period of French domination Denys d'Halicarnasse was not considered a *magistellus* by Pope as he is by Usener and Bruns. And what does not Pope owe to these subtle studies of style, which so many affect to despise? 'It is like old Whitman says. What is it he says?' asks Ponderevo in Tono-Bungay. 'Fine old chap, Whitman! Fine old chap! Queer, you can't quote him'. Unquotableness is death and Pope still lives. The *lumina orationis* are stars in the firmament of letters, not the luminous haze of a literary comet.

To come back to Dionysios, it is sheer arrogance to assume that nothing is to be learned from the *Graeculi* (A. J. P. XXII 227). Granted that men like Lucian had to learn Greek as a foreign language, still they learned Greek under conditions that we must envy and they were the heirs of precious traditions that are not to be lightly cast aside in favor of an impressionistic aesthetic (*Essays and Studies*, p. 302). What if the best of Dionysios goes back to Theophrastos? That only enhances his value. For the stylistic study of the orators, Dionysios is simply indispensable and his criticisms of Thukydides and Plato are interesting problems of taste. Barring his lack of sympathy, which, to be sure, means everything, he is nearer right in his judgment of Thukydides than some modern Thukydidean scholars who have failed to appreciate the consciousness of his art and its subtlety.¹ The architecture of Greek style has not many Penroses. As a critic of Plato Dionysios' disqualification is largely due to his lack of a sense of humour. But unfortunately, Plato's humour is divine and being divine, it hides itself. Who can say that he knows all the secrets of Plato's tabernacle? (A. J. P. XXVI 361, XXX 3). True, Wilamowitz calls Dionysios 'ein beschränkter Rhetor' and I will not undertake to defend the applied rhetoric of the 'Ἀρχαιολογία, but the same mordant critic says, 'Kultur der Gegenwart', S. 148 (A. J. P. XXVII 357) 'Es ist ein hohes Lob, dass er im Grunde dieselbe stilistische Überzeugung vertritt wie Cicero, und wir sind ihm für die Erhaltung von ungemein viel Wichtigem zu Dank verpflichtet; seine Schriften über die attischen Redner und über die Wortfügung sind auch eine nicht nur belehrende, sondern gefällige Lektüre'. The broader sympathies of the author of the *περί ὕψους* have won for him more admirers than Dionysios can claim and yet there are stretches in Dionysios that have all the charm of the best critical appreciation; especially where, not content with minute analysis, he passes over to what has been happily called 'plastic criticism' and now in metaphor, now in simile, reproduces the feeling of the style he has laboriously analyzed. The process is akin to that of the Platonic myth.

All this could be substantiated for those who do not know Dionysios by extracts from Professor ROBERTS's excellent translation on which he has bestowed infinite pains and to which he has brought the resources of an ample vocabulary, the sure guidance of native touch and long familiarity with this sphere of

¹ I would rather consider this great historian a perverse genius, as Dionysios has done, than look upon him as a Laokoon struggling with the twin serpents of diction and syntax, which had not yet been trained to the docility of Aesculapian snakes'. A. J. P. XXIV 102. Cf. A. J. P. XIV 397.

thought and expression. The translation of Dionysios is no light task. It is a task which Jebb found worthy of his rare powers in that line as may be seen in the specimens he has given us in his Attic Orators; and whoso doubts the difficulty, let him try his hand, as I have tried mine from time to time, on the *De Compositione* and compare his results with what we owe to Dr. ROBERTS. The terminology of the antique rhetoricians presents the student with a formidable array of problems, as may be gathered from the valuable glossary that Dr. ROBERTS has appended to his translation. To just one term, περιβολή, not included in Dr. ROBERTS's list, I actually found it necessary to devote several pages of my paper on the Stylistic Effect of the Greek Participle (A. J. P. IX 143); and for many of these terms the English language offers no exact equivalent, so that one is tempted either to retain the Greek words as a recent editor of Plato's Symposium has done in the case of ἔρως and ἐραστής or else to follow the example of the late Reverend Dr. Rutherford, and instead of translating ὕψος by 'sublimity' or 'elevation' simply write 'hypsoi' (A. J. P. XIX 347). That would indeed be the safest course with ἀκμή and λαμπρότης and δριμύτης and many others. Even so familiar a word as μεγαλοπρέπεια in its common English rendering does not match with our conception of Herodotos.

The subject is alluring, the book is alluring; and if there were space, I should gladly summarize Professor ROBERTS's work. But in the wide domain covered by Dionysios I might be tempted to run to the same excess of riot as I did with Stahl. The main theme itself, the theme of the order of words, is endless. Professor ROBERTS, it seems, is an adherent of what I have irreverently called the doctrine of the diminuendo toot (A. J. P. XXIV 103), or, to put it more aesthetically, the doctrine of the dying fall. 'In Greek as contrasted with English, the emphasis tends to fall on the earlier rather than on the later words'. However, Professor ROBERTS hastens to add: 'But an emphatic word may be found at the end as well as the beginning and may sometimes be placed neither at the end nor at the beginning', so that the simple rule 'First come, first served' does not work so smoothly after all. The whole thing is too subjective. Professor ROBERTS himself remarks that the ἔμφασις of the Greek rhetoricians does not answer to our 'emphasis' or 'stress' and in the absence of technical tradition it is well to be cautious. In highly inflected languages, there is so much freedom of choice in arrangement that theorists have every opportunity to play hide-and-seek. So Dionysios pooh-poohs any normal order of the parts of speech as parts of speech, very much to the disgust of Professor ROBERTS, who is surprised at his author's recalci-

trancy against the conventions of language. But few teachers are absolutely sincere when they have a thesis to prove. It is necessary to exaggerate in order to produce an impression, and Dionysios is bent on magnifying the office of the musical element in language, as I am bent on magnifying the syntactical side of linguistic study. There is a normal order and any departure from it gives the fillip to style that we call emphasis. The dying fall will not answer for Pindar (I. E. cxiv) nor the diminuendo toot for Demosthenes with his *coup de savate*, his *coup de fouet*. Much remains to be done in this whole line. Can anyone suppose, for instance, that Dionysios was in dead earnest when he says that the words that describe the meeting of Telemachos and Odysseus are *εὐτελέστατα καὶ ταπεινότατα*? And I have elsewhere saved him from himself by his own *ἄλογος αἰσθσις* (A. J. P. XXV 357). Just now we are all too busy with the clausula to think of anything else but I hope that the time will come when some one will take up in earnest what I have called now the carrying power, now the tensile strength of the cases (A. J. P. XXIII 25). The image called up by the accusative holds through a long sentence. The genitive will not wait for its regimen. It sets up for itself as a bachelor-maid (A. J. P. XXVII 358) and the examples of long suspense that Professor ROBERTS has given us, where *πολὺν* waits an age for *χρόνον* and where the genitive is supposed to stand on one foot until its affinity enters, are not parallel.

The tower of Kronos (Pind. O. 2, 77) always reminds me of the dark tower to which Childe Roland came and the eschatology of Pindar is difficult enough without any complications of negligences and ignorances. In my note on v. 75 I said: '*τρίς ἑκατέρωθεν* would naturally mean six times. *ἑστρίς* may mean three times in all. The soul descends to Hades, then returns to earth, then descends again for a final probation'. This is Mezger's view and I simply attempted to give some justification for it. The whole thing turns on the difference between *τρίς* and *ἑστρίς*. In his *Myths of Plato*, p. 68, Mr. STEWART may be right in declining to accept the interpretation but he ought not to have misquoted my note, and effaced the difference by the misquotation. In view of this carelessness I am less surprised that Mr. STEWART should have espoused Grote's view of the myth of Protagoras. Surely Sokrates' mock admiration ought to have warned him off. It is the same game that is played in the Phaedrus and in the Symposium and if one is not prepared to admire unreservedly the speech of Lysias and the speech of Agathon, it may be as well to be on one's guard when studying what may be after all an elaborate persiflage. But to come back

to Pindar's eschatology. In his ANTI MIAΣ (A. J. P. XXXI 115) Mr. WALKER says (p. 9): 'In view of the version presented in perhaps the most deservedly admired of modern English translations of Pindar, it may be desirable to call attention to the fact that *κείναν* and *κεινάν* are different words. One can hardly believe one's eyes but Mr. Myers has actually translated (v. 65) *κεινάν παρὰ δίαίταν* 'in this new world', so that it is only charitable to suppose that, struck by Pindar's solitary use of *παρὰ* in the sense demanded by the usual rendering, he ventured upon the simple emendation *κείναν*. But charity has its limits and in Mr. Worsley's romantic translation of the *Odyssey* one notes sadly that he confounds *ελλάτινον* and *ελάινον* and gives Telemachos' borrowed ship a jury-mast of olive wood (β 324).

Rev. Dr. SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON's *Jerusalem the Golden* (Chicago University Press) gives an account of the author's bibliographical pilgrimage in search of MSS and editions of Bernard of Cluny's *De Contemptu Mundi*, the source of Neale's famous hymn. 'Is any merry? Let him sing psalms', says St. James. 'Does any sing psalms'? says Dr. JACKSON, 'Let him be merry', and, mindful of the secular proverb that a merry heart goes all the day, he has enlivened the journey for himself and others by nods and becks and wreathed smiles, by tweaking the reverend noses of archbishops and by convincing his fellow-doctors in divinity of sins of omission and commission without number. The personal narrative of his explorations not only gains verisimilitude by the exact dates of his encounters with the documents but commands our sympathy by his flings at Saints with a capital S and his renunciation of the hope, if not the desire, of being an angel. It is almost too lively a book for Sunday reading and one does not see why his collaborator, Mr. HENRY PREBLE should have balked here and there at Bernard's outspokennesses. The descriptions of the MSS and editions are very minute and minuteness naturally produces the effect of accuracy but one cannot always suppress a question-mark. So p. 38 we read of the 'Device of a naked woman crowned, carrying a book, driven by a bundle of broom corn in a hand coming out of a cloud: the initials TC (Thomas Creede) are between her legs and the legend is 'Vir esset vulnere veritas'. I am frankly incredulous as to both description and legend. Broom-corn, which was introduced into America from India by Franklin, can hardly have been known to the English artist of 1602 and 'Vir-escit vulnere virtus' is a tag that has come down to us through Gellius from Furius. Dr. JACKSON's vision must have been impaired by looking too steadily at TC between the legs of the supposed Horatian *Nuda veritas*. However, in a serious matter like this I must not fall into the Jacksonian vein.

Among the oases that helped me to bear my two years' wandering through what seemed to me the Sahara of Justin I recall with pleasure the time I spent on Tatian, who interested me so much that I actually contemplated the study of the various Syrian writers of Greek with a view to determining the influence, if any, of the Syrian blood on Hellenistic style. Lucian and Tatian were fascinating problems. Theophilus I must confess I found rather indigestible. Since those far-off days Tatian has fallen into the hands of a master and no doubt it is the interest roused by Schwartz and others that has prompted a young scholar to prepare a special treatise *De Tatiani Apologetae Dicendi Genere* as a *specimen eruditionis* for a Marburg degree. Dr. HEILER seems to have made diligent use of his German authorities. With Cis-Atlantic work he is utterly unacquainted except so far as it has percolated the dense layer of German self-sufficiency.

Preliminary announcement is made of an annotated edition of Strabo's Geography by American scholars. The plan contemplates an Introduction on the Life, Travels, and Sources of Strabo, a Translation of the Geography, and extended notes, much after the manner of Frazer's Pausanias. The plan of the edition is due to Dr. CHARLES H. WELLER, Dr. DAVID M. ROBINSON, and Dr. ALBERT T. OLMSTEAD. Dr. WELLER is general editor, Dr. ROBINSON will make the translation. The editorial staff so far as arranged is as follows: for Spain, PAUL BAUR, of Yale University; for Egypt, JAMES H. BREASTED, of the University of Chicago; for France, WALTER DENNISON, of the University of Michigan; for Thessaly, ROLAND G. KENT, of the University of Pennsylvania; for Assyria, Armenia, and Syria, A. T. OLMSTEAD, of the University of Missouri; for Western Asia Minor, DAVID M. ROBINSON, of Johns Hopkins University; for Scythia, NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, of Cornell University; for India and Persia, HERBERT C. TOLMAN, of Vanderbilt University; for Greece, Charles H. WELLER, of the University of Iowa; for Italy and Sicily, HARRY L. WILSON, of Johns Hopkins University; for the introductory books, JESSE E. WRENCH, of Syracuse University.

The present generation born to the convenience and expeditiousness of the card-system can hardly appreciate the value of it especially in the preparation of indexes. But it has its dangers and so I note that one of my longer articles *Helbing, Prepositions in Herodotos* (A. J. P. XXV 104) has slipped out of the *List of Contributors* (A. J. P. XXX 496), thanks, doubtless, to the neighborhood of Helbig. But I am not the only unfortu-

nate. In a recent school-edition of MÉRIMÉE'S *Carmen and Other Stories* in which such recondite idioms as 'd'ailleurs' are duly explained, there is no note on 'le château de Thunder-tronkh était le plus beau de la Westphalie'. Are we to suppose that the school-boy who needs to be told what 'd'ailleurs' means is already familiar with Voltaire's *Candide*?

Every now and then *Brief Mention* adds a paragraph to Dr. Bombaugh's Book of Blunders, but I should dread to put forth a treatise with such a title as Professor POSTGATE'S *Flaws in Classical Research* (Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. III). The superscription would remind me too sadly of my own mistakes. True, many scholars follow Maria's programme: 'Cast thy humble slough. Be opposite with a kinsman'. But unfortunately there is always some one to remember the humble slough, and there is always some Sir Toby Belch to hiccup forth a remonstrance. I remember how in years gone by one great apostle of Hellenism made ἐνδύμν the middle of εἶνον, and how one of the most savage critics of my day, a veritable *canis grammaticus*, whose memory comes back to me in the Patou of Rostand's Chantecler, exposed himself time and again to countersnarls. The little notes that I make in *Brief Mention* are penned in no Malvoliose spirit. I never forgive myself for the slightest slip of the pen, the slightest oversight of the eye, and yet I do derive a certain comfort from the reflection that I am only one of many miserable sinners, and my self-reproach for the inveterate mistakes of my text-books is easier to bear when I recall the persistence of blunders that eluded the vigilance of proofreaders for decennium after decennium like the notorious *ἔχρως* of Aristophanes, *Ranae* 111, which was introduced by Brunck in 1783 and retained until the present generation by most of the leading editors.

E. W. F.: Since the publication of his *Nauatl or Mexican in Aryan Phonology* (see A. J. P. XXIX 484), Mr. T. S. DENISON has continued his studies in *Primitive Aryans of Mexico*, later supplemented by *A Mexican-Aryan Comparative Vocabulary*. The ethnographic and geographical difficulties in the way of the thesis that Mexican is an Indo-European tongue present an obstacle to its acceptance so great that the author must continue to expect an attitude of reserve from the Indo-Europeanists, and the counter evidence consists of Mexican word lists showing a *prima facie* correspondence in their root part with words of the Indo-European stock. In his second work (p. 38 sq.) a slight attempt has been made to point out morphological correspondences also. In the third volume, after an apologetic introduction,

the author presents a fuller word-list than heretofore, without substantially strengthening his argument. There *is* enough root correspondence to justify a serious examination of the question whether Mexican is related to the Indo-European group, but the Verdict is to be rendered by Indo-Europeanists, whose canons of exactness Mr. DENISON offends at every step, as for example in the lemma *petla* (nitla¹ < = with rem-regimen>), to bore, split; (nite¹ < = with hominem-regimen>) charge an enemy, rush upon; Skr. *pat*, to split; *pat*, to fly, fall upon, etc. It can but seem to any reader that the author identifies Skr. *pat* with *pat*. So for *pellall*, 'a mat', the cognates entered up are "Skr. *pid*, to tread on + *tr*; cf. Skr. *pattra*, a wing, etc.",—where there is nothing to compare but the initial *p*. Again, Mex. *olli*, 'road' is compared with Skr. *ud*, 'forth', Gr. *odos*, 'road', Slav. *ut*, 'via', as if *odos* had anything to do with *ud*. As a propagandist, the author would succeed better by limiting himself to his real objective, whereas under the lemma *achili* Sanskrit, Greek, Assyrian, Cree and Turkish forms are cited. It were plain prudence to seek to establish the relations of Mexican to one language family before launching into a Semitic-Turanian-Aryan-Universal hypothesis.

H. L. W.: The late lamented August Mau once told me that in his opinion it was impossible in studying ancient buildings to derive reliable chronological data from an examination of bricks and mortar. At least he had tried it with the comparatively few brick structures in Pompeii and had given it up in despair. But the problem which the great Pompeian archaeologist in common with most other scholars regarded as hopeless is being brought measurably nearer its final solution by the painstaking and long continued investigations of an American scholar, Dr. ESTHER BOISE VAN DEMAN. The first installment of her work in this connection comes in the form of a finely made volume recently issued (1909) by the Carnegie Institution of Washington with the title "The Atrium Vestae." The excavations of 1900-03 and the removal of S. Maria Liberatrice made a new treatment of the House of the Vestals an absolute necessity, for the increase of material since the publications of Lanciani, Jordan and Auer was considerable and the whole building, including some of the lower strata, was now for the first time laid bare. To the study of the Atrium in all its parts and especially to the difficult task of reconstructing its architectural history Dr. VAN DEMAN brought a practically new method. This method involves the determination of the characteristic features of construction and material in different periods by careful study of extant structures whose dates are definitely fixed. By the application to the Atrium of facts thus deduced, as well as by detailed examination of the ruins themselves from the point of view of

comparative level, and of unity in plan and in structure, it is possible to distinguish five separate stages in the history of the building during the empire. These stages are assigned to the periods of Nero, the Flavians, Hadrian, the Antonines, and Septimius Severus. The evidence of literature and coinage is carefully gleaned and at each step is shown to be in perfect harmony with the conclusions drawn from the study of bricks, mortar and methods of construction. The book is finely illustrated by a series of twenty pictures made from the author's own photographs and is furnished with a set of six colored plans which are worthy of a trained architect. Taken as a whole, it is a notable performance, thoroughly creditable to American scholarship, and when the new method is sufficiently well developed to admit of general application, more rapid progress in our knowledge of ancient Roman monuments will be assured. It is earnestly to be hoped that Dr. VAN DEMAN may find time to complete her investigation of Roman building materials and methods of construction, and that she may then submit the results to the unbiased judgment of her colleagues who will welcome such light as she may throw upon vexed questions of chronology in connection with the buildings of the early empire.

The ink was scarcely dry on a *Brief Mention* of Professor MORRIS HICKY MORGAN'S *Addresses and Essays* (American Book Company) in which he had gathered into a sheaf the various gleanings of his philological work for the last seventeen years, when I was astounded by the sad news that he had passed beyond the reach of the praise, the hinted praise of my irresponsible comment. In the loss of MORGAN Harvard has lost not only one of her chief forces in the classical field but she has lost perhaps the most typical representative of the Harvard spirit in philology, a spirit which is incorporated in the volume which by some strange prescience he had given to the world just before his untimely end. It rarely happens that the fruition of a scholar's work coincides so closely with his departure. The second edition of his valuable *Bibliography of Persius* followed hard on the news of his death (March 16) and his translation of Vitruvius was completed almost to the last chapter before he laid down his pen forever, so that the most characteristic work that was given him to do has not been lost. And highly characteristic of the man was the book which I was about to notice when I was checked by the tidings of his death. In the two addresses, one on the *Student of the Classics*, the other on the *Teaching of the Classics*, the literary finish, the sense of reserved force, this toying with a subject that the speaker has well in hand, this gentle irony of one who feels his mastery prepare us for the elaborate mystification of the paper on *Persius* in which MORGAN

has undertaken to prove that the Stoic prig of Volaterrae was a sad dog. For the subtleties of this *jeu d'esprit* MORGAN had an unequalled equipment. Persius was, if not his favorite author, his special author. His private collection of editions and illustrative literature was unrivalled. It was to MORGAN that the student of Persius turned for illumination as to the ultimate source of many of the traditional notes. It was to MORGAN that every one looked for the definitive edition. And yet those who knew him did not wonder that he should have put aside his beloved *Persicos apparatus* as if he hated them. In the article on ΣΚΗΝΑΩ, ΣΚΗΝΕΩ, ΣΚΗΝΟΩ (A. J. P. XIII 71-84) he has given a striking object-lesson of the difficulties that beset the lexicographer and the peculiar perplexities of those who undertake to penetrate the secrets of Greek verb-formation. The paper on *Lysias* recalls his excellent edition of that orator, whom to know aright is to know the intimate charm of Attic prose. The valuable essay on the *Language of Vitruvius* is a sad reminder of the decree that forbade his personal superintendence of the publication of the *Translation of Vitruvius*, his *magnum opus*, a more difficult task than his rendering of *Xenophon on Horsemanship*, the admirable adequacy of which received the highest praise from Mr. Dakyns, himself a most successful translator. It is gratifying to know that the work is substantially finished and that the fruit of his labors will be garnered. But I cannot undertake to catalogue, much less to characterize, the rich contents of this volume, which will command the respectful attention of scholars everywhere. The pupil, the adjutant, the close friend of the great Latinist Lane, MORGAN did a great service to Latin letters and brought great honor to American scholarship by his edition of a grammar which despite the inevitable changes of scientific method and the inevitable accretions of scholarly research will abide not only as a repertory of important facts and a repository of acute observations but as a monument of literary art and sympathetic interpretation (A. J. P. XVIII 372; XIX 344). A helper to Lane, he was also a helper to Goodwin and White in their edition of *Xenophon's Anabasis* and when the *Bibliography of Morgan* is published, it will reveal a surprising amount of literary achievement, especially when one considers that all this work was accomplished amid a pressure of professorial and administrative duties, which would have absolved an ordinary man from the obligation to do more than answer the imperative call of the day. A life like that may well be the envy of many older men, as it was the choice of the fashioners of the race according to Plato: τοῦ πλείονος βίου, φαυλοτέρου δέ, τὸν ἐλάττωον ἀμείονα ὄντα παντὶ πάντως αἰρετέον.

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Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemecke & Buechner, 30-32 W. 27th St., New York, for material furnished.

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I.—LATIN INSCRIPTIONS AT THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

V¹.

38. In the year 1908 one of the Trustees of the Johns Hopkins University, at that time resident in Madrid, purchased an inscribed metal tablet from a Spanish dealer in antiquities and presented it to the University Museum. The tablet, which measures 0,257 m. in width and 0,132 in height, contains the following inscription in the *scriptura actuaria*:

VE PVBLICE VACATIO · SACRO · SANCTIVS ESTO VT I · PON
TIFICI · ROMANO · EST ERIT EAQVE MILITARIA · EI · OMNI
A · MERITA SVNT DE AVSPICIIS QVAEQVE AD EAS RES PER
TINEBUNT AVGVRRVM IVRIS · DICTIO · IVDICATIO ESTO EIS
QVE PONTIFICIB · AVGVRRIBVSQVE LVDIS QVOT PVBLICE MA
GISTRATVS FACIENT · ET CVM · EI PONTIFIC AVGVRES · SA
CRA PVBLICA · C · G · I · FACIENT · TOGAS PRAETEXTAS HABEN
DI IVS POTESTASQ ESTO EISQVE · PONTIFICIB AVGVRRIB ·
Q LVDOS GLADIATORESQ INTER DECVRIONES SPECTA
RE IVS · POTESTASQVE ESTO

This will be at once recognized as a part of the famous *Lex Ursonensis* which was given by Julius Caesar to the new colony of Urso in Spain, the so-called Colonia Genetiva Iulia Urban-

¹ The preceding articles of this series appeared in this Journal, xxviii, 1907, pp. 450 ff., xxx, 1909, pp. 61 ff. 153 ff. and xxxi, 1910, pp. 25 ff.

orum, in 44 B. C. The text of this municipal law, so far as it is preserved, is engraved on four great bronze tablets now in the Museum at Madrid and is found in C. I. L., II, 5439 and Bruns, *Fontes Iuris Romani Antiqui*⁷, pp. 123 ff. The particular section here in question, the top of the last column of the first tablet, is also published separately as II, 5439 a, on the basis of a small tablet which E. Huebner, the editor of that volume, accepted as part of a genuine ancient duplicate, adding the comment, "non videtur dubitari posse, quin alio quoque loco atque Ursone exemplum legis quondam extiterit alterum". In publishing this duplicate he made it quite clear that he had never seen the original, but knew the inscription only from a photograph. This had



The Baltimbre Tablet (C. I. L., II, 5439, a). Photographed by Schaefer, Baltimore.

been sent to him by a Spaniard named Celestino Brañanova of Oviedo, who bought the tablet in September, 1880, from one Goënaga, a dealer in antiquities at Burgos. That the tablet now in our collection is the same as that which came into the possession of Brañanova in 1880, is proved not only by the exact correspondence in text, size and other features, but also by the inscription in ink on the back of the thin piece of wood to which the metal is attached: "Adquirido en 1880 por C. B. Oviedo". After a careful examination of the tablet from every point of view, I feel quite sure that if Huebner had seen the inscription itself, he would at once have branded it as a modern copy, though a very accurate and skillfully made copy of a section of the genuine Madrid tablet. I shall therefore attempt to show why this record, which since 1892 has been accepted by almost all

scholars as one of a good ancient company, must henceforth be **cast** into the epigraphical outer darkness where every inscription bears the stigma of the **asterisk**.

The first point which counts against the genuineness and antiquity of the tablet is the fact that it has no assured history previous to September, 1880, when Celestino Brañanova bought it from Goënaga in Burgos. It is true that Goënaga said that he had obtained it a short time before in a village (unnamed) of the province of Palencia (far north of Urso) where it was hanging on a wall of the sacristy in the parish church. But this sounds very like the tale of an antiquity dealer, who either does not



A Part of the *Lex Ursonensis* (C. I. L., II, 5439). Photographed by Hausery Menet, Madrid.

know or intentionally conceals the origin of the object which he desires to sell. On the other hand the real *Lex Ursonensis* was traced positively to the spot where it was discovered (C. I. L., II, p. 852).

In the second place the date of its first appearance is in itself enough to arouse suspicion. When the first of the important Roman bronzes of Spain, the *Lex Malacitana* and *Lex Salpensana*, were found near Malaga in October, 1851, their value was so little understood that the discoverers actually sold them by weight as old metal. Even twenty years later when the first two tablets of the *Lex Ursonensis* came to light near Osuna (1870-1) they aroused no great interest: they were bought, however, first by a citizen of Seville and after about a year by George Loring, who already possessed the Malaga and Salpensa tablets. But

in 1873 when the other two tablets of the *Lex Ursonensis* were offered to Loring, the price demanded was so exorbitant that he refused to pay it and compelled the finders to turn elsewhere. By this time they had gathered some idea of the real value of such inscriptions and, with the hope of securing larger prices elsewhere, offered the bronzes for sale in Paris and Berlin. The Berlin Museum was actually on the point of paying the money when Antonio Delgado, acting as special commissioner under the orders of the King of Spain, after much difficulty secured the prize for the Madrid Museum. This was in 1875. Only a year later growing interest was further quickened by the discovery of the *Lex Vipascensis*. Now, the fact that our tablet first appeared in September, 1880, following close upon the time of great enthusiasm and high prices, considered in connection with the absence of any clear account of its origin, militates strongly against its acceptance as a genuine ancient document.

Further than this, the Baltimore tablet is not even a genuine piece of ancient bronze, but is of copper and much thinner than the other tablets of the *Lex Ursonensis* and similar bronzes in Madrid, Rome and Naples: in fact, the letters actually stand out in relief on the back. When studied in detail, line by line and letter by letter, the text is seen to be an almost exact reproduction of a part of the genuine *Lex Ursonensis*. Even some scratches on the surface of the bronze are reproduced. The most striking difference between the original and the copy is the presence in the latter of a large number of small points of metal which stand in the grooves of almost all the letters. This circumstance led me to suspect that the small tablet was nothing but a reproduction made by some modern process—a suspicion which was at once confirmed when I consulted one of my colleagues, an expert in applied electricity.¹ The forger simply made an impression of the original in wax or some similar substance and by an electrolytic process produced the thin deposit of copper which for thirty years has passed as a genuine record of antiquity. It is therefore perfectly clear that this inscription, a modern copy made in 1880 or a little earlier, has no right to the place it occupies in the Corpus of Latin Inscriptions.

¹ I am aware, of course, that W. Froehner denied the genuineness of C. I. L. II, 5439, a,—on what grounds I do not know. Cf. Eph. Epig., viii, p. 527.

39. Since the publication of the military inscriptions (A. J. P., xxx, 159 ff.) a large fragment of a *laterculus militum* has been added to this collection. In its greatest dimensions it measures 0,57 m. wide and 0,48 high and preserves the original straight edge for 0,28 m. on the left side and 0,25 at the top. Above the first line is a margin of 0,035 m. The line of the fracture at the bottom on the left fits exactly the top of a slab which is now in the Museum of the Conservatori on the Capitoline Hill and is described in C. I. L., VI, 32523, b. The text together with the necessary supplements taken from the other stone is as follows:

MAVREL	MF POL	BI	
MAVREL	MF QVI	DAS	
CIVLIVS	CF AVG	VALE	
MAVREL	MF FL	BATIOVS	
5 C VALERIVS	CF QVI	LONGINIAN	
MVLPV	S MF AEL	VICTO R	MV
MAVRELIVS	MF HAB	LYSIA S	GERMAN
MAVREL	MF CAES	FALADVS	GERM
MAVREL	MF SERG	NASIABVS	BER COR T
10	7 VINICI ANNIANI		7 M
FLAVIVS	TF VLP	FIRMINVS	SCVP COMMODO
MAVREL	MF VLP	VALERINV	POET C · P
MAVREL	MF CL	AMABILIS	AGVNT
T AELIVS	TF VLP	MAXIMVS	SCVP SCR
15 MAVREL	MF VLP	MACEDONIAN	PAVT
MAVREL	MF VLP	MAVRV S	PAVT
MAVREL	MF ANI	BO TICV S	PISTO
MAVREL	MF CL	AQVIL A	PESSIN
MAVREL	MF VLP	GEMELLIN	PAVT

According to the story of the Roman owner of this inscription, it was found in the Campagna, but it seems far more probable that like the slab to which it belongs and like others of the same character it was discovered in the vicinity of the Praetorian Camp, not far from the junction of the via Goito and via Montebello where some excavations have recently taken place. This new text has already been printed by Dr. E. Ghislanzoni in

Notizie d. Scav., 1909, p. 81,¹ but as his copy, probably made in haste in a gloomy Roman shop, shows some inaccuracies, a few brief comments seem to be necessary.

Line 1. The last letter may be either I or L, for these letters, even when completely preserved, are very difficult to distinguish on this stone on account of the shortness of the base of L. Here, however, the right side of the letter at the base is lost in the fracture.

L. 2. The fourth letter of the cognomen is certainly A and the name is probably Dasas already known from other inscriptions, e. g., XIII, 7508, Bato Dasantis fil.

L. 4. According to Dr. Ghislanzoni the cognomen is Batidrus, whereas the stone seems to have Batorus: still on account of the occasional similarity of D and O this may not be regarded as certain. Only in lines two and eleven is D so well made as to be beyond question; in line fifteen, however, D and O standing side by side are both rounded alike.

L. 5. After LONGINIAN the lower half of an S, overlooked by Dr. Ghislanzoni, is distinctly visible exactly in the perpendicular line of the initial letters of the local names. The town is therefore probably Scupi which, like other colonies² established by Vespasian or his sons, belonged to the *tribus Quirina*; cf. e. g., VI, 32640, l. 22, Valer(ius) C. f. Qui. Longinus Scup(is).³ The title Colonia Flavia Scupi in VI, 3205 bears witness to its establishment by one of the Flavian family and Colonia Aelia Scupi in VI, 533 seems to show that it was reorganized in some way by Hadrian or Antoninus Pius. The cognomen Ulpia seen in lines eleven and fourteen of this inscription suggests the probability that new colonists were introduced by Trajan as well.

L. 6. Both strokes of the lower part of R are seen below the fracture. The place is therefore doubtless Mursa in Pannonia, which usually appears as Colonia Aelia Mursa⁴, though Flavia Mursa does occur.⁵

L. 7. HAB in the tribal column is probably, as Dr. Ghislanzoni suggests, a graver's error for FAB, though I can scarcely

¹ It is given also by Cagnat in *Rev. Arch.*, 1909, p. 511 (= *L'ann. épig.*), no. 210.

² Mommsen, *Eph. Epig.*, III, p. 233.

³ Kubitschek, *Imper. Rom. trib. descr.*, p. 238.

⁴ VI, 32640, ll. 29 and 43.

⁵ VI, 32624, l. 8.

agree with him that this mistake may have been due to the presence of HAB in the local column twenty-one lines below. At all events, if FAB is the correct reading, it gives at last the tribe of Germanicia,¹ which hitherto has appeared only as Caesarea Germanicia, e. g., l. 8 below and VI, 32624, c, l. 4 and d, l. 10. To which of the emperors it owed its title, it is impossible to say: perhaps to Augustus, who by virtue of his adoption belonged to the Fabian tribe,² though few of the Julian colonies outside of Italy were enrolled in this tribe.³ The Colonia Iulia Augusta Felix Berytus in Phoenicia, however, belonged to the *tribus Fabia* as is shown, e. g., by III, 169, 173; VIII, 4098; XII, 3072.

L. 8. The cognomen is read by Dr. Ghislanzoni as FALADVS, but on account of the similarity in form of D and O, above mentioned, as well as of E and F, it might equally well be read EALAOVS or FALAOVS. All things considered, the form FALADVS seems as likely to be correct as any other.

L. 9. If BER stands for Beryto, SERG is striking because, as pointed out above, Berytus belonged to the Fabian tribe. Cases are not unknown, however, where the tribal designation seems to belong to the individual rather than to his native town. For example in III, 1738, C. Egnatio C. f. Serg(ia) Marcello is written where *tribus Tromentina* would naturally be expected (Epidaurus) and in III, 6687, Q. Aemilius Q. f. Secundus, though a native of Berytus, is assigned to the *tribus Palatina*. Compare Mommsen's note on this point. The cognomen in this line, though read by Dr. Ghislanzoni as NASTABVS, should undoubtedly be read NASIABVS; for the cross-bar of T on this stone is always long enough to prevent confusion with I. The name Nasiabius, too, occurs in V, 4861.

At the end of this line is COR · T which belongs to the second column. After the T the base of a perpendicular stroke is clearly visible, apparently part of an R. The abbreviation doubtless stands for *cornicularius tribuni*.

¹ Unless it refers only to the tribe of the individual: see below on l. 9.

² Suet. 40.

³ Mommsen, Eph. Epig., III, p. 232.

L. 11. In VLP the loop of P was left uncut. On the Colonia Ulpia Scupi here and in line fourteen see remarks above on line 5.

For the second column the reading, supplied by the other slab (VI, 32523, b), is *Commodo iiii et Victorino cos.* The date is therefore 183 A. D.

L. 12. In the second column after C there remains the top of the next letter which was probably D.

L. 14. In the second column the letter following SCR is possibly I or may just as well be V, which is regularly made on this stone with strokes perpendicular at the top and rounded at the bottom with a broad curve. In the former case we should understand the word as *scriba* and recall VI, 999 in which *scribae armamentari* make a dedication to Antoninus Pius in 138 A. D. If V be correct, *scrut(ator)*, an inspector, might be suggested as a possibility. This word occurs in III, 14357, 27 with reference to customs inspection and is discussed by W. Gurlitt in *Jahreshefte d. oest. arch. Inst.*, Beiblatt, II, 1899, 97.

L. 17. *Pistoriae* belonged to the *tribus Velina*:¹ hence ANI (*ensi*), like *Sergia* in line 9, must be explained as personal. In the case of freedmen especially this occasional discrepancy between the tribe of the individual and that of his native place is not difficult to understand.

L. 18. *Pessinus* belonged to the *tribus Velina*,² so that here again *Claudia* must be the tribe of the individual soldier. Cf. W. Kubitschek, *Wiener Stud.*, 1894, pp. 329 ff.

L. 19. The whole of P is preserved and parts of N preceding and AV following, but not the least trace of the T reported by Dr. Ghislanzoni. Of course *Pautalia*, which is usually abbreviated PAVT or PAVTA, is the place in question.

40. Small bronze tablet (*ansata*) from Rome, 0,21 m. wide and 0,125 high. At the left side is an upright palm branch and at the right a wreath. On the back of the tablet at the centre is a rough lump of lead with traces of iron rust. This of course held the nail by which the bronze was attached, probably to the foot of a bust or statue.³ Enclosed by a molded border

¹ C. I. L., XI, p. 298.

² C. I. L., III, 1818, 2710.

³ Compare the similar inscriptions on herms from Pompeii, e. g., that of *Caecilius Iucundus* now at Naples.

is the following inscription in letters of silver inset (*litterae incrustatae*):

GENIO
C G E R V L O N I
palma I A N V A R I *corona*
FORTVNATVS DECVR
GERVLORVM · SER

This inscription was published in C. I. L., VI, 30882 from an inaccurate copy made by Helbig,¹ who reported CERVIORVM · SER as the reading of the last line. But the tablet clearly and unquestionably has GERVLORVM with G in the form G which is so common in the latter part of the second century.² Exactly the same kind of G with long inward curve rising to the middle of the letter is seen in the first and second lines whereas the final curve of C in the second and fourth lines scarcely rises above the lower level of the letters. The L also is clear, though here as in the rest of this inscription the horizontal strokes are finer than the perpendicular. The silver has partially disappeared from the wreath as well as from a few letters, but for the most part is perfectly preserved.

C. Gerulonius Ianuarius, as his name indicates, was a freedman of the *collegium gerulorum* or, at least, his nomen was derived from that source. The name occurs also in VI, 19038, L. Gerulonius Phurus and ib. 19039, Gerulonia Maria. Other names of similar origin are V, 4422, Fabricius Centonius collegiorum lib(ertus) and VI, 27414, Tignuaria Victorina. Our Fortunatus decur(ialium) gerulorum ser(vus) is doubtless, as Dessau suggests, the same as Fortunatus decurialium gerulorum dispensator in VI, 360, who made a dedication to Iuno Lucina in the year 166 A. D. Most of the inscriptions of the *geruli* are collected in De Ruggiero, Diz. Epig., III, p. 524.

41. Tablet of white marble from the via Salaria, 0,385 m. wide and 0,18 high, with the usual holes at the ends for the nails, of which one is still preserved. The inscription, which is cut in

¹ Le Blant, Comptes-rendus de l'acad. des inscript., 1893, p. 211 and Rev. Arch., xxii, 1893, p. 268.

² Cf. A. J. P., xxx, p. 154 on inscription number seven of this series.

a somewhat vulgar style and clearly belongs to a comparatively early period, runs as follows:

DECVRIONVM · DECRETO
EX · DOMO · L · TARI · RVF| · AGRYPNO
MEDICO · MAGISTRO · EX · DOMO
QVINTAE · MATRIS · AGRYPNVS
ANN · NATVS · XXVI · OB|T · SEPTVMO
VICENSVMO · POS|T · MATER
CALAMITOSA · DE · SVO

This inscription, first published in Notiz. d. Scav., 1900, p. 574, came from a columbarium of one of the *collegia funeraticia* which were organized in many households, and the *decuriones* of the first line, as well as the *magister* of the third, are officials of such an organization. Cf. VI, 26032, ex domo Scriboniae Caesar(is uxoris) libertorum libertar(um) et qui in hoc monument(um) contulerunt.¹ The L. Tarius Rufus of the second line is probably the well-known consul suffectus of 16 B. C. who is called *homo locuples* by Seneca² and is mentioned by the elder Pliny and by Cassius Dio.³ The name Agrypnus is not very common but occurs as the name of slave or freedman in VI, 4032, 29513, 26240 and X, 5346. Quinta *mater* may possibly have been *mater collegi* which is practically the same as *patrona collegi*,⁴ but was probably in any case the mother of L. Tarius Rufus. Compare the use of *maternus (servus)* for slaves in the imperial household, as, e. g., in VI, 3935 and 4026. These private *collegia* were of course constituted after the model of the larger industrial *collegia* and had the same honors and official positions. In XI, 1355, for example, we find *patroni*, one of whom is *pater collegi, decuriones, medici*, and *matres* of the *collegium fabrum tignuariorum* at Luna.⁵ The archaic *posit* for

¹ See collection of material in Waltzing, Etude hist. sur les corpor. profess., III, p. 343.

² De clem., I, 15, 4.

³ Pros. Imp. Rom., III, p. 295.

⁴ Cf. Kornemann, in Pauly-Wiss., IV, 425.

⁵ Cf. De Ruggiero, Diz. Epig., II, p. 378.

posuit is not rare in the earlier inscriptions, being found, for instance, in I, 1282, 1298, 1436; IX, 3121 a, 3146, 3189. *Calamitosus* in the sense of *infelix* is good usage in Cato and Cicero, to say nothing of later writers, and appears in three inscriptions of Rome besides the one here in question, VI, 7908, 9570, 12011.¹

42. Block of travertine, 0,39 m. wide, 0,25 high and 0,10 thick, with the following inscription:

H O C · S O L A R I V M · E S T
 T I · C L A V D I · F L O R I · C V M · S V O
 I T V · A C T V · A D I T V · A M B I T V · A C C
 E S S V · E T · A D · E O S · Q V O S · E A · R E
 S · P E R T I N E T · P E R T I N E B I T

The letters are deeply and carefully cut but their forms, especially the closed loop of P and the vulgar forms of A and L (Λ and λ), suggest a date not earlier than the second century. *Solaria* were frequently constructed in connection with tombs² and were sometimes furnished with a roof for shelter.³ The owner in this case cannot be identified, though a Ti. Claudius Florus is mentioned in VI, 15069 and a Claudius Florus in VIII, 9079. The combination of *itus*, *actus*, *aditus*, *ambitus*, *accessus* seems to occur here for the first time in inscriptions. *Itus*, *actus*, *aditus*, *ambitus* are found together in VI, 8667, 10231, 10235, but this use of *accessus* is very rare, being seen in only two other inscriptions, namely in VI, 11027 *aditus*, *ambitus*, *accessus*, and in X, 1571 (Puteoli) *accessus* alone.⁴ The last two lines contain a formula so stereotyped that it could be represented in VI, 10562 by the initial letters, ei a. q. e. r. p. p. r. l., which stand for ei ad quem ea res pertinet pertinebit recte liceto.

43. Slab of white marble, 0,59 m. wide and 0,26 high, which was found in 1891 at Posillipo near Naples. L. Fulvio, who reported the discovery in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1891, p. 238, described the location thus: si rinvenne una tomba, in opere

¹S. G. Harrod, *Latin Terms of Endearment and of Family Relationship*, Princeton Dissertation, 1909. Dr. Harrod, however, overlooked VI, 12011.

²E. g., C. I. L., VI, 5346, 10223, 10284, 25527; XIV, 3223.

³*Solarium tectum* in VI, 10234.

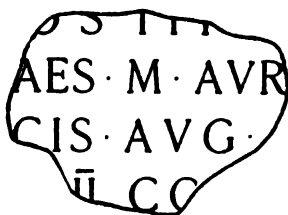
⁴Olcott, *Thesaur. Ling. Epig.*, s. v.

reticulata, di tufo, la quale era coperta da una lastra di marmo, spezzata in due, e mancante nella parte destra. This slab, which is now in Baltimore, has cut upon it the following inscription in rather small letters of the type ordinarily used in the calendars of the early empire:

SATVR · SÓLIS · LŪNÆ · MÁRTIS ·
ROMÆ · CAPŪAE · CÁLATIAE · BENEŪ

Why Fulvio omitted in his copy the apices on MÁRTIS and CÁLATIAE, it is not easy to understand, because they are perfectly clear on the stone. At all events, his error was taken over into C. I. L., I², p. 218, which therefore needs correction in this particular. The inscription formed a part of one of the *fasti nundinales* with the days of the week in the first line and the names of towns in the second. Another inscription of the same class, which is now in the Naples Museum, may be seen in C. I. L., I², p. 218 and VI, 32505. The round holes, bored entirely through the slab, one over each word, were evidently intended to receive the nails or pins which indicated the time and place of the *nundinae*.¹ The worn surface of the marble around each of the holes marks where the circular head of the nail rested and at the time of the discovery showed also that the nails were of bronze.²

44. Fragment of grey marble, 0,27 m. wide and 0,22 high, which appeared in Rome in the year 1906. It bears the following part of a large imperial inscription in well-formed, deeply cut letters about five centimeters in height:



That we have here a portion of an inscription erected in honor of two emperors, Septimius Severus and Caracalla, is evident at

¹ On the *nundinae*, consult Mommsen, St. R., II², p. 887 and Daremberg and Saglio, s. v., p. 122.

² Fulvio (l. c.) says "scorgonsi delle macchie circolari di ossido di bronzo".

a glance and the ending of *Felicitis* before AVG indicates that the names were in the genitive case. Since the second acclamation of Caracalla as imperator, indicated at the bottom of our fragment, dates from the year 208 A. D. it is clear that the inscription was cut between that time and the death of Severus in 211. Whether it belongs before or after the accession of Geta cannot be determined. On the assumption that it belongs to the period immediately following Caracalla's second acclamation as *imperator* the missing parts may be restored in some such manner as the following:

Pro salute et incolumitate dd. nn.

Imp. Caes. L. Septimi Severi Pii

Pertinacis Aug. Arab. Adiab. Part. Max.

pont. max. trib. potest. xvi imp. xii

cOS III p. p. procos. et

Imp. cAES · M · AVReli Antonini Pii

F e l i C I S · AVG · tribunic. potest. xi

imp. II COs. iii procos. p. p.

45. Fragment of pavonazzetto from Rome, 0,13 m. wide and 0,23 high, with the following letters cut in a good style of the early empire:



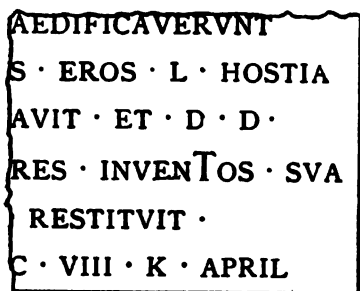
The letters are more than four centimeters in height and the inscription of which they formed a part was doubtless of a public character. The original edge seems to be preserved at the top and there is a margin of eleven centimeters in height above the inscription. The word partly preserved in the second line may be PROCOS and the letter which has left a trace at the bottom of the stone is probably either E or F, though T is not impossible.

46. Fragment of white marble from Rome, 0,17 m. wide and 0,12 high, with the following portion of an imperial inscription. The letters are six centimeters in height and were originally filled with metal, which has now disappeared.



These letters evidently formed part of the titles of an emperor. The first line may be partially restored as *tribunicia POTestate* and the second probably as *fortISSImus* or some other of the superlatives ordinarily used in such a connection.

47. Fragment of white marble, 0,195 m. wide and 0,14 high, roughly broken at the top and on the left side. The text of the inscription, so far as it is preserved, is as follows :



The letters are cut in a vulgar style of a rather late period. Before S at the beginning of the second line and before RESTITVIT in the fifth line traces of the preceding letters remain but their identity cannot be determined.

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II.—RELATIVE TEMPORAL STATEMENTS IN LATIN.

The time of one action is frequently given in its relation to another as a point of reference, and this point can be stated in various ways. Clauses introduced by temporal particles, with either the indicative or the subjunctive, receive the most attention, though this is only one of several modes of expression. Among the forms which may be used instead of the temporal clauses are the larger part of the ablatives absolute, as well as other cases of the participle both active and passive, many of the gerund forms in the ablative and also the accusative with a preposition as *ante* and *inter*, the ablatives expressing time, and no small number of nouns with accompanying participles associated with prepositions, especially *ad*, *ante*, *inter*, *post*, *secundum* and *sub*, and these also with some abstract nouns expressing activity.

Some of these are mentioned in treatises on the style of individual writers; e. g., Heynacher, *Sprachgebrauch Caesars im Bellum Gallicum* (ablatives of time, pp. 32-33); Lupus, *Der Sprachgebrauch des Cornelius Nepos* (abl. abs. "über 220 mal," p. 183); Braun, *Statistik des Sprachgebrauchs Sallusts* ("der Abl. abs. erscheint an 270 stellen," p. 62); Helm, *Quaest. Syntacticae de Part. Usu Tac., Vell., Sall.*, pp. 92 seqq.; Hasenstein, *De Syn. Amm.* (*post*, p. 46). There need be given but a single illustration that individual writers have preferences in the selection of these forms. Caesar uses *advenire* only B. C. 2, 32, 12, in the speech of Curio, *quod classem hostium primo impetu adveniēns profligaverim?* but *ante adventum* three times, and *adventu* expressing time ten; and with B. G. 5, 54, 2 *adventu* in *Galliam Caesaris cuiusque maiores regnum obtinuerant*, may be compared B. G. 6, 12, 1 *cum Caesar in Galliam venit . . . erant*. For Livy, Fügner cites thirty-one occurrences of the present participle of *advenire*, nine with temporal particles, and sixty-one of *adventum* with *ad*, *ante*, *in*, *post* and *sub*, and sixteen of *adventu*. With *advenire* Tacitus has *postquam*, *ubi* and *donec* (twice each), *ante adventum* once, and *adventu* a dozen times.

Statistically considered the different divisions of temporal clauses, expressing antecedent, consequent, and contemporaneous actions are not of equal importance. Hullihen, *Antequam And Priusquam*, gives about 1800 occurrences of *antequam* and *priusquam* to the time of Suetonius. Compared with the occurrences of the particles meaning 'before' the proportion of the different classes for the same period would be in round numbers 'when' or 'after' 50, 'while' 5, 'until' 2, 'before' 3. Though these figures indicate the relative frequency of the particles with different meanings, they do not indicate the proportion of the different classes of actions. This is due partly to the tense used, partly to the effect of a negative in the principal clause. When *cum* is used with the imperfect subjunctive the

	Post- quam.	Postea- quam.	Total.	Ante- quam.	Prius- quam.	Total.
Cicero, Orations <i>a</i>	18	94	112	74	28	102
Phil. <i>a</i>	9	19	28	41	20	61
Rhet.	5	6	11	27	7	34
Epp.	25	68	93	61	35	96
Caesar <i>b</i>	18	9	22	2	17	19
B. G. VIII.; Bell. Al. <i>c</i>	3	1	4	0	9	9
Bell. Af.; Bell. Hisp. <i>a</i>	36	1	37	3	6	9
Nepos	35	9	44	0	32	32
Sallust <i>d</i>	89	2	91	1	14	15
Livy	428	4	432	97	308	405
Velleius	0	0	0	2	19	21
	661	218	874	308	495	803

a Merguet; *b* Menge and Preuss; *c* Preuss; *d* Braun, Beiträge zur Statistik des Sprachgebrauchs Sall. im Cat. u. Jug.

continuative force of the tense often makes possible a classification either as 'when' or as 'while'. The effect of a negative is also noticeable. When one is used with the principal verb, an action known to have taken place becomes contemporaneous, and all such occurrences of 'not-before' and 'not-until' might with equal propriety be listed under either meaning. This however does not apply to non-occurring actions, as "he did not master the subject before he left school, nor afterwards". The negative also makes a contemporaneous action known to have taken place, either antecedent or consequent, as the facts may show, and a double classification is possible. However, the shifting of a few hundred or a few thousand examples from one list to another is a matter of little moment, for after all possible

shifting, the figures would still indicate that the clauses indicating antecedent action (as in English) are by far the most prominent in relative temporal expression, that contemporaneous actions are next, and that before-actions are of secondary importance. And this is true not only of the occurrences for the period given, but for a much larger number of the first three classes, for which the relative frequency is the same as it is to the time of Suetonius.

However, if we take into consideration only the occurrences in which the order of events is definitely indicated by *postquam*, *antequam*, or *priusquam* there is no great difference in the sum with finite forms of the verbs in the above writers.

The number given for *antequam* and *priusquam* would be materially increased by adding the occurrences with contrasted terms (see Hullihen, p. 101 seqq.), while to the other set might be added an equal number, especially from Livy and Velleius.

Postequam is characteristic of Cicero, and is used with some freedom by Caesar and Nepos. The two occurrences in Sallust, C. 2, 2; and J. 29, 3 have *postea vero quam*, as also Caesar B. G. 4, 37, 4. Livy has four examples: 9, 46, 11; 23, 19, 17; 26, 31, 7; 37, 53, 18. Nepos uses *postquam* freely, and with the occurrences are counted 3, 3, 3; 5, 3, 3; and 10, 10, 3 *post annum quam*, and 10, 5, 3 *post diem quam*, as also for Caesar B. G. 4, 28, 1. There is a rhetorical variation 3, 1, 5 *postquam Xerxes in Graeciam descendit, sexto fere anno quam expulsus*; and 16, 1, 3 *post Athenas devictas*; 23, 5, 3 *post rem gestam*; and 23, 6, 3 *post id factum*. Velleius, though avoiding *postquam*, has *post ann. quam*,¹ *quam*, and *post* with perfect participles, resembling Livy who has about 130 occurrences of these forms.

Cicero and Livy alone of these writers make a free use of *antequam* (*antequam* Cic. Deiot. 11, 30; ad Fam. 3, 6, 2; Livy 32, 11, 8; 35, 25, 3; see Thesaurus s. v.). Caesar has but two instances B. G. 1, 2, 2; and 3, 11, 1; see Hullihen, p. 95, note 231. Sallust uses it for variation J. 97, 4 *priusquam . . . antequam . . . quivit*. Nepos has only *priusquam* 36 times,² while

¹ 1, 8, 4; 1, 13, 1; 1, 14, 2; 2, 28, 2; 2, 44, 4: *quam* 1, 2, 1; 2, 80, 4: *post part.*, 1, 2, 1; 1, 3, 3; 1, 6, 6; 1, 8, 4; 1, 11, 1; 1, 14, 1; 2, 4, 2; 2, 4, 5; 2, 49, 1; 2, 53, 3; 2, 65, 2; 2, 86, 3; 2, 103, 3; 2, 122, 2; 2, 124, 3.

² 1, 5, 4; 2, 7, 3; 2, 8, 4; 3, 2, 1; 4, 4, 3; 7, 3, 1; 10, 4, 4; 10, 8, 5; 11, 2, 5; 12, 2, 2; 14, 5, 2; 14, 6, 1; 14, 9, 5; 14, 11, 3; 14, 11, 5; 15, 1, 1; 15, 2, 2; 15, 3, 3; 15, 3, 6; 15, 8, 5; 15, 9, 1; 15, 9, 2; 17, 2, 2; 17, 3, 2; 18, 3, 6; 18, 4, 2; 18,

Velleius nearly reverses this, with *priusquam* 1, 10, 2; and 2, 42, 3, but *antequam* 24 times.¹

A glance at the tabulated occurrences for post-classical Latin will show that the most prominent features are *cum* with the indicative or subjunctive, *postquam* with the indicative, *dum* meaning while with the same mood, *donec* meaning until and used as are *antequam* and *priusquam* with the subjunctive. At variance with these are numerous instances of individual preferences for other forms, and numerous instances of stereotyped formalism, yet this comparatively homogeneous syntax is the main product of the evolution from the heterogeneity in the forms of expression in the earlier period. It is only in the use of *antequam* and *priusquam* that there was no differentiation in the use of particles. Hullihen (p. 9) found thirteen examples of *antequam* to every fourteen of *priusquam*, but allowing for the occurrences of *priusquam* before *antequam* got a start the race was even. With both there was a steady movement toward the subjunctive which "became more and more common as the language grew older constantly invading the sphere held by the indicative in the early usage" (p. 16).

The simplification in the expression of contemporaneous action is clearly marked. Leaving out of account the few examples of *quamdiu*, *quoad* occurs much less frequently than either *donec* or *dum*; "wird im Ganzen nur selten gefunden, bei klassischen Dichtern fast gar nicht", Draeger 2, p. 615, § 510. Still the occurrence of *quoad* vixit, Horace, Sat. 2, 3, 91, shows that the word was a possibility for the writers of hexameter verse. After the time of Livy the occurrences are sporadic, excepting in Justinus (perhaps due to Trogus), in Ammianus Marcellinus, and especially in Appuleius chiefly with the subjunctive, and generally meaning until.

With *donec* the prevailing meaning is until, and the prevailing mood the indicative in poetry and the subjunctive in prose,

8, 6; 20, 3, 5; 23, 7, 6; 23, 11, 1; 24, 1, 1; 25, 21, 4; with contrasted terms 14, 3, 1; 14, 7, 1; 23, 1, 3; 25, 11, 6; as also *ante* indicating space 4, 5, 2 *paucis ante gradibus quam qui eum sequebantur . . . confugit.*

¹ 1, 7, 3; 1, 12, 7; 2, 28, 1; 2, 45, 5; 2, 62, 1; 2, 84, 1; 2, 87, 3; 2, 93, 1; 2, 112, 5; with *ann.* 1, 6, 4; 1, 8, 1; 1, 12, 6; 2, 49, 1; 2, 65, 2; *biennium* 2, 48, 2; 2, 54, 2; *triennium* 1, 13, 1; 1, 15, 3; *diem* 2, 30, 2; with contrasted terms 2, 24, 4; 2, 49, 3; 2, 104, 3; 2, 115, 5; 2, 129, 3.

though Juvenal and Juvenius have only the prosaic mood, the subjunctive, and Petronius only the indicative excepting 62, 15. Livy and Tacitus are not averse to its use with the meaning so long as, but it is rarely found elsewhere in prose, a few instances being quoted by Draeger 2, 615. Lucretius has one instance, but at least twenty-one with the meaning until, and always with the indicative excepting 1, 222; see Munro ad 1, 222; Edelbluth, *De Coniunctionum Usu Lucr.*, p. 61.

Excepting A. 11, 860:

et duxit longe, donec curvata coirent
inter se capita et manibus iam tangeret aequis,

Vergil has only the indicative with *donec*: the perfect B. 7, 85; G. 4, 312; A. 2, 630; 5, 698; 6, 745; 8, 326; 9, 443; 11, 803; 12, 354; the present A. 3, 558; and in the latter part of the *Aeneid*, 10, 268; 10, 301; 11, 201; the future G. 4, 413; A. 1, 273; and the future perfect A. 2, 719 *d. me flumine vivo . . . abluero*; and in the elliptical statement 2, 100 *nec requievit enim, d. Calchante ministro. Sed quid ego . . . revolve?*

In the *Satires* and *Epistles* of Horace the prospective view is given in the present subjunctive, reading *deserat* Ep. 1, 20, 10, though *dixerit* is found S. 2, 5, 97, as is *refeceris*, O. 3, 6, 2. The retrospective is regularly given by the indicative, though we find S. 2, 1, 73 *ludere, donec/decoqueretur holus, soliti*. The *Odes* have fewer examples, but more variety, for *donec* means so long as, O. 1, 9, 17 *abest*; 3, 9, 1 *eram*; 3, 9, 5 *arsisti, nec erat*; and with the meaning until, Ep. 17, 33 *ferar*; O. 3, 5, 45 *firmaret*.

In the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, *donec* means until excepting in 8, 712. In the other works it is not freely used, and means so long as in nearly half the passages: Am. 1, 27 *d. erunt*, a change from *dum* in other parts of the poem; A. A. 1, 503 *cum surgit, surges; donec sedet illa, sedebis*; Trist. 1, 1, 53 *eram*; 1, 9, 5 *eris*; 3, 6, 3 *licuit*; Ib. 43 *manebit*; Fast. 5, 343 *eras*.

The prevailing meaning of *donec* is until with the perfect indicative in Livy where the particle first rises to prominence. After him Tacitus receives special mention, though *donec* occurs more frequently in Pliny the Elder, in Celsus and Marcellus, the last two using the particle most freely, and nearly always with the subjunctive. With them its use is prescriptive, and frequent are the injunctions similar to "*sextarius leni igne coquitur*

donec ei mellis crassitudo sit", Celsus VI 10; and "decoques donec vinum consumatur", Marcellus Cap. XX 114.

A sketch of the differentiation of *dum* is given in the Archiv XI, p. 368 seqq. In addition to its temporal meanings, while, so long as, until, it had also a conditional restrictive meaning,—altogether too much of a burden for one particle to carry. As *quoad* 'until' was not freely used, it fell to the lot of *dum* to express terminal relations, but *donec* took its place after the time of Livy, though *expectare dum* still held its own. Taken as a whole this meaning is comparatively infrequent, the prevailing meaning being while with the indicative. Lucretius has the indicative with *dum* in twenty-seven¹ passages (Munro's edition) and meaning until only 1, 949; [4, 24]; 4, 1114; and with the subjunctive 1, 246; 1, 499; 1, 1045; 5, 700; 5, 976. *Dum*-proviso without *modo* is limited to 1, 435; 2, 657; 5, 1429. In Catullus this meaning of *dum* is limited to 55, 22; 114, 5 and 6. Elsewhere² the indicative is used to indicate both extensional and terminal relations. The tense is the present excepting in 44, 14 fugi; and in 66, 77, and the meaning while except with *usque* in 44, 14, and 61, 161; and the five occurrences 'so long as' in 66, 77; 62, 45 and 56, though in the last two passages *dum . . . dum* are really correlatives = *quam diu . . . tam diu*. See Reed Syntax des Catull., p. 12; and compare Archiv XI, p. 344.

Sallust uses *dum* with considerable freedom (thirty times), Braun, p. 26, citing nineteen occurrences in the Catiline and Jugurtha, but giving only one for Cat. 50, 1. In Nepos the use of *dum* is restricted, as is usual in compilations. He has *dum geruntur* 14, 5, 1; 18, 5, 1; 23, 12, 1; *signatur* 6, 4, 2; *speculatur* 14, 4, 4; *tractat* 18, 5, 7; *studet* 12, 4, 2; but *studuit* 21, 2, 2; and *conficiebatur* 23, 2, 4. The subjunctive is confined to 4, 3, 7 putabant . . . expectandum, dum se ipse res aperiret; 1, 3, 1 dum ipse abesset, custodes reliquit; and 20, 1, 4 dum res conficeretur, procul in praesidio. Compare Lupus, p. 155.

In late Latin (Archiv XI, 370), the subjunctive is found with *dum*, a usage the germs of which are found in the Augustan

¹ 1, 178; 1, 659; 1, 949; 2, 152, text doubtful; 2, 1125 (twice); 3, 68; 3, 576; 3, 707; 3, 1082; [4, 24]; 4, 92; 4, 280; 4, 358; 4, 559; 4, 612; 4, 629; 4, 955; 4, 1114; 5, 55; 5, 587 (twice); 5, 763; 5, 770; 5, 1100; 6, 302; 6, 1167; see Edelbluth, p. 60 seqq.; and compare Archiv XI, p. 344.

² 18, 12; 44, 9; 44, 10; 62, 45 (twice); 62, 56 (twice); 63, 57; 64, 145; 65, 22; 99, 1; 99, 5; 66, 77 fuit.

period. This meaning is clear for Vergil G. 4, 457 *dum* *fugeret*, but not for A. 1, 5 *dum* *conderet*. Livy has a few occurrences, see Mueller ad 1, 40, 7. To construe with the subjunctive was at variance with the tendency to concentrate on *dum* with the present indicative, and it did not readily gain a foothold. Some writers, as Orosius, hold to the normal construction, while others, as Ammianus,¹ incline toward the subjunctive. Sometimes this is purely imitative, for when the writer of the Epitome of Aurelius Victor I 23 wrote '*dum* *quidam* *miles* *oculos* *averteret*', he had in mind Livy 1, 40, 7 *dum* *rex* *averteret*. The shift from *dum* with the present indicative to *dum* with the imperfect subjunctive is an interesting one showing the possibility of supplanting *dum* by *cum*, and lessening by one the temporal constructions. When it was felt that *dum* *esset* equalled *cum* *esset* there was no reason for using the former, and we should expect that it would not have made any headway against its stronger rival. It seems that it must have been in indirect statements that the two first struggled for supremacy, and *cum* was victorious.

Of the temporal clauses noticed in poetry nearly 4100 have *cum*, and 1400, or 34% *dum*; of prose occurrences 24000 have *cum*, and 4375 or 18% have *dum*, showing that poetry with its statements usually direct uses *dum* nearly twice as freely as does prose with its mixture of the direct and indirect. This is not true for all writers, for among the historians Sallust and Ammianus approach the poetic average, and Tacitus is above it. For some of the compilers; e. g., Nepos, Frontinus, Gellius, the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, *cum* occurs from twenty to thirty-five times as frequently as *dum*, which is especially noticeable in the story of Petronius, and the *Metamorphoses* of Appuleius, giving an appearance of immediateness to what is told, and so a desirable factor in vivid portrayal. As we should expect, the proportion for Lucretius is low—5%; for Plautus nearly 35%; for Vergil, Ovid, Lucan and Martial about 40%; for Statius Theb. 55%; and for Silius Italicus 70%, so that it was in spite of overstressing the use of *dum* that he still remained dull. There is the same general difference, if we take into consideration the occurrences of *cum*, *postquam*, *ubi* and *ut*. These in the mass examined occur nine times as frequently as *dum*, but in the poetry four

¹ H. Ehrismann, *De Temporum et Modorum Usu Ammiano*, Argent., 1886, p. 46 seqq.

times as frequently, in the prose slightly less than 16 times. These figures indicate that *dum* is an important factor in immediate descriptions, but of far less importance in retrospective narrative, though we should expect an equal prominence in the latter, if there had really been an exact representation of earlier forms.

In a majority of instances the indicative is retained within a subjunctive clause and in *oratio obliqua*. There is an occasional shift to the subjunctive, a fact of no significance when the sequence is primary, and for the times before the supremacy of *cum* with the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive had been established. It is true that the retention of the indicative seems to have been avoided by Cicero, though he does have it, ad Att. 12, 1, 1 ut, *dum* consisto in Tusculano, sciam. The number of occurrences of *dum* with the subjunctive in *oratio obliqua* indicates that both Caesar and Cicero dealt with the indicative *dum*-clause the same as with any other clause. After these writers attraction to the subjunctive is not a common feature, *dum* apparently being displaced by *cum*.

Latin started with a superabundance of particles expressing antecedent actions, and the process of selection began early. *Quoniam* was one of the first taken as a causal particle, and but few instances remain where it expresses time. *Quando* followed *quoniam*, but was still occasionally used as a temporal particle, and some late writers take it up again, though its use by such a writer as Augustine may be nothing more than an indication that the word had been retained with temporal meaning by the descendants of colonists who were familiar with the early usage. *Quotiens* is one of the occasional particles, and Long. On the Usage with *Quotiens* and *Quotienscumque* in Different Periods of Latin, gives 1055 as the number of occurrences for the simple relative (p. 36), and 122 for *quotienscumque*. *Simul ac* or *simul* (Archiv XIV, pp. 89 seqq. 233, 524) is not freely used, so that the larger part of the expression of antecedent action was carried by *cum*, *postquam*, *ubi* and *ut*, with very noticeable differences in frequency of occurrence and in mode used in different spheres and by different writers, so that we may speak of the triumph of the fittest both of the particles and of the modes.

In Plautus the four particles are freely used, the proportion of *cum* to the other three being 55 to 45, and these figures nearly indicate the proportion for the entire poetical mass, though for

Lucretius the proportion is 78 to 22, and under the influence of the development of the usage with *cum*, a still stronger preference is shown for *cum* by Juvenal and by Martial. For the writers of the dactylic hexameter the choice of the different words was affected by metrical considerations, and for Vergil, Stat. Theb., and Silius Italicus, the occurrences of the two sets of particles are about the same.

The line of demarcation between poetry and prose is clearly drawn, for in the historians *cum* is used about three times as frequently as the other three combined. In Cicero's works the proportion is 27 to 1; in Seneca's 7 to 1, in Pliny's Epistles 8 to 1, and in Quintilian the triumph of *cum* is almost complete, as also in Cicero's rhetorical works. *Ubi* seems to have been freely used in early prose, at least it is found in Claudius, ap. Gell. 2, 19, 7; C. Titius, vir aetatis Luciliana, ap. Macr. 3, 16, 15; and Cato, ap. Plin. H. N. 17, 195. Livy, Sen. Phil., and Tacitus use it freely, and Celsus has it more frequently than the other particles. *Ut* is relatively the most frequent in Curtius, Petronius, and Suetonius, but after the latter its use noticeably declined, though there are more than a score of occurrences in Orosius. Livy, Tacitus, Orosius, and especially Cassius Felix, incline to the use of *postquam*, but with these exceptions its use was fairly even throughout, though it does not occur in Velleius Paterculus, its place being taken by *post* with noun and perfect participle. Occurrences of *postquam*, *ubi*, or *ut* with the imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive in *oratio obliqua* are not frequent, and give evidence of the victory of *cum* with the subjunctive by which they were supplanted.

The use of the temporal particles by different writers especially by the later compilers is not without interest. Largely without originality they adhered closely to the current norm, and the different accounts of the same or of similar events may be taken as a fair index of the equivalence of different forms of presentation. One of the best illustrations is from the accounts of the death of Epaminondas: Cic. de Fin. 2, 30, 97 *ut primum dispexit, quaeisvit*; Nepos 15, 9, 4 *id postquam audivit, inquit*; Val. Max. 3, 2, 5 ext., *quae postquam . . . conperit . . . inquit*; Justinus 6, 18, 13 *ut audivit . . . dixit*; Orosius 3, 2, 8 *cum . . . conperisset . . . patefecit*. Compare also the account of the death of Hannibal in Nepos with that given later by Livy: Nepos Han. 12, 5 *puer cum celeriter, quid esset, renuntiasset . . . ostendisset*,

sensit id non fortuito factum : Livy 39, 51, 7 Hannibal, postquam est nuntiatum milites in vestibulo esse, postico . . . fugere conatus ; ut id . . . obsaeptum sensit . . . poposcit. Similar to these, Val. Max. 1, 1, 2 ext. Masinissa . . . ut comperit . . . reportandos . . . curavit ; and Cicero, Verr. 4, 46, 103, in *oratio obliqua*, ubi audisset . . . misisse, qui . . . reponerent. Cic. de Off. 3, 31, 112 quod cum audivisset adolescens filius . . . accurrisse Romam . . . dicitur : Val. Max. 5, 4, 3 id postquam Manlius adolescens cognovit, protinus urbem petiit. Cic. de Off. 3, 11, 49 quod Aristides cum audisset . . . venit dixitque : Val. Max. 6, 5, 2 ext. is postquam rem cognovit . . . processit et rettulit. Livy 29, 37, 8 cum ad tribum Polliam ventum est et praeco cunctaretur : Val. Max. 2, 9, 6 ut est ad Polliam ventum tribum praeco haesitavit. Justinus 5, 10, 1 cum exercitus eorum, ex quibus maior pars Atheniensium erat, fugeret, magna voce Thrasybulus exclamat : Orosius 2, 17, 12 Thrasybulus ubi vel maxime Athenienses esse intelligit, clamore consequitur. Justinus 1, 5, 8 cum adolevisset Cyrus . . . scribit : Orosius 1, 19, 6 sed Cyrus mox ut adolevit . . . certamen indixit. Sallust J. 79, 7 postquam Cyrenenses . . . vident et metuunt, criminari Carthaginenses : Val. Max. 5, 6, 4 ext. quod cum intellexissent Cyrenensium iuvenes . . . iniuriam discutere conati sunt. Livy 21, 58, 3 transeuntem Appenninum atrox adorta tempestas est : Orosius 4, 14, 8 cum in Etruria . . . transiret tempestate correptus . . . obrigit. Justinus 15, 2, 1 Cassander ab Apollonia rediens incidit in Autariatas : Orosius 3, 23, 36 Cassander . . . cum Apolloniam rediret incidit in Auieniatas. Justinus 15, 2, 17 cui cum Cassander interesse propter bellum non posset, Lysimachum . . . mittit : Orosius 3, 23, 42 Cassander finitimorum bellis implicatus Lysimachum . . . misit. Justinus 1, 8, 3 cum in Scythiam processisset, castra metatus est : Orosius 2, 7, 2 Cyrus Scythiam ingressus . . . castra metatus. Justinus 16, 1, 1 cum vitam . . . deprecaretur, occiditur : Orosius 3, 23, 50 Antipater Thessalonicens . . . pro vita precantem, manu sua transverberavit. Justinus 4, 4, 10 sed cum Athenienses . . . se transtulissent, Gylippus classem . . . arcessit : Orosius 2, 14, 15 quo cognito Gylippus classem . . . arcessit. Pliny N. H. 13, 42 cum haec proderem : 10, 120 and 124 me haec prodente. Justinus 5, 11, 8 sed cum in bello fors proelii utrumque fratrem pugnae obtulisset, Artaxerxes a fratre vulneratur ; quem cum equi fuga periculo subtraxisset, Cyrus oppressus . . . interficitur : Orosius 2, 18, 2 cum . . . casus obiectavisset, prior

Artaxerxes vulneratus a fratre equi velocitate morti exemptus evasit.

Justinus 2, 14, 3 postquam nullo pretio libertatem his venalem videt . . . transfert: Orosius 2, 11, 1 ubi inexpugnabilem eorum libertatem videt . . . deducit. Justinus 4, 4, 8 is audito genere belli . . . loca occupat: Orosius 2, 14, 13 qui veniens ut audivit . . . loca occupavit. Justinus 9, 3, 4 ubi vero ex vulnere primum convaluit . . . bellum infert Atheniensibus: Orosius 3, 13, 9 statim vero ut convaluit Atheniensibus bellum intulit. Cic. de Sen. 13, 44 Duellium . . . redeuntem a cena senem saepe videbam puer: Florus 2, 2, 10 cum Duillius . . . per omnem vitam, ubi a cena rediret . . . iussit.

The equivalence of different forms of statement of contemporaneous actions may also be shown. The senate decree in regard to the soldiers surrendered at Cannae is given by Livy 25, 7, 4 faceret quod . . . duceret, dum ne quis eorum munere vacaret, neu dono militari virtutis ergo donaretur neu in Italiam reportaretur, donec in terra Italia esset. Val. Max. 2, 7, 15 gives the last clause donec hostes in Italia essent; (Livy 27, 38, 5), while we find in Frontinus Strat. 4, 1, 44 dum Poeni in ea essent; but in a similar statement Val. Max. 7, 6, 1 quoad Poeni essent in Italia. Other instances of variation in statement will also be given: Vergil Aen. 2, 204 horresco referens: Orosius 5, 11, 4 ego ipse, dum refero, toto corpore perhorresco. Livy 21, 7, 10 dum murum incautius subit adversum femur tragula graviter ictus cecidit: Frontinus 3, 17, 1 cum incautus muris succederet Hasdrubal, eruptione facta ceciderunt eum. Justinus 6, 7, 11 Epaminonda dum officio fungitur, graviter vulneratur: Orosius 3, 2, 7 Epaminondas . . . dimicans vulneratur. Justinus 8, 1, 1 Graeciae civitates, dum imperare singulae cupiunt, imperium omnes perdiderunt: quippe in mutuum exitium sine modo ruentes omnibus perire, quod singulae amitterent, non nisi oppressae senserunt: Orosius 3, 12, 10 quippe Graeciae civitates dum imperare singulae cupiunt, imperium omnes perdiderunt et dum in mutuum exitium sine modo ruunt, omnibus perire quod singulae amitterent . . . oppressae . . . senserunt. Sall. J. 93, 2 cum . . . peteret . . . ad summum montis egressus est: Frontinus, Strat. 3, 9, 3 dum . . . legit . . . ad summa pervenerat. Compare Livy 1, 7, 2 cum verbis quoque increpitans adiecisset, with Florus 1, 1, 8 dum angustias Remus increpat. Noticeable in Livy is the occasional shift from the well established *dum*

geruntur, to *cum gererentur*. Compare also; e. g., Justinus 9, 2, 11 *dum* obsidet, with Front. Strat. 1, 5, 7; 2, 9, 5; Val. Max. 1, 7, 8; 5, 1, 5; 7, 4, 3; Livy 8, 7, 1 *cum* obsideret. Suetonius, Julius Caesar 56 quorum librorum primos in transitu Alpium *cum* ex citeriore Gallia . . . ad exercitum rediret; . . . novissimum *dum* ab urbe in Hispaniam . . . pervenit. Pliny N. H. 7, 181-185 is the best illustration of the interchange of *cum* and *dum*. Beginning nullis evidentibus causis obiere, he continues with *cum* and the imperfect subjunctive six times, with the pluperfect four, with *dum* and the present indicative six.

Somewhat curious are the variations in the statement of temporal clauses in the two traditions of Historia Apolloni Regis Tyri, showing at many points different translations of the same original. Here also may be mentioned the comparatively simple temporal phraseology in Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis who use *cum* much less freely than its rivals, and the latter avoids *ut* which is freely used by Dares.

The commentators on the poets occasionally express their views in regard to the temporal particles. Donatus, ad Ter. Eun. 1080 *ubi* velis, defines 'quando vel *cum*'; ad Eun. 1088 *ubi* vis accede, says 'quia accede imperativum erat, et *ubi* nisi quando intellexeris, vitium est'. Ad Phor. Prol. 1 nota postquam apud veteres non praeterito modo, sed etiam praesenti tempori adiungi; ad Adel. Prol. 1 postquam sensit 'pro sensisset'. Ad Eun. 792 *cum* tibi do, 'pro *cum* tibi darem'; ad Eun. 551 nunc est profecto, quom perpeti me possum, 'si *cum* coniuncte legeris, quando significat: si separatim vero, *dum* significat'. Ad Hec. 414 'dum alias dummodo, alias donec, nunc quamdiu'.

Servius, ad Verg. Aen. 11, 59 haec *ubi* dicta, defines *ubi* by *postquam*, as also ad 1, 714; and the Schol. Dan. ad 1, 81; and 3, 410; and ad 4, 118 and 143 states that *ubi* is for *cum*. *Ut* is also defined the same way ad B. 8, 41. Porphyryon ad Hor. O. 3, 27, 69; and Ep. 1, 7, 73 says *ubi* equals *postquam*, but repeats it from Horace, ad O. 2, 1, 10, and also *cum* ad Sat. 1, 1, 86. Some of the comments on the contemporaneous particles are worthy of notice. Servius ad Aen. 2, 455 *dum* regna manebant, says 'dum' donec, alii tamen 'cum' legunt: sed 'cum manebant' quomodo dicimus, cum constet 'manebant' modum esse indicativum? hoc ergo sciendum est, quia, quando coniunctivus modus est, necesse est aliquid subiungi aut subaudiri, ut 'cum venirem, vidi illum', si autem 'cum veniebam' dicamus, aut modus pro

modo est, hoc est indicativus pro coniunctivo: aut 'cum' non erit coniunctio, sed adverbium temporis, et significat 'tempore quo veniebam'. *Interea* is defined by *dum* haec geruntur ad 1, 479; 5, 1; 6, 212; 10, 1; 10, 833 d. h. g. et omnino sic est apud poetas 'interea', sicut apud Sallustium 'eodem tempore'. Ad 11, 547 fugae medio, he says 'dum fugit, inter fugam'. The ablative of the ger. is sometimes mentioned 1, 713 'cantando' id est *dum* cantas, et frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis, id est *dum* ei cantatur. 2, 6; 2, 81; 5, 710; B. 8, 71; G. 1, 3; 3, 215. He states, ad B. 9, 23 inter gerendum, 'dum agis'. Porphyrius uses *donec* in defining *donec* Hor. A. P. 155; and Ep. 2, 1, 147, but calls attention to its equivalence to *dum*, ad Ep. 1, 2, 41; and 2, 1, 47. Servius is inclined to use *dum* with the imperfect subjunctive defining praecipitans, ad Aen. 6, 351 *dum* praecipitarer; and in some comments has the imperfect subj. where Lactantius in his comments on Stat. Theb. has *cum*. Compare Serv. ad 1, 535 and 3, 694 with Lactantius ad 3, 27 and 1, 271.

Of more debatable interest than the fact that *cum* distanced its competitors, is the triumph of *cum* with the subjunctive in retrospective narrative. In Plautus and Terence the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive with *cum* is probably in no instance due to the force of the particle. There are a few examples in the Fragments of Ennius and Cato, and later it became the common prose construction. In poetry the indicative maintained its supremacy, though later poets were affected by the prose usage. As both the indicative and the subjunctive are found with *cum* in poetry and prose, it is necessary to accept them as equivalents in temporal expression, or to maintain a difference and search for the influence which brought about the change. And for this there has been many a quest. Many have been the solutions offered, and so rapidly has theory followed theory that the question might be taken as proof of the eternal flux. The grammatical procession has heard the proclamation of the discovery of many a new goal, and many a teacher not far advanced in age has seen more generations of *cum*-theories than the ancient Nestor had seen generations of men. Each theory has seemed for a time the longed for key, and like every other key each opened every lock that was fitted to it.

Time with the accessory notion of cause was once an "Open Sesame", revealing the content of every subjunctive with *cum*.

Then it was shown that in Plautus and Terence cause is expressed by *cum* with the indicative, and that *quod* and *quia*, themselves relatives, take the indicative to express cause, proving that *cum* does not require the subjunctive to express cause nor does the causal idea require the subjunctive for its expression. If the causal idea has affected the mood with *cum* we have the unexplainable phenomenon of an idea regularly expressed by the indicative diverting into the subjunctive the expression of an idea originally given in the indicative; or in other words two ideas each expressed by the indicative, when united, produced a subjunctive.

Another theory is that of absolute and relative time, one expressed by the indicative, the other by the subjunctive. It was a hard theory, assuming that the unphilosophical Romans easily mastered logical distinctions baffling the moderns, and was foredoomed in its statement. All the particles under consideration with either the indicative or the subjunctive, and it makes no difference which, express the relation of one point of time to another. Combining this fact with the theory we have an absolute-relative time, a result condemning the theory to limbo. And this in its generation opened every lock that was fitted to it.

Psychologically akin to this, though expressed in different terms, is the theory which makes the indicative and the subjunctive the product of faith and of doubt, the one "*der Ausfluss der aequa mens, der seelischen Freiheit*", Dittmar, p. 209, § 338; the other the result of the polemic question, p. 80, § 166. But the indicative *cum*-clauses of Plautus and Terence, and the subjunctive *cum*-clauses of Caesar and Cicero alike express unquestioned facts, and if one, then the other would produce the calmness of faith, with no opening for the introduction of the polemic question. It is still too early to trace the course of this theory accompanied by its attack on the one now generally accepted by Americans and which has been stated in various ways. The indicative *cum*-clause defines or dates the time at which the main act took place, the subjunctive describes or gives the quality, or characterizes the time, the situation or the circumstances under which the main act took place; in short the indicative merely points out the time, the subjunctive paints. While this is the general principle it will not be out of place to look closely at the definitions containing the words "situation under which".

Occasionally with the subjunctive *cum*-clause there is a juxtaposition of actions separated by many degrees of longitude, and there is no 'situation under which', as the actions of one consul in Spain do not give the situation under which his colleague acts in Greece. Further, the pluperfect subjunctive gives an antecedent situation, and this is especially noticeable in the passages, by no means uncommon, in which the pluperfect and the imperfect are used with the same *cum*, the one giving the antecedent situation, and the other the situation under which. In these instances the words "under which" do not strictly apply, but they are the non-essentials of the definition, the essence of which is in the words "describes" or "characterizes", and on the logical demonstration of this depends the establishment of the thesis; and the most elaborate statement based on definite premises is Hale's *The Cum-Constructions: Their History and Functions*.

This argument has two bases, 1, the nature of the imperfect and pluperfect tenses, and 2, the evolution of the subjunctive with *qui* and also with *quom* which is a modified relative.

1. The pluperfect or imperfect indicative tells us that we have to deal with a certain past time, and that "the act was at a certain past time *in a completed stage* (pluperfect), or *in process* (imperfect)." 94% of all the imperfects in early Latin express progressive actions, but mere progression is not characterization, as there is not introduced into the progression a single element that is not in the static action, just as the line is not more characterizing than is the point from which it is evolved. The pluperfect is the logical perfect viewed from another standpoint, and has in it only such qualities as are found in the perfect. In short the imperfect and the pluperfect are the present and the perfect in a different temporal setting, and what is needed is not an argument to show their suitability for characterizing, but one to show why the present and perfect must be considered as unsuited for the same purpose.

2. The demonstration of the character of the subjunctive *cum*-clauses is based (A). on the fact (p. 95) "that the mode of the essential qualitative clause is the subjunctive, and the mode of the non-essential qualitative clause the indicative". "Further, it will be found that the essential qualitative clause is always consecutive, or at least still bears in its form the clear marks of consecutive origin." And (p. 140, 9, a) "The original consecutive *qui*-

quom-clause (the verb of which would be equally in the subjunctive if independent) characterizes the antecedent by stating some act that would naturally flow . . . from the character of the antecedent." And again in (b) "will flow, does flow, etc". (B). The probable genesis of the use of the subjunctive with causal or adversative meaning is suggested, p. 98, and p. 156 it is stated "The genesis of the causal-adversative *quom*-clause cannot have been similar to that which we have found to be probable for the causal-adversative *qui*-clauses, namely, through a consecutive-justifying use". "But, on the other hand, an influence may well have been exerted upon the causal-adversative *quom*-clause by the rise of the subjunctive in the causal-adversative *qui*-clause". (C). But between the time of Terence and of Cicero there were introduced clauses with a distinct pronominal antecedent like *eo tempore* or *tum*, and the point of the entrance of the subjunctive in *quom*-clauses (p. 163) "was the clauses . . . in which either *quom*, or *quo*, *qua*, or *quibus* might serve, without distinction, as the relative for a demonstrative antecedent *is*, *ille*, etc., with *dies*, *nox*, *tempus*, etc., or a demonstrative antecedent *tum*. It is easily clear, then, why *postquam*, *ubi*, *ut*, and *simul atque* do not develop a regular subjunctive construction. They do not serve as relatives interchangeable with *quo*, *qua*, or *quibus* for an *id tempus*, *eo tempore*, etc." The tests to be applied to these clauses are two. (D). It is stated (p. 194), "It may be laid down as a sure principle that a *quom*-clause that carries forward the story by stating a new incident must be put in the subjunctive. This is the very sign-manual of the subjunctive *quom*-clause . . . If a *quom*-clause is interchangeable with an *ubi*- or *ut*-clause, then the *quom*-clause must be in the subjunctive. The indicative *quom*-clause, on the contrary, is not interchangeable with the *ubi*- *ut*-clause, nor with anything else, except a clause introduced by *quo tempore*". (E). "Further, the narrative clause is not like the indicative clause, translatable by the formula 'at the time at which'; for such a question makes too much of the temporal idea". As here given the second test is one of translation, as stated (p. 193). The indicative *quom*-clause is framed to meet a possible question, "At what time was it that this act of which you are speaking took place?" and the test is "*at the time at which*". The subjunctive *quom*-clause is framed to meet a possible question, "How were things at the time of the act of which you are speaking". See also the translations, p. 172 following.

(F). The final product of the evolution (p. 183) is a clause giving "simply the expression of the *situation*", and (p. 184) "for the lightest type, in which the character of the situation has grown faint, the curtailed name INTRODUCTORY CLAUSE OF THE SITUATION would express the actual function, and at the same time connect the construction with the fuller one out of which it has grown"; and (p. 185) "we may be quite prepared to find ourselves forced by our examples frankly to define the subjunctive *quom*-clause as an ever-possible participle."

A brief review of these views is necessary. (A). The consecutive character of the *qui*-clause can be shown by the application of *talis, ut* as a test. This is true of the first example, and is also true of the last. But to the usual *cum*-clause the test does not apply, and this is especially true of all those examples into which personality enters. 'Cum esset in citeriore Gallia . . . crebri ad eum rumores efferebantur', if interpreted with any consecutive bearing reverses the actual conditions by making the action of Caesar a resultant of the character of the times. The examples cited for the *qui-quom*-clauses (p. 140) are not parallel. The antecedents of the *qui*-clause are mostly restrictive and negative, those of the *quom*-clauses affirmative, while the verbs are optatives or conditional, with illustrations in the present and perfect subjunctive, two with *nunc illud est quom*, and one *nunc quom*. But it is held (p. 166) that "the present time as in *nunc quom* is self-explained, and the mode of the qualitative clause referring to it is therefore the indicative". See also examples, p. 216. At this point is the widest divergence of the *qui*- and the *quom*-clauses. The parallelism exists only in the past sphere, for the *qui*-clause characterizes as well in the present as in the past, and there seems to be no reason why the character of a person in the present as well as the character of the time should not be self-explained, for self-explanation is not less a characteristic of the present abstract than it is of the present person. On any basis of logical relationship the indicative moved into the past, should still be an indicative, and a subjunctive moved from the past into the present should be a subjunctive. And this proposition seems as reasonable as that of the scientist that an Indian elephant carried to the shores of Siberia by the Flood would be an Indian elephant still.

(B). The distinction between the causal-adversative *qui*- and *quom*-clauses is worthy of notice as it is a clear indication of the

non-parallelism of the two clauses, as pointed out in the last section. If they started at the same point and developed under the same influences, the lack of parallelism in certain sections of the development would lead us to interpret similar passages as the result, not of parallelism in development, but rather as chance coincidences.

(C). The limitation of clauses with definite antecedents to *cum*, overlooks Cato 'sed tum ubi ii dimissi erant', Jordan, p. 70, LXXIII. *Nunc quom* is not unusual in Plautus nor its correlate *tum quom*, as Capt. 142; 280; Pseud. 883; *tum ut* Capt. 797; *tum quando* Men. 1027; Most. 689; Miles Gl. 810. For *olim quom*, see Brix ad Trin. 523 "ist gleich illo tempore, tum"; Mil. 2; Poen. 356; Pseud. 1312. Notice Truc. 380-381:

verum tempestas quondam dum vixi fuit
quom inter nos sorde??? mus alter de altero.

Capt. 518 hic illest dies quom. In early Latin *cum*, *postquam*, *ubi*, and *ut* were used with the indicative, and at some points were certainly equivalent. Plaut. Pseud. 819 ei homines cenas ubi coquunt, quom condiunt non condimentis condiunt. Pseud. 1180 noctu in vigiliam quando ibat, quom tu ibas simul.

If the indicative *cum*-clauses are to be distinguished from the *ubi*-clauses it must be due to a change after the rise of the subjunctive *cum*-clauses. Livy 29, 37, 8 cum ventum est is certainly the same as Val. Max. 2, 9, 2 ut ventum est; in poetry the differences are merely metrical, while *cum primum*, *ubi primum* and *ut primum* continued parallel throughout. Compare in special use Plaut. Men. 232 hic annus sextus est postquam damus and Trin. 402 minus quindecim dies sunt, quom . . . accepisti.

(D). The statement of new facts is necessary for the continuation of the narrative, and is independent of the question of characterization, unless we assume that because of its newness each new fact in a temporal clause stood in need of characterization. The investigations of Schlicher, Class. Phil. 4, p. 267, show that "clauses . . . which contain ideas that are not directly suggested in what precedes, do, moreover, form a large proportion, something like a third or fourth, of all the temporal clauses introduced by *cum*."¹ Clauses introduced by the definite con-

¹ "No sharp line can be drawn, of course, between these clauses and those whose ideas are directly suggested by what precedes. The one class shades off gradually into the other by many intermediate stages."

junctions, are, for the most part, rarely used for ideas of this kind". And further, p. 269, "identity of subject is much more common between the main clause and clauses introduced by *postquam*, *ubi*, *ut*, and *simulatque*, than between the main clause and the clause introduced by *cum*". But the figures given indicate that the test is valueless for any particular passage, as both sets of particles introduce new facts as well as recapitulations of facts already given. In this last respect, considering only the newness of the facts presented, the statements containing *ubi* with the relative do not differ from statements containing *cum* with the relative; see Kunze, *Sallustiana* III, part 1, p. 72; Menge-Preuss, *Lex. Caes.*, p. 1108; Gerber-Greef, *Lex. Tac.*, p. 1690. The test applies only to past actions and has no application to the present and future, and for the compilers; e. g., Frontinus, none to the past, since the rule for them was the subjunctive for all statements new or old. There is a tendency to use *ubi*, etc., with verbs of perception taking as object some fact already mentioned, but this use seems to be independent of any question of the newness of the facts, and due to the interpretation of the *cum*-clause as itself subordinate.

(E). The first translation indicates a definitely conceived period or point of time, the like of which did not come again; the second one of several similar ones, or in short it is a matter of definiteness and indefiniteness. But in regard to this who shall decide? Cic. *Sex. Rosc. Com.* 12, 33 (p. 159) "*accepit enim agrum temporibus eis, quom iacerent pretia praediorum* (He got the farm at a time when prices were down,—in hard times)". But the following statement has *nunc . . . tunc; tum . . . nunc; tum . . . nunc*, indicating a point of time in the past as definitely determined (*tum*) as is the present (*nunc*). Compare the opposite example, Cic., *Rosc. Am.* 18, 50 "*ne tu, Eruci, accusator esses ridiculus, si illis temporibus natus esses, quom ab aratro arcescebantur qui consules fierent . . . if you had been born in the days when men were summoned from the plough to the consulship*", that is in primitive times. *Illis temporibus quom* and *temporibus eis quom*, hard times and primitive times, seem equally definitely determined, and this is also true of the two other quotations, since the *tum* refers to the time mentioned in a preceding letter. Similar to these are Cic. *Ligar.* 7, 20 *atque ille eo tempore paruit, quom parere senatui necesse erat*;

vos tunc parvistis, quom paruit nemo, qui noluit, and Cic. Verr. 2, 98 si eo tempore ad te venissent cum tibi in integro tota res esset, and one might steadfastly refuse to see any logical difference between Sen. Ep. 104, 33 eodem quo repulsus est die in comitio pila lusit, and Cic. Post Red. 2, 3 illo ipso tempore, quom vi, ferro, metu, minis obsessi teneremini.

(F). The final product of the evolution of the characterizing clause is a clause in which characterizing does not inhere, being merely the equivalent of a participle, which is usually in the perfect tense so that the special tense force in the narrative clause is not required to express the full introductory meaning. In the case of deponent verbs the nominative has almost excluded the *cum*-clauses, while the ablatives absolute of other verbs far outnumber them. Both are uncolored, and this is true of the great mass of the *cum*-clauses, especially in the compilers of historical data, well illustrated by Frontinus with 350 subjunctives with *cum*, and one indicative in a quotation.

Taking into account the fact that the consecutive idea cannot be the measure of the *cum*-clauses to which *talis*, *ut* cannot be applied; that they, unlike the *qui*-clauses, are limited to the past; that the test for the indefiniteness of the clauses with *tempus* as an antecedent does not apply to the great mass in which no antecedent is expressed; and that the final product is the equivalent of a perfect participle without characterizing power, which in certain spheres excludes the *cum*-clauses, we must hold that the theory is not established, and that the correspondences between the *qui*- and *quom*-clauses are incidental to the fact that on the relative plane can be shown all manner of relations, and on the temporal plane can be posited all forms of modal statement making resemblance unavoidable, and that the application of a wider principle has embraced some clauses which are rightly interpreted as characteristic.

After all it may be that the demonstration is an argumentative hysteron proteron, a search for causes amid conditions existing after the effect had been established. One of the noticeable features of the *cum*-clauses in poetry is the practical avoidance of the pluperfect subjunctive. In this respect Vergil and Horace are as far from Cicero and Livy as are Plautus and Terence. If by any chance there had been left to us only Vergil and Horace of the Augustan age, from their writings the prose construction with *cum* could not be adequately inferred. The

relation of Plautus and Terence to the early prose writers may be the same, and with their speakers in the immediate type of narrative they may not reveal to us the full scope of the early usage with *cum*. We do not believe that they do. The words of Cato (Jordan, p. 27) *cum tantam rem peragier arbitrarer*, ap. Gell. XIII 25 (24), 15; (Jordan, p. 55) *cumque Hannibal terram Italiam laceraret atque vexaret*, ap. Gell. II 6, 7; Macr. Sat. VI 13; Serv. ad Verg. B. 6, 76; (Jordan 64, 1) *quom esset in provincia legatus, quam plures ad praetores et consules vinum honorarium dabant*, ap. Isidor. Orig. 20, 3, 8 seem to be in direct statements, and are sufficient in number to establish the subjunctive in prose for the time of Cato. In addition to these passages is the one ap. Gell. 3, 7, 19, which may possibly be indirectly stated.

The original form of all temporal statements was paratactic, and of this there are abundant evidences in Plautus especially with *dum*: Bacch. 737 *mane dum: scribit*; Persa 500 *tace dum: pellego*; Bacch. 988 *ades dum: ego has perlego*. From this there were two distinct lines of departure. One was with verbs of expectation, though even here the *dum* may be interpreted with the main clause and the subjunctive taken as expressing a wish; e. g., Poen. 785 *operam date dum: me videatis*; Men. 883 *manendo medicum dum: se ex opere recipiat*. The second was the *dum*-proviso clause, which is a little further removed from the paratactic stage; e. g., Persa 145 *me quoque etiam vende: si lubet, dum saturum vendas*.

There are also a few occurrences of *priusquam* with the subjunctive in clauses involving volition. *Quom, postquam, ubi* and *ut* give merely temporal locations, though they may be, for other than temporal reasons, associated with the subjunctive. Of this mood there are a few instances in the fragments of the poets before Lucretius, and then, in poetry, it is found chiefly in the imperfect, as also with *antequam* and *priusquam*, and with *dum*.

The prevailing use of the indicative in temporal statements in early poetry shows that the indicative might have continued as the mood for all narrative, if the attitude of the narrator had remained the same. But the retrospective narrator was dealing with facts not of his own experience, and at these he looked as he was encompassed by two influences, one setting from parataxis to hypotaxis, and the other toward *oratio obliqua*, either expressed or implied. The result clause starting with the recog-

dition of what might arise from a given antecedent was transferred from the possible to the actual, so that the narrator had before him the subjunctive expressing facts, volitions and subordinate statements indirectly made, including also the *cum*-clauses. The early retrospective narrator in dealing with extra-experiential facts may have stated these quasi-indirect facts as if they were really indirect and thus have established a new grammatical narrative form. Once used, and obliterating the distinction between the direct and the indirect statements, its very serviceability would account for its extension to all forms of past narrative, and embracing many clauses with distinguishing marks of their own.

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III.—LAUREL IN ANCIENT RELIGION AND FOLK-LORE.

Although authorities may differ in their definition of folk-lore, certainly it cannot be denied that those substances which are intimately associated with the life of the folk of Greece and Italy, are inseparably connected with rites and beliefs that can be shown to be survivals from an earlier stratum of folk-religion. This fact is, I am convinced, of the utmost importance in explaining many of the superstitious ideas and practices connected with various plants, and the object of this paper is to consider laurel,—*δάφνη*, *laurus*,—from this point of view, to see whether any explanation can thus be gained of the part played by this tree in ancient religion and folk-lore.

It is generally agreed that the rites of purification which form such a prominent aspect of Greek and Roman religion, go back to a primitive period when a belief in spirits was general, for the purification was not what we understand by the term, it was not spiritual; the stain was not within but came from without and was caused by souls of the dead, which had unlimited power for harm. Against these spirits man had to be continuously on his guard; he must protect himself, his house, his flocks from their attacks; and every purificatory rite had originally, at least, this end in view: to placate these spirits and to prevent them from doing harm.

In such rites we find laurel playing an important rôle. That it had done so from the most primitive times, the mythological instances of its use show. We are told, in the first place, that Apollo, after he had slain the Python, purified himself with laurel,¹ and every eighth year at Delphi, in the festival known as *τὸ Στεντήριον*,² this purification of the god was represented. As Frazer remarks in his note on Paus., l. l.: "This legend of the

¹ Cf. Ael. V. H. 3, 1; Plut. Quaes. Gr. 12; de defect. or. 15; Tert. de cor. mil. 7.

² Cf. Plut., l. l.; Paus. 2, 7, 7 with Frazer's note; Harrison, Prol. to the Study of Gr. Rel., pp. 113 sq. Cf., too, the Daphnephoria at Thebes; Phot. Bibl., p. 321; Paus. 9, 10, 4. Cf. Boetticher, Baumk. 385 sq.; Gruppe, Gr. My. 106.

purification of Apollo for killing the dragon seems to carry us back to the days of primitive Greek savagery", to a time when the act of killing an animal was murder, and the avenging soul of the murdered animal was as much feared as the avenging soul of a murdered man.¹ The explanation of the use of the laurel, therefore, lies in the fact that it was thought to protect the slayer against such evil spirits whether they were those of beasts or men.

An example of its use against the latter is afforded by the tradition of the purification of Orestes for the murder of his mother. That laurel was used in the rites practised on that occasion is shown by the fact that when other things which were employed were buried a laurel tree sprang from them.² On three vases, too, depicting this ceremony, laurel branches are pictured.³ In two of them Apollo, who performs the ceremony, holds a branch of laurel on his left arm; in the third he has a bowl in his left hand, "while in his right he holds a branch of laurel over Orestes' head, sprinkling him with the liquid contained in the bowl". A somewhat similar scene, in which the laurel again appears, is painted on an amphora of lower Italy; this has been interpreted as the purification of Leonymus in the White Isle.⁴ On a cameo, also, representing the purification of the daughters of Proteus by Melampus, a branch is pictured which may be laurel.⁵ Such examples help us to explain, I think, the statement of Dion. Hal. A. R. 1, 40, that after Hercules had slain Cacus, the native inhabitants crowned him and themselves with laurel. It was an act of purification, and its aim was that of all such acts,—to keep the evil spirits at a distance; so the Argonauts, after the slaying of Amycus, crowned themselves with laurel; Ap. Rh. 2, 159, and Clem. Alex. Protr. 1, advises the true disciple to take to himself means of purification worthy of God, not leaves of laurel and fillets interwoven with wool and purple.

¹ Frazer, l. l., gives many examples of similar ideas among savage peoples. There are other traces, too, of the time when they prevailed in Greece; cf. the ritual of the Bouphonia, on which see Harrison, l. l., p. 111, with ref. in note 1.

² Paus. 2, 31, 8, with Frazer's note.

³ Frazer, l. l. One, an Apulian vase, is given in Baum. Denkm., p. 1117; for the others, cf. Ann. d. Inst. 1847, pl. X; Arch. Zeit. 1860, pl. CXXXVII; Comptes Rendu (St. Petersburg), 1863, p. 213.

⁴ Arch. Zeit. N. F. 1 (1847), pp. 97-107; Paus. 3, 19, 12 with Frazer's note.

⁵ Baum. Denkm. fig. 988; Frazer on Paus. 2, 31, 8.

Throughout Greek and Roman literature references to the purificatory uses of laurel are common. That it was so used is stated by Fest., p. 117, Pl. 15, 135 sq.; Serv. on Aen. 1, 329; Corn. 32; Lyd. de Men. 4, 4; Geop. 11, 2, 4 sq.; cf. Ins. fr. Perg. 264, 4, *περικαθαίρειν θείῃ καὶ δάφνῃ*.¹ Wherever there was danger from unclean spirits, wherever ceremonial purity was required, there we find laurel employed. In the prologos of Eur. Ion, 76 sq. Ion enters bearing a laurel branch to cleanse the approaches to the temple of Apollo, and in vs. 102 sq. we see him at his work, sprinkling the holy floor with laurel branches dipped in water,—cf. the painting referred to above,—and sweeping it with a broom made of laurel (114). Hence, as he who entered a temple of Apollo had to be pure (Serv. on Aen., l. l.), he carried laurel branches (Eur. Ion 420 sq.), or wore a laurel crown; Livy 23, 11, 5 in describing the mission of Fabius Pictor to Delphi says: *iussumque a templi antistite, sicut coronatus laurea corona et oraculum adisset et rem divinam fecisset, ita coronatum navem ascendere nec ante deponere eam quam Romam pervenisset, se... coronam Romae in ara Apollinis deposuisse*; cf. Plut. Arist. 20, 5. To wear this crown on the return from the oracle seemingly signified good news; cf. Soph. Oed. Tyr. 82; Eur. Hipp. 806. The symbolism which grew up around the connection of the laurel with Apollo has, of course, often obscured the original idea underlying its use, but there can be little doubt in most cases what this original idea was. Further examples will help to make this clear.

In the Schol. to Eur. Alc. 98 we read: *ὅποτε τις ἀποθάνοι πρὸ τῶν πυχῶν ὄστρακα πληροῦντες ὕδατος ἐτίθεσαν καὶ κλάδους δάφνης ἵνα οἱ ἐξιώντες περιβρῶνται*. The reason for purification in such a case is well known.² So Servius commenting on Verg. Aen. 6, 230, where in the lustral rites in connection with the burial of Misenus, an olive branch is used to sprinkle holy water on those present, says: *moris fuerat ut de lauro fieret*. The end to be gained by such sprinkling is well shown by Juv. 2, 157, where, in describing the underworld, he apostrophizes the souls of the great dead and asks them what they would do when an unbelieving shade came among them: *cuperent lustrari si qua darentur/Sulphura cum taedis et si foret humida laurus*. The same means of purification were practised at the Roman Parilia,—Ov. F. 4, 727,—an ancient

¹ Cf. Babick, de Daesidaemonia Veterum Quaes. p. 5.

² Cf. Rohde, Psyche² 1, 217 sq.

festival having for aim the promotion of fertility, and protection for man and his possessions against the spirits of ill;¹ laurel was also burned at this time, *Ov.*, l. 1., 742. On May 15, also, the Roman merchant sprinkled himself and his wares in the same way:² *Ov. Fast.* 5, 679, *Spargit et ipse suos lauro rorante capillos/Et peragit solita fallere voce preces:/Ablue praeteriti perjuris temporis, inquit/Ablue praeterita perfida verba die!*

In times of pestilence and disease, which primitive man ascribes to the presence of evil spirits,—cf. *Ov. Fast.* 2, 533 sq.,—we find laurel again employed to banish the ill. We are told, for example, by *Clem. Alex. Strom.* 5, 8, 49, that Branchus, the mythical founder of the oracle at Miletus, during a pestilence there, sprinkled the people with laurel branches and purified them. In the lustral rites ordered by the Sibyl on such occasions, laurel was especially prominent;³ cf. *Livy* 40, 37: *decemviri supplicationem in biduum valetudinis causa . . . edixerunt. Maiores duodecim annis omnes coronati et lauream in manu tenentes supplicaverunt. So on the occurrence of prodigies laurel crowns were worn and laurel branches carried in the various processions in honor of Apollo: Livy 27, 37, 11; 34, 55, 4; 36, 37, 5; 43, 13, 8; Isyllos B 10 (Wilamowitz, *Isyl.* p. 9). Laurel was also used in the lustration of armies; cf. *Jul. Obs.* 130 *lustratione lictor perversis fascibus lauream imposuit. Three other passages, Dion Cass. 47, 40; App. Civ. B. 4, p. 668; Plut. Brut. 39, 2, do not mention laurel in connection with this rite, but speak of crowning only. As they refer, however, to the crowning of the reversed fasces,—a bad omen, (Jul. Obs. 130),—laurel must be meant. Plut. Marc. 22, 1, is more explicit: in speaking of the triumph he says that arms and men are crowned with much laurel just as is customary in the purification of armies; and in the next section he says that when Marcellus, after a victory, was about to burn spoils as a sacrifice to the gods, the army stood by crowned, i. e., with laurel; cf. ib. Sulla 27, 4.**

All these citations furnish us examples of what are generally styled purificatory rites, but we must not forget that purification originally meant nothing but freedom from spirits, and the substances used in such rites had power not only to expel these spirits

¹Cf. Preller-Jordan, *Römische Mythologie*, 1, 416 sq. Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, 79 sq.

²Cf. *Prel.-Jor.*, l. 1., 2, 232.

³Cf. Diels, *Sibyll. Blätt.*, pp. 51; 120.

but to repel them;¹ i. e., they were prophylactic, and it is impossible to tell which idea was the most prominent. In endeavoring to explain, for instance, the custom of the triumphator wearing a laurel crown, Pl. 15, 38, 135, after speaking of the virtues of laurel, continues: *ob has causas equidem crediderim, honorem ei habitum in triumphis potius quam quia suffimentum sit caedis hostium et purgatio, ut tradit Masurius*. The latter is the reason² given by Fest. also, 117, 13: *laureati milites sequebantur currum triumphantis ut quasi purgati a caede humana intrarent urbem*. This is near the mark, but what was the necessity of the purple robe,³ the phallus, the ribald cries of the soldiers, which were as characteristic of the triumph as the laurel crowns?⁴ They were all prophylactic, potent against evil spirits, and Pliny, 28, 39, tells us that the purpose of the 'phallus and the soldiers' jokes was to protect the triumphator against envy and the evil eye.⁵ This furnishes us the key: there

¹ Cf. Porphy. de philos. ex orac. haur., p. 149: *διὰ τοῦτο αἱ ἀγνεῖαι, οὐ διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς προσηγουμένως, ἀλλ' ἐν' οὗτοι (= spirits) ἀποστῶσι*.

² Serv. on Verg. Ecl. 8, 12 (cf. Isid. 17, 7), est ratio quoniam . . . semper vireat. Fest., l. 1., adds: "vel quod medicamento siccissima sit: vel quod omni tempore viret."

³ The choice of the purple garment cannot, it seems to me, be due to mere caprice of taste. Purple was closely associated with the spirit world: it was the color worn by those who sacrificed to the Eumenides, Aesch. Eum. 1028; in the annual sacrifice to those who had been slain at the battle of Plataea, the archon, who could at no other time touch iron or wear purple, put on a robe of this color and carried a sword, Plut. Arist. 21; cf. ib. Arat. 53, 4-5; the dead were buried in purple, Stat. S. 5, 1, 225; the Salii were clad in purple on the March festival, Plut. Num. 13, 4; Dion. Hal. 2, 70; cf. ib. 7, 72; more significant still is the statement of Plut. Rom. 25, 5, who, in describing the triumph of Romulus, adds that whenever they offer a sacrifice for victory, they lead through the forum an old man clad in a boy's robe edged with purple, with a bulla around his neck; cf. further, Diels, Sib. Blät., p. 69 n. Rohde, Psy. 1, 226, n. 3; Gruppe, Gr. My. 891, n. 3.

⁴ For the details of a triumph, cf. Prel.-Jor. 1, 230; Marq.-Momm. Privatl. 542; Staatsv. 2, 582 sq. 576; for the purple robe, cf. Pl. 9, 127; Plut. Rom. 25, 5; Aem. Pau. 34, 3; Dion. Hal. 3, 62; 7, 72; for the soldiers' jests, cf. Pl. 28, 39; Ov. Trist. 4, 2, 51; Mart. 7, 8, 8; Claud. de Con. Stil. 3, 20-21; other ref. in Marq.-Momm. Staatsv. 2, 588, n. 2.

⁵ Cf. Prel.-Jor. 1, 230, n. 4; according to Macr. S. 1, 6, 9, a bulla was also carried by the triumphator: nam sicut praetexta magistratum, ita bulla gestamen erat triumphantium, quam in triumpho prae se gerebant inclusis intra eam remediis quae crederent adversus invidiam valentissima. The same ideas must have prompted the use of the iron ring (Pl. 33, 11), and the custom of painting the body (ib. 33, 111).

were spirits abroad and it was for protection against them that these precautions were taken. The fact that the soldiers also wore laurel¹ suggests that the spirits most feared were the avenging ghosts of the warriors slain in battle. That something was to be feared from these spirits the necessity for the purification of an army shows, and this view is supported by the distinction made between an ovatio and a triumph. The former, in which there was no chariot, no phallus, no purple robe, and a myrtle instead of a laurel crown, was granted to a general who had gained his point without bloodshed, the latter to one who had subdued his enemies by fighting and the shedding of blood; cf. Plut. Marc. 22, 1; Pl. 15, 135; Gell. 5, 6, 21; cf., too, the custom mentioned by Plut. Rom. 25, 5, referred to above,—a custom which shows that something more beside the evil eye was feared.

Laurel apparently has lustral signification in its use by the Romans for presents (*strenae*),² on the first of January. On this day, according to Lydus, *de mens.* 4, 4 φύλλα δὲ δάφνης ἐδίδοσαν ἄπερ ἐκάλουν στρήνα, εἰς τιμὴν δαίμονος τινος οὕτω προσαγορευομένης ἥτις ἔφορος ἐστὶ τῶν νικῶν. Somewhat different is Geop. 11, 2, 6: δάφνη . . . ὑγείας ἐστὶν ἐργαστική. ὅθεν καὶ φύλλα αὐτῆς ἐπιδίδονται τοῖς ἀρχουσι παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ Ἰαννουαρίου μηνός (cf. Mart. 10, 10, 1), καὶ *Ischades*, and Fest., p. 113, 28, tells us that these presents were made *ominis boni causa*; so Ov. Fast. 1, 185 sq. explains the custom of giving similar gifts,—sweet cakes, figs, etc. The custom must have been much older than 152 B. C., when the consuls first began their official year on January 1, for the *strenae* were brought into connection with the goddess *Strenia*, and from

¹ It is unnecessary to give all the references to laurel in this connection; the triumphator wore a laurel crown: Tib. 2, 5, 5; Ov. Am. 2, 12, 1; Ep. ex Pon. 2, 2, 82 sq. Tr. 4, 2, 51; Pl. 15, 137; Livy 10, 7, 9; Mart. 8, 65, 5; Serv. Aen. 1, 394; Ecl. 8, 12; Claud. Gigant. 34; he carried a branch in his hand: Tib. 2, 5, 117; 1, 7, 7; Pl., l. l.; Plut. Aem. Paul. 34; the fasces were crowned with it: Tac. A. 13, 9, 7; Cic. de Div. 1, 59; Jul. Obs. 123; Claud. Quart. Con. Hon. 14; the chariot, Suet. Aug. 94; Claud. Tert. Con. Hon. 128; de Bell. Gild. 1, 13; the horses, Ov. ex Pon. 2, 1, 58; Flor. 1, 5, 6; Mart. 7, 8, 8; Zon. 7, 8; the soldiers bore laurel, Pl. 15, 133; Livy 45, 38, 12; Fest. 117, 13; Mart. 7, 5, 4; Plut. Aem. Pau. 34, 3-4; App. Pun. 66; the laurel of the fasces and that which the triumphator had carried in his hand was laid in the temple of Juppiter, Sen. Dial. 12, 10, 8; Stat. S. 4, 1, 41; Sil. Ital. 15, 118; Suet. Dom. 6; Nero. 14; Jul. Obs. l. l.; Dio Cass. 54, 25; 55, 5; Ov. Tr. 4, 2, 51 sq.

² A full account of the *strenae* is given by Lipenius in Graevius, *Thesaurus*, Vol. 12, p. 409; cf., also, Prel.-Jor. 1, 180; Marq.-Momm. *Privatl.* 251-2; Staatsv. 3, 266, n. 8; Samter, *Familienfeste d. Gr. u. Röm.* 87 sq.

the time of T. Tatius, we are told, twigs of a felix arbor were taken from her grove at the beginning of each year and carried to the Arx, Symm. ep. 10, 35. Unfortunately we know little about Strenia,¹ and the knowledge does not help us to disentangle what was original from the later symbolism on which, as the examples quoted show, reasons for the custom were based. If we could be sure that there was a change of date and that March 1, the ancient New Year's, was the day with which the practice was originally connected, we could be more positive as to the significance of the laurel.

For there can be no doubt that the custom of decorating the Regia, the Curiae, and the houses of the flamens with fresh laurel on this great Mars' festival² (cf. Ov. F. 3, 135 sq.; Macr. S. 1, 12, 6) had its origin in the belief that laurel could aid in keeping off evil spirits. This was the purpose of all the rites practised on that day, as it was the purpose of similar rites practised elsewhere at the beginning of spring.³ During the Greek Anthesteria for example, on the Choes when the spirits of the dead were thought to rise again,⁴ the doors were smeared with pitch and people chewed buckthorn from early morning; it is probable that this was the day on which the Superstitious Man put laurel in his mouth and walked around thus the whole day, Theophr. Ch. 16. Pitch and buckthorn were frequently used whenever there was danger from spirits,⁵ and laurel must be classed with them; the sick Bion, for instance, hung buckthorn and a laurel branch over his door: Diog. Laert. de vit. phil. 4, 57; cf. the epigram cited by Hesych. de hom. s. v. Βίων (p. 14, Orelli).

We are expressly told, indeed, that where laurel is there the spirits cannot be: Geop. 11, 2, 5: ἀπεχθάνεται δαίμοσι καὶ ἔνθα ἂν ᾖ δάφνη ἱκποδῶν δαίμονες; so Lydus, de Mens. 4, 4. Hence it was a sure protection against the evil eye and enchantment: Zenob. 3, 12 (= Diog. 4, 14): Δαφνίην φορῶ βακτηρίαν. τοῦτο λέγειν εἰώθασιν οἱ ὑπὸ τινων ἐπιβουλεύμενοι· παρόσον ἀλεξιφάρμακον ἡ δάφνη; cf. Diog. 4, 78; B. 322; and it is this power over spirits which explains many of the uses to which laurel was put. The same reason which inspired Bion to hang it over his door in time of sickness,

¹ Cf. Wissowa, Relig. d. Röm., p. 196 sq., Prel.-Jor. 2, 234.

² Cf. Roscher, Lex. s. v. Mars, 2428; Fowler, pp. 39 sq.

³ Cf. Fowler, l. l.; for the Anthesteria, cf. Harrison, pp. 32 sq.

⁴ Phot. s. v. μαρὰ ἡμέρα; Rohde, Psy. 1, 237 sq., Harrison, l. l.

⁵ Rohde, l. l., n. 3; Gruppe, Gr. Myth. 889, n. 4.

when we know that spirits were thought to be active, caused people to place laurel branches there at other times; cf. E. M. s. v. 'Αντήρους, τοὺς τῆς δάφνης ὀρηκας τοὺς πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἱσταμένους; Hesych. s. v. Κάμυθα, especially on occasions when spirits were most liable to do harm. Thus it was the custom to decorate the door in this manner at weddings; Juv. 6, 79: ornentur postes et grandi ianua lauro, on which the Schol. rem: ad honorem nuptiarum. Sic enim solent in nuptiis praeparare. Laurel is expressly mentioned in this connection by Claud. de Rap. Pros. 3, 74 sq.; Epithal. de Nup. Hon. 299, where the soldiers at the wedding are crowned with it; Apul. Met. 4, 26; Tertul. ad Ux. 2, 6; Dracont. Med. 336: of the wedding of Jason and Medea, tunc regia lauro/cingitur et postes soceri pia sarta coronant; E. M., p. 531, 53. In a picture on a hydria, also, evidently representing the preparations for a bridal bath, one of the girls holds branches of laurel and myrtle.¹ In Juv. 6, 226, Luc. Phar. 2, 354, Stat. Theb. 2, 248,—passages referring to weddings,—the rami and sarta were evidently of laurel; cf. Tert. de cor. mil. 13. This was, perhaps, the custom also at births; cf. Juv. 9, 85: foribus suspende coronas/iam pater es, where laurel² is probably meant; all sorts of precautions were taken at such a time *εἰς ἀπᾶσιν δαιμόνων*, Phot. s. v. ῥάμνος. In Greece, when a boy or girl reached the age of puberty, laurel was hung before the door, E. M., p. 531, 53; and it was this belief in its power to keep off the spirits that led to the custom of planting laurel trees in front of houses; Pl. 15, 127: laurus . . . gratissima domibus, ianitrix Caesarum Pontificarumque; sola et domus exornat et ante limina excubat; cf. Sen. Dial. 11, 16, 5; to the 'ianitrix Caesarum' refer Ov. Tr. 3, 1, 43; M. 1, 562; Dio Cass. 53, 16; Tert. Apol. 35; cf. also Sidon. Ap. 2, 18. For the same reason laurel crowns were chiselled on the walls;³ they are often represented, too, on tombstones.⁴

¹ Cf. Gerhard, Auserles. Gr. Vasenb. 3, 306; cf. further, Sen. Ag. 313; Stat. Silv. 1, 2, 181.

² The crowns may have been of olive as was the custom in Greece; cf. Hesych. s. v. στέφανον ἐκφέρειν; Rohde, Psy. 2, 72, n. 1; Gruppe, l. l., 879 sq.; Samter, l. l., 80 sq. It may be noted that in Germany, every time a child is swathed, a cross is made with the laurel branches which hang on the bed; cf. Wuttke Deutsch. Volksaberg. 588; cf., further, Boettich. Baumk., p. 373.

³ Cf. Heim, Fl. Jb. Kl. Phil. Supp. 19, 1893, p. 508.

⁴ Cf. C. I. L. 3, 120; 6, 77; 2278; Kaibel, I. G. S. I. 1834; cf. Heim, l. l.

These uses gave rise to the custom of wearing laurel crowns or decorating with laurel on all festive occasions; cf. Cic. pro Mur. 88: ut eam imaginem clarissimi viri parentis sui quam paucis ante diebus laureatam in sua gratulatione conspexit, eandem deformatam . . . videat; Ov. Tr. 3, 1, 43, says of it, facit omnia festa; cf. Juv. 10, 65, pone domi laurus; 12, 91, on the safe return of a friend; Plut. Aem. Pau. 22, 1; Tac. Ann. 15, 71; Tert. inveighs against the custom as the distinguishing mark of a pagan: de Idol. 15; de Cor. mil. 13; Ap. 35; and it was forbidden by canon law: Cor. iur. can. decr. 2, 26, 7, 13: non licet iniquas observationes agere kalendarum et otii vacare gentilibus, neque lauro aut viriditate arborum cingere domus; omnis enim haec observatio paganismi est. In all the celebrations connected with the emperors laurel is especially prominent; people carried it on their coronation; cf. Herodian 2, 2; 2, 13-14; on their birthdays: Dio Cass. 47, 18; 72, 21; on their triumphal entries into cities, Tac. H. 2, 70; Suet. Aug. 58; Dio Cass. 74, 1; Herodian 1, 7; 3, 8; 4, 1; 8, 6; 8, 7; and at other times: Tac. H. 2, 55: ut cessisse Othonem . . . certi auctores . . . attulerunt, . . . populus cum lauru ac floribus Galbae imagines circum templa tulit; Dio Cass. 63, 4.¹

The following examples will illustrate further its supposed apotropaic power: Ael. N. A. 1, 35, tells us that doves put laurel twigs in their nests *βαρκαρίας ἀμυντήριον*; cf. Pl. 8, 101: palumbes graculi merulae perdices lauri folio annuum fastidium purgant. According to Geop. 2, 30, 1, leaves of laurel put among barley grains preserve them. It was apotropaic against the robigo: Pl. 18, 161, robigo quidem maxima segetum pestis, lauri ramis in arvo defixis, transit in ea folia ex arvis; so Geop. 5, 33, 4. It was put in the nest of a sitting hen adversus tonitrua quibus vitiantur ova pullique semiformes interimuntur, Colum. 8, 5, 12; cf. Geop. 14, 11, 5; in the latter we also read that it protected the wine

¹ For the custom of crowning the fasces with laurel,—a custom evidently based upon symbolism and hence needing not to be considered here, cf. Marq.-Momm. Staatsr. 1, 374. The same is true of the laureatae litterae and laureati pili which were signs of victory. Ref. are numerous: cf. Plut. Rom. 41, 3; Cic. in Pis. 17, 39; Ov. Am. 1, 11, 25; Livy, 5, 28, 13; 45, 1, 7-8; Pl. 15, 133; 35, 201; Pers. 6, 43; Pl. Pan. 8; Mart. 7, 5, 4; 6, 5; 9, 35, 6; Tac. Ag. 18; H. 3, 77; Schol. Juv. 4, 149; Flor. 3, 3, 20; Vita Max. 24; Alex. Serv. 58; Herodian 8, 6; Dio Cass. 62, 19; App. in Mith., p. 223; Amm. Marc. 16, 12, 69. On the laurel crown of the emperors, granted first to Caesar,—Dio Cass. 43, 43—cf. Marq.-Momm. Staatsr. 1, pp. 427 sq.; cf. p. 414.

jars from lightning: 7, 11, *ἔνιοι δὲ δάφνης κλάδους ἐπιτιθείασι κατὰ ἀντιπάθειαν*; in the cod. Paris. suppl. Gr. 636 (ed. Fuchs, Rh. Mus. 50, 1895), pp. 576 sq., we read under the caption *περὶ κεραυνῶν*,—*τὰ μὲν οὖν φυλάσσοντα ἀπὸ κεραυνῶν εἰσι ταῦτα*,—*ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς γῆς δάφνη καὶ σνκῆ*.

These ideas are due to a belief that lightning never struck the laurel tree, hence *Tiberius turbatiore caelo numquam non coronam lauream capite gestavit, quod fulmine afflari negetur id genus frondis*, Suet. Tib. 69; cf. Pl. 15, 135; in 134, the latter remarks *manu satarum receptarumque in domos fulmine sola non icitur*; cf. ib. 2, 146; Serv. on Aen. 1, 394; Isid. Or. 17, 7, 2. We are able to appreciate the reasoning which led to this belief, for laurel was thought to be full of fire;¹ i. e., a fiery demon was originally supposed to dwell in it, and it was imagined that the heavenly fire demon would not harm the related demon dwelling in the tree.² And this belief in turn had its origin, I think, in the use of laurel to strike fire; cf. Pl. 16, 208: *nihil hedera praestantius quae teratur, lauro quae terat*;³ cf. Sen. N. Q. 2, 22, 1,—a use referred to in Hym. Herm. 108: *δάφνης ἀγλαὸν ὄζον ἔλὼν ἐπέλεψε σιδήρη/ ἄρμενον ἐν παλάμῃς ἄμπνυτο δὲ θερμὸς αὐτμῆ*. The practice must go back to the most primitive times.

It is probably due to the common use of laurel for firewood, that its crackling⁴ in the flames was thought to be a good omen; Tib. 2, 5, 81: *et succensa sacris crepitet bene laurea flammis/ omine quo felix et sacer annus erit*. As the crackling, however, is simply an indication that the fire had caught, perhaps the omen in the first place depended upon whether the fire burned or went out. This is to be inferred from Theocr. 2, 23 sq., where laurel is burned in a love⁵ charm: *Δελφίς ἔμ' ἀνίασεν' ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ Δελφίδι δάφναν/ αἶθω' χ' ὥς αὐτὰ λακεῖ μέγα καπνυρίσσα/ κήξαπίνας ἄφθη, κοῦδὲ σποδὸν εἶδομες αὐτὰς/ οὔτω τοι καὶ Δελφίς ἐνὶ φλογὶ σάρκ' ἀμαθῆνοι*: the

¹ Pl. 16, 207 calls it *calida*; cf. Theoph. h. pl. 5, 4; Euseb. Praep. Evan. 3, p. 112; Geop. 11, 2; Lyd. de men. 4, 4.

² Cf. Gruppe, p. 785. He compares the Blitzstein; Grimm, D. M.³ 1, 164; 2, 1170 sq.

³ Gr. *τρύπανον*, Theoph. h. pl. 5, 9, 7.

⁴ This peculiarity is often referred to: Lucr. 6, 151; Ov. F. 1, 343; Pl. 15, 135; E. M. s. v. *δάφνη*, p. 250, 35; Eust. on Hom. Il. 1, 14; hence the proverb, *μειζονα βοῦ δάφνης χλωρᾶς καιομένης*, Diog. 6, 52; Suid. s. v.

⁵ The fact that laurel burned quickly and completely would account for its use in such a charm; cf. Kuhnert, Feuerzauber, Rh. Mus. 49 (1894), p. 44; its magic properties, too, lend an additional motive.

good omen consists in the fact that the laurel was entirely consumed and left no ashes; in the same charm as given by Verg. E. 8, 106-7, the flame, after dying down suddenly brightens again: *corripuit altaria flammis/sponte sua dum ferre moror cinis ipse. bonum sit!* We see from Prop. 2, 28, 35-6, that the reverse is a bad omen; he performs a charm during Cynthia's illness: *deficiunt magico torti sub carmine rhombi/et iacet extincto laurus adusta foco.* This use of laurel in a medicinal charm has its ultimate explanation in its power to drive away spirits; cf. the custom of the philosopher Bion, referred to above, p. 293; and its use in purificatory rites in time of pestilence, p. 290. This is the significance, too, of the fire made of laurel and herba Sabina on the Roman Parilia, Ov. F. 4, 741: *ure mares oleas taedamque herbasque Sabinas/et crepet in mediis laurus adusta foci.*¹

Such practices, which carry us back at once into the heart of ancient folk-lore and religion, make us wonder why Pl. 15, 135 should say: *adeoque in profanis usibus pollui laurum et oleam fas non est, ut ne propitiandis quidem numinibus accendi ex his altaria arave debeant.* Certainly the uses set forth above were 'profani' and 'altaria' occur in the charm quoted from Verg. Can the explanation of Pliny's words lie in a belief that laurel was not pure enough, i. e., was felt to be too closely associated with the spirit world, for the sacrificial fire in honor of the gods of the upper world?² We know that this had to be free from all associations with spirits, or it might be polluted by their presence,³ and we have seen how closely laurel was connected with them. There is, too, other evidence which supports this explanation. Iambli. Vit. Pyth. 154 preserves the following injunction of Pythagoras: *κείδρῃ καὶ δάφνῃ καὶ κυπαρίττῃ καὶ δρυὶ καὶ μυρίνῃ τοὺς θεοὺς τιμᾶν καὶ μηδὲν τούτοις ἀποκαθαίρεσθαι τοῦ σώματος, μηδὲ σχίζειν τοὺς ὀδόντας.* Surely the latter commands must rest upon the fear that spirits

¹ According to Lyd. de Men. 4, 4: *κὰν ταῖς μαντεῖαις καίοντες ταύτην οἱ ἄνθρωποι παράστανιν προφητείας δοκοῦσιν εὐρηκεῖναι.* cf. Boissonade, Anecd. Gr. 1, p. 425.

² Cf. Serv. ad. Ecl. 5, 66: *Varro diis superis altaria, terrestribus aras, inferis focos dicari affirmat.* The distinction does not always hold good,—cf. Marq.-Momm. Staatsv. 3, 161,—but it is noteworthy that Pl. omits 'foci', while in the passages quoted above, the laurel is burned in 'foci.'

³ *ὅπως μὴ προσάψαιτο τοῦ βωμοῦ διὰ τὸ μυρίας ἰσως ἀναμεμῖχθαι κήρας,* Philo Jud. de Vit. Mos. 3, 18 (Cohn-Wendland). On the necessity of 'pure' fire, cf. Rohde Psy. 2, 73, and n. 4.

would settle upon your body and get inside if you were not careful what you put into your mouth.¹ This would explain, too, the advice of Empedocles² to abstain entirely from laurel leaves.

When we endeavor to account for the belief that spirits resided in the laurel and the other trees mentioned by Pythagoras, we are aided in our quest by a saying of Empedocles, recorded by Ael. N. An. 12, 7, that if man, after death, is to be changed into a plant laurel is the most preferable.³ Nor are we lacking for proof that souls of the dead were thought to take up their abode in this tree.⁴ We are told that a laurel tree grew on the grave of the 'earth-born Ischenus', better known as Taraxippus;⁵ and on that of Amycus, Pl. 16, 239: in eodem tractu portus Amyci est Bebyrce rege interfecto clarus. Eius tumulus a supremo die lauro tegitur quam insanam⁶ vocant, quoniam si quid ex ea decerptum inferatur navibus, iurgia fiant donec abiciatur; the latter detail is also mentioned by the Schol. on Ap. Rh. 2, 159, and means simply that the power of Amycus still lived on in the tree into which his spirit had passed.⁷

¹Cf. Porphy. ap. Euseb. Praep. Ev. 4, 23, 3: καὶ γὰρ μάλιστα ταῖς ποταῖς τροφαῖς χαίρουσι, σιτουμένων γὰρ ἡμῶν προσίασι καὶ προσίζάνουσι τῷ σώματι . . . μάλιστα δ' αἵματι χαίρουσι καὶ ταῖς ἀκαθαρσίαις καὶ ἀπολαμβάνουσι τούτων, εἰσδύνοντες τοῖς χρωμένοις; cf. Harrison, p. 167.

²Plut. Symp. 3, 1, 2—cf. ib. plac. phil. 5, 26—οὐ μόνης . . . κατ' Ἐμπεδοκλέα τῆς δάφνης τῶν φύλλων ἀπὸ πάμπαν ἔχεσθαι χρὴ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φεῖδεσθαι δένδρων ἀπάντων; cf. for a different view, Rohde, l. l., 2, 181, n. 2.

³ἐν θήρεσσι λέοντες δρεῖλεχτές χαμαιεῖναι γίνονται, δάφναι δ' ἐνὶ δένδρεσιν ἡνέμοισιν. Empedocles wore a laurel crown on his journey, Suid. s. v.

⁴And the others mentioned: e. g., a myrtle grew on the grave of Polydorus, Verg. A. 3, 23 sq.; cypresses on that of the seer Alcmaeon, Paus. 8, 24, 7; note that the daughters of Eteocles, after their death, were turned into cypresses, Geop. 11, 4; cf. Theocr. 16, 104; a nymph lay under the oak which Erysichthon felled, Ov. M. 8, 771; cf., too, Paus. 10, 32, 9; for the κέδρος we have no such definite information but it may be noted that Paus. 8, 17, 2 places this tree, the oak, and cypress among the woods out of which images of the gods were first made; this indicates an earlier belief that a numen dwelt in these trees. We may compare the statement of Stat. Th. 4, 275 that the Arcades were born from laurel trees. I have found no other reference to laurel in this connection; the oak is generally mentioned; cf. Verg. Aen. 8, 315; Juv. 6, 12; cf. Hom. Od. 19, 163.

⁵Tzetzes on Lycoph. Cass. 42; cf. Frazer, n. to Paus. 6, 20, 15.

⁶Cf. Hehn, Kulturpfl. u. Haust. 198.

⁷For examples of this belief, cf. Gruppe, p. 790, n. 1; Tylor, Prim. Cult. 2, 215 sq.

Instructive in this connection is the belief of the Romans that the laurel was the fatal tree¹ of the Julian house; Pl. 15, 136: *Liviae Drusillae, . . . cum pacta esset illa Caesari, gallinam conspicui candoris sedenti aquila ex alto abiecit in gremium illaesam, intrepideque miranti accessit miraculum, quoniam teneret rostro laureum ramum onustum suis bacis. . . . iussere haruspices rimumque eum seri ac rite custodiri. Quod factum est in villa Caesarum. . . . Ex ea triumphans postea Caesar laurum in manu tenuit, coronamque capite gessit ac deinde imperatores Caesares cuncti. Traditusque mos est ramos quos tenuerunt serendi, et durant silvae nominibus suis discretæ; cf. Dio Cass. 48, 52; Suet. Gal. 1. Serv. ad Aen. 6, 230, adds the important detail: nata erat laurus in Palatio eo die quo Augustus; cf. Suet., l. 1., for the corollary: observatum est sub cuiusque—sc. Caesaris—obitum arborem ab ipso institutam elanguisse. Ergo novissimo Neronis anno et silva omnis exaruit radicitus; cf. Dio, 63, 29; Xiph. 63, p. 727, E; so among the signs foretelling the death of Alex. Severus, laurus . . . ingens et antiqua tota subito decedit Vit. Alex. Sev. 60. In the following examples the use of laurel as symbolical of victory² seems to have had influence: according to Dio, 41, 39, Caesar's success was foreshadowed by the fact that when he was sacrificing preparatory to setting out from Brundisium against Pompey, a kite, flying over the Forum, dropped a laurel branch upon one of those who was assisting him; the birth of Severus was attended by the following miracle: Vit. 13, nata in domo laurus iuxta persici arborem intra unum annum persici arborem vicit. Cf. the dream of Vergil's mother, Donatus vita, p. 55. It was, on the contrary, an omen of Caesar's death when, on the day before the fatal Ides, avem regaliolum cum laureo ramulo Pompeianae curiae se inferentem, volucres varii generis ex proximo nemore persecutæ ibidem discerpserunt, Suet. Jul. 81; and of the overthrow of Vitellius, when laurea—sc. corona,—quam religiosissime circumdederat, in profluentem excidit, Suet. Vitel. 9. We read of similar omens in the case of*

¹ Cf. Dieterich, *Abraxas*, p. 98, n. 2; Gruppe, p. 879.

² *Laurus*, *laurea*, etc. often = victory: cf. Ov. *ex Pont.* 2, 7, 67: *praestat et exulibus pacem tua laurea, Caesar*; ib. *Tr.* 2, 172; Mart. 8, 50, 5; Luc. *Ph.* 1, 122; Claud. in *Eutr.* 1, 503; cf. also, Plaut. *Cist.* 201; Pl. 15, 133; Zenob. 5, 34; Stat. *Th.* 12, 492. As an emblem of peace, it seems to have adorned the temple of Janus; cf. Auson. *Caes. temp. imp. XII, Caes. vs. 11*, *ter dominante Tito cingit nova laurea Ianum*.

others besides the Emperors; Plut. Sul. 27, 4 tells us that Sulla's success was foretold by the figure of a laurel crown on the liver of the sacrificial victim. According to Flor. 2, 7, 7, *manifestam victoriam nata in praetoria puppe laurus*; cf. Livy 32, 1, 12, *litterae adlatae in quibus . . . scriptum erat lauream in puppe navis longae enatam*; cf. Iul. Obs. 47. It is not strange, therefore, that Claud. de rap. Pros. 3, 76, should make Proserpina see in her ill-omened dreams a laurel tree, imo *stipite caesam* / . . . *et incompitos foedari pulvere ramos / quaesivitque nefas*. Dryades dixere gementes / Tartarea Furiis debellavisse bipenni; an interesting statement in view of what was said above.

More convincing evidence for the connection of laurel with the spirits of the underworld is afforded by its relation to the oracle at Delphi. We know that there was there, in very early times, an oracle of the chthonic Gaia;¹ that it was a spot which was thought of as the entrance to the lower world, whence flowed the spring Cassotis, which inspired "the women with the spirit of prophecy".² Beside the oracular cavern, before Apollo took possession of it, grew a laurel tree,³ and the close connection between this tree and the underworld is shown both by the fact that Daphnis (= Daphne) was appointed by Gaia the first priestess of her oracle,⁴ and by the legend of Daphne, who was the daughter of Gaia.⁵ Perhaps this laurel was thought of as an arbor locuta;⁶ that the spirits were supposed to enter it is shown by the belief that the tree, after Apollo had become god of the oracle, denoted his presence by the trembling of its boughs: Aristoph. Plut. 213, *ἴχθη τιν' ἀγαθὴν ἐλπίδ' ἐξ ἧν ἐλπί μοι / ὁ Φοῖβος αὐτὸς Πυθικὴν σείσας δάφνην*; cf. Call. hm. Ap. 1; Verg. Aen. 3, 90 *tremere omnia visa repente / limina laurusque dei*; ib. 5, 154;

¹ Cf. Alcm. fr. 3; Aesch. Eum. 1 sq.; Paus. 10, 5, 5 sq.; cf. Boettich. Baumk. 338 sq. Rohde, Psy. II, 58 sq.; Gruppe, Gr. Myth., p. 101, n. 6.

² Paus. 10, 24, 7; Gruppe, l. l.

³ Eurip. Iph. T. 1245 sq.; Pl. 15, 134, speaks of Delphi as 'lauriferam tellurem'; cf. Eur. Ion, 76; cf. h. Hom. Ap. 393.

⁴ Paus. 10, 5, 5.

⁵ Cf. Gruppe, l. l. Roscher's Lex. s. v.

⁶ Pl. 17, 243. This is true of the oak, myrtle, and cypress, classed with laurel by Pythagoras in the passage quoted above. Servius, commenting on Verg. Aen. 3, 359, interpretes divom, qui nomina Phoebi/qui tripodas, Clarii lauros, qui sidera sentis, remarks: Vergilius tria genera divinationum complexus est: per lauros geomantis, per sidera pyromantis, per praepetes aeromantis; cf. Isid. Orig. 8, 9, 13.

Ov. M. 15, 634; Sen. Oed. 233. The Schol. on Aristoph., l. 1., and Tryph. 365-6, tell us that the priestess shook the tree when delivering her prophecies. Gaia's priestess, too, continued to deliver Apollo's oracles, and regularly chewed¹ laurel and fumigated² herself with it before giving her responses. What aim these performances had it is difficult to say. Judging from similar practises common among savage peoples,³ we should be inclined to conclude that laurel possessed intoxicating properties, and "contributed to throw the priestess in the delirium which the ancients regarded as a sign of inspiration".⁴ There are, however, but few passages in ancient literature which support this interpretation: Tibul. 2, 5, 63, where the Sibyl says, *vera cano: sic usque sacras innoxia lauros vescar*, where *innoxia* may refer to the danger of the continued use of a plant which caused frenzy, although it is possible to interpret it: 'may the furor divinus, the continued presence of the god in me, do me no harm'; Mart. 5, 4: *Foetere multo Myrtale solet vino/sed fallat ut nos, folia devorat lauri/merumque cauta fronde, non aqua miscet./hanc tu rubentem prominentibus venis/quotiens venire, Paule, videris contra,/dicas licebit 'Myrtale bibit laurum';* the last words seem to imply that laurel, without the wine, would produce the same effects as wine, but the meaning may be that laurel prevents intoxication; this is supported by the statement of Pliny 17, 239, that *laurus laedit vitem*, cf. Theoph. h. pl. 5, 20, just as cabbage, of which the same statement is made,⁵ was thought to prevent intoxication;⁶ lastly, the Schol. on Hes. Theog. 30, commenting on the words *καὶ μοι σκῆπτρον ἔδον δάφνης*

¹ Cf. Soph. fr. 811 (N); Luc. Bis. Acc. 1; Hym. Mag. in Abel Orph., p. 288; Himer. Or. 28; cf. Luc. Diss. cum Hes. 8.

² Plut. de EI ap. Delph. 2; de Pyth. Or. 6; cf. Hom. hy. 2, 215.

³ Cf. Tylor, Prim. Cult. 2, 416.

⁴ So Frazer in his note on Paus. 10, 5, 5, suggests. Rabelais' Sibyl of Panzoust burned dry laurel leaves in her divination; Rabel. 3, ch. 17. As the laurel did not crackle it is interpreted as a bad omen. It may be noted that laurel was apparently burned in honor of the gods, cf. Philostr. Vit. Soph. 2, 25, 5: *τὸ δὲ ἄρωμα τοῦτο οὕτω τι σπάνιον καθ' ἡμᾶς νῦν, ὥς ψαιστὸν καὶ δάφνης φύλλα τοῖς θεοῖς θυμᾶσθαι*. According to Alciph. 3, 16, it was offered to them: *ἐφερες ἂν τοῖς θεοῖς κυττὸν καὶ δάφνας*.

⁵ Cf. Theoph. h. pl. 4, 16, 6; Pl. 17, 239. The antipathy of the vine to the cabbage is explained aetiologically by the story of Dionysus and Lycurgus, Geop. 12, 17, 7.

⁶ Cf. Aristot. Prob. 3, p. 873 A 37; Varro, de R. R. 1, 2, 28.

ἰριθλήϊος ὄζον remarks, *παρόσον ἢ δάφνη ἐνεργεῖ πρὸς τοὺς ἐνθουσιασμούς*, but this still leaves us the question 'how'; are the words to be taken in a literal or figurative sense? On the other hand, Pliny, even where he writes of plants used to produce visions,¹ makes no reference to any intoxicating property of laurel nor do any of the writers on medicine. It was used, however, to make wine: Dios. 5, 45; Pl. 14, 112, *basas aut lignum recens musto decoquant*; although the laurel may simply have given flavor, as its leaves were commonly used to season cakes; cf. Cato, de Ag. Cul. 121: *mustaceos sic facito*, . . . *de virga lauri deradito eodem addito et ubi definxeris lauri folia subtus addito cum coques*; cf. Pl. 15, 127; and for similar statements, Athen. 4, p. 140 D-E; Hesych. s. v. *κάμματα*; cf., too, the proverb, *laureolam in mustaceo quaerere*.²

Another explanation, moreover, is possible. It is evident that both the chewing of the laurel and the fumigation with the smoke from it had the same purpose, and when we remember that the Superstitious Man chewed laurel to keep off evil spirits,³ that the Romans burned it during the Parilia for the same reason,⁴ that laurel leaves, too, when burned, *pestilentiae contagia prohibent*,⁵ it may be that this idea underlay the practices of the Pythian priestess;⁶ expulsion is a more natural idea to a primitive man than inspiration,⁷ but both are necessary, and it is hard to distinguish them. Surely the need of protection against spirits is evident from the nature of the cave as an entrance to the lower world, and, what is more important, from the fact that directly beneath the omphalos was the grave of the Python.⁸ This would explain, too, why those who went to consult the oracle carried laurel branches or wore laurel crowns,⁹ and why the tripod was crowned

¹ 24, 160.

² Cic. ad Att. 5, 20, 4; cf. Otto, Spr., p. 236.

³ Theoph. Ch. 16; cf., above, p. 293. ⁴ Ov. F. 4, 741; cf., above, p. 297.

⁵ Pl. 23, 157.

⁶ So Gruppe, l. l., 890, n. 3; Harrison, l. l., 39; Boet. Baumk. 349, says that the chewing of the laurel has lustral signification.

⁷ Thus Rohde, Psy. 2, 58, n. 1, seems to explain it: In dem heiligen Gewächs steckt die vis divina; man schlingt sie durch Kauen in sich selbst hinein.

⁸ Varro, de L. L. 7, 17; other ref. in Rohde, l. 1, 132, n. 2; Gruppe, 1433, n. 9; 928, n. 1.

⁹ Eur. Ion, 420; Hec. 458; Aristoph. Pax, 1044; Livy, 23, 11, 5; Plut. Arist. 20, 4. So when the Sibylline Books were opened, laurel was in evidence; cf. Vopis. Vit. Aurel. 20; cf. Stat. Silv. 4, 3, 118.

with it.¹ Our sources, it is true, do not tell us whether these practices were necessary before the coming of Apollo or not; the crowning of the tripod is mentioned only in connection with the god, but we may, it seems to me, safely conclude that they were.

The thing to be emphasized, in any event, is that laurel should stand in such close relationship with the spirits of the underworld. Not only was the oracle at Delphi an earth-oracle, which owed its power to such spirits, but, like similar oracles, the responses were not due, in the most ancient times, to a furor divinus, as they were later thought to be, but to dreams,² and dreams dwell beneath the earth.³ Hence laurel, when placed under a sleeper's head, caused true dreams.⁴ It is significant, too, that laurel was sacred to Asclepius,⁵ and brought into relation with Amphiaraus,⁶ both of whom foretold the future by means of dreams,⁷ and whose oracles owed their existence to the same ideas as the oracle of Python.⁸ It was connected, also, with Castor and Pollux, who had a grove of laurel trees near Pharae,⁹ and who may belong to the same circle;¹⁰ with Hercules,¹¹ too, who, however, seems to have become too much of an Olympian to have been the inspiring spirit of an earth-oracle as did the other heroes. We should put here, I think, the words of Aeschylus.

¹ Cf. Aristoph. *Plut.* 39; Eur. *Ion*, 522; 1310; Lucr. 1, 739; Stat. *Theb.* 7, 707. According to Palaeph. *de Incred.* 50, 4, there was no tripod, throughout Boeotia, without its laurel; ὁ τρίπους οὐκ ἀνευ τῆς δάφνης ἰδρύσθαι . . . ἐπὶ τοῦ χάσματος.

² Eur. *Iph. T.* 1259 sq.; Rohde, 2, 58; Harrison, 344; Gruppe, 931.

³ Gruppe, 934 sq.

⁴ Fulgent. 1, 14; Ps.-Galen. *περὶ εὐπορίστων*, 2, 27, 3. So in the magic papyri; cf. Pap. Anast. 370 (Wess.) where laurel is used as a means to procuring an oracular response in a dream; cf. 467; in Pap. CXXI (Brit. Mus.) 602, in a similar spell ascribed to Pythagoras and Democritus. In Rabelais 3, ch. 13, Panurge asks Pantagruel, who has advised him to try the efficacy of dreams in foretelling the future, whether it were not expedient to put a "branch or two of the curious laurel betwixt the quilt and bolster of my bed?"

⁵ Hence its name *ἀσκληπιῶς*, Hesych. s. v.; cf. E. M. 154, 48.

⁶ A laurel tree sprang from his lance, *Plut. par. min.* 6; he also wore a laurel crown, *Philostr. Imag.* 1, 27.

⁷ Cf. Rohde, *Psy.* 1, 113; 141.

⁸ Gruppe, 934 sq.; Harrison, 341 sq.

⁹ Paus. 7, 22, 5.

¹⁰ Gruppe, l. 1.

¹¹ *Macr.* 3, 12, 1: cum ad aram maximam sola lauro capita et alia fronde non vinciant; *Serv. ad Aen.* 8, 276; cf. *Marq.-Momm. R. Staatsv.* 3, 186; cf. the story of Cacus, above, p. 288.

Supp. 704: *θεοὺς δ' οἱ γαῖαν ἔχουσιν ἀεὶ/τίθειεν ἔγχωρίους πατράϊς/δαφνηφόροισι βουθύτοισι τιμαῖς*, since, in a law of Draco, ap. Porphy. de abs. 4, concerning such ceremonies, *ἥρωες* are included.¹

Nor is it strange, in view of these facts, that laurel was sacred to Dionysius,² for he, too, had a share in the oracle at Delphi³ which may likewise have been a dream oracle.⁴ And his grave was there in the temple of Apollo.⁵ How necessary, indeed, to an oracle was the grave of him who inspired it, whether god or demon, is shown by the statement of Pythagoras, Porphy. Vit. Py. 16, that Apollo was buried at Delphi after he had been slain by the Python. The use of laurel, too, in chthonic rites seems never to have entirely died out, for we read in an inscription concerning the Mysteries of Demeter and Ceres at Andania (Dittenb. Syll. 2, p. 464), *ὅταν δὲ οἱ ἱεροὶ παραγγεῖλωντι, τὰ μὲν σπλεγίδα ἀποθίσθωσαν, στεφανούσθωσαν δὲ πάντες δάφναι*.

Apollo, however, became sole lord at Delphi, and the ancient chthonic oracle with its sacred tree⁶ passed into the possession of the god of light. The laurel was made sacred to him,⁷ and we

¹ For its relation to Mars, to whom, also, it was sacred, Lyd. de men. 4, 4; cf. above, p. 293; Roscher, Lex. 2427; Fowler, Rom. Fest. 36. It may be noted that Mars was also an oracle god; Roscher, l. l., 2432; Laurel was also connected with Hermes, Ael. v. h. 2, 41; and Hermes was, above all "Sender of dreams"; cf. Hom. h. 3, 14; Roscher, Herm. d. Windg. 64 sq.

² Cf. Hom. h. 26, 9: *κισσὺ καὶ δάφνη πεπνυκασμένος*. In Phigalia, his image was adorned with laurel leaves, Paus. 8, 30, 6; cf. Kaibel, Nachr. v. der Königl. Gesells. d. Wissens. zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. 1901, 510; Tertul. de cor. mil. 12: *corona . . . laurea ista Apollini vel Libero sacra est*; in ib. 7, he tells us that in this crown *ex Indis triumphavit, etiam vulgus agnoscit cum dies in illum sollemnes Magnam appellat Coronam*; cf. Lenormant, Gaz. Arch. 2 (1876), 103.

³ Lucan, Phar. 5, 73; Plut. de EI apud Del. 9; cf. Rohde, 2, 54 sq.; Thraemer, Roscher's Lex. 1033.

⁴ Cf. Gruppe, 1415, n. 2; Thraemer, l. l.; otherwise, Rohde, 2, 59.

⁵ Philoch. F. H. G. 1, 22-3; Rohde, 1, 132, n. 2; Thraemer, l. l.

⁶ The belief that laurel possessed a fiery nature—cf. above,—may have contributed to bring about the close relation between this tree and Apollo, but the evidence shows, I think, that this was not the original idea, on which the relationship was based. This is, however, the explanation of Murr, Pflanzenw. d. My. 92 sq.; cf. Geop. 11, 2; Lyd. de men. 4, 4. He likewise derives the various uses of laurel from the various functions of the god.

⁷ It is unnecessary to cite further evidence on this point. References are particularly numerous in the Latin poets; cf. Verg. Ecl. 2, 54; 3, 63; Hor. Od. 4, 2, 9; Ov. M. 1, 558; Rem. Am. 75; Mart. 8, 82, 7; 9, 28, 9. So in inscriptions; cf. Ditt. Syll. 1, p. 349.

read that he was born under a laurel tree; Serv. ad Aen. 3, 91; cf. Eur. Hec. 456 sq.; his first temple at Delphi was made of laurel wood, Paus. 10, 5, 9; cf. Philostr. Vit. Apoll. 6, 10, 34; Strabo, 9, 3, 9; he was represented as crowned with laurel,¹ Tibull. 2, 5, 5; Ov. M. 1, 565; Claud. Laus Herc. 7 sq.; so his priests, Verg. Aen. 3, 81; Eur. Ion, 78; Schol. Arist. Pax 1044; Eust. ad Il. 1, 14; apparently, too, laurel was used as an offering to Apollo, Plaut. Merc. 675, aliquid cedo/qui hanc vicini nostri aram augeam./da sane hanc virgam lauri, where the altar referred to seems to be that of Apollo; cf. Bacc. 172, saluto te vicene Apollo;² so in the lists of offerings found in his temples, we find δάφνης στεφάνωι; cf. Ditt. Syll. 1, p. 461; 2, 321; especially Ins. 588; at the Pythian games the victor received a laurel crown,³ Paus. 10, 7, 8; 8, 48, 2; Pl. 15, 127; Dion Cass. 63, 9; and in Rome the spectators at the Ludi Apollinares wore laurel crowns, Fest., p. 23; Livy 25, 12, 15; Macr. 1, 17, 29; the god was called δαφνηφόρος,⁴ Plut. Them. 15, 2; Athen. 10, 424; Anacr. 13, 6; Paus. 9, 10, 4 with Frazer's note; δαφναῖος, Anth. Pal. 9, 477; Philostr. Vit. A. 1, 16; Nonn. D. 38, 60; δαφνογηθής, Anth. Pal. 9, 525; δαφνοκύμος, ib. 9, 505, 11; Opp. Cyn. 1, 365; δαφνοπόλης, Hesych. s. v.; we read of songs called δαφνηφορικά, Poll. 4, 53; Suid. s. v. Πίνδαρος; according to Anton. Liber. 1, Hermochares grasped a laurel when he swore an oath by Apollo; in a passage in Euseb. Praep. Evang. 5, 9, 8, Apollo, in order to free himself from the magic bands which keep him on earth bids the

¹ For the laurel crown in art, cf. Roscher, Apol. u. Mars, 90, rem. 207; Gruppe, 1259 sq.

² Cf. the words of Hermes in Aristoph. Plut. 1113, ἄφ' οὗ γὰρ ἤρξατ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς βλέπειν/ὁ Πλούτος οὐδεὶς οὐ λιβανωτόν, οὐ δάφνην, / οὐ ψαιστόν, οὐχ ἑρπεῖον, οὐκ ἄλλ' οὐδεὲν/ἡμῖν ἐτι θνεί τοῖς θεοῖς; cf. Pl. 16, 137; Alciph. 3, 16. So the altars of Apollo were also decorated with laurel, as we gather from ib. Thes. 489, εἰρ' ἐρείδομαι/παρὰ τὸν Ἀγυῖά κύβδ' ἐχομένη τῆς δάφνης. According to Herod. 4, 15 laurel trees grew around the statues of Apollo and Aristaeas. According to Athen. 13, 605 C the laurel tree was of bronze.

³ So in the funeral games described by Verg. Aen. 5, 246; 539. It is a significant fact that some ancient writers derive the origin of the four great Greek games from funeral games; cf. Frazer's note on Paus. 1, 44, 8. May not this, in view of what has been said of the laurel above, aid us to explain why all the crowns, which were given as prizes at these games, were made of powerful prophylactic plants?

⁴ Cf. Latin lauriger, Ov. A. A. 3, 389; lauripotens, Mart. Capel. 1, 24; cf. 1, 20.

sacred crown to be taken from him, the laurel branch removed from his hand: *χειρὸς δεξιτερῆς δάφνης κλάδον ἄρατε χειροί*, etc. In the magic papyri, laurel is spoken of as *δάφνη μαντοσύνης ἱερὸν φυτὸν Ἀπόλλωνος*, cf. Pap. Anast. 5 (XLVII, Brit. Mus.) 6; 40-1; Berl. Pap. (Parthey), II, 81; in Leid. Pap. 395 (W in Leemans), 13, 16-18, the performer of a charm is directed to hold a statue of Apollo, cut from a root of laurel; so in 15, 14-15; in Berl. Pap. II, 21, we read, *κλάδους δάφνης ἔχων ἐν χειροῖν . . . λέγε τὴν ὑποκειμένην ἐπικλήσιν*; cf. I, 280, in an *Ἀπολλωνιακὴ ἐπικλήσις*: *τὸ φυλακτήριον ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ (χειρὶ), τουτέστιν τὸν κλῶνα τῆς δάφνης*; cf. 338; in the same charm, 264 sq. the magic characters are written on seven laurel leaves; cf. II, 11; 28 sq.; Pap. Par. (Wess.) 2207; Pap. Lugd. W (ed. Dieterich, Abraxas), p. 24, 23.

From this connection with the god of inspiration, whether prophetic or poetic, laurel became the symbol of both prophecy¹ and poetry; Geop. II, 3, *μαντικῆς σύμβολον ἐγένετο τὸ φυτὸν*; cf. II, 5; Cedren. I, p. 532; Lyd. de men. 4, 4; Eust. ad Hom. II. 1, 14; Claud. de Rapt. Pros. 2, 109, writes *venturi praescia laurus*; de Con. Stil. 3, 59, *fatidicas . . . laurus*. Hence it was borne by seers and bards; cf. Sen. de Vit. Beat. 26, 8, *cum aliquis genibus per viam repens ululat laurumque linteatus senex et medio lucernam die praeferens*; with this passage should be compared the strikingly similar one in Apul. Met. XI. 10, describing the procession in honor of Isis,² where one of the "antistites sacrorum", *auream vannum laureis congestam ramulis . . . ferebat*; cf. Hesych. s. v. *ἰθυνηρίον*; so Mopsus, the seer, was distinguished by laurel, Valer. Fl. I, 209; 386; 3, 434; 4, 547; and other prophets, Sen. Ag. 609; Stat. Th. 4, 598; 1, 42; 7, 784; Ov. A. A. 2, 401; cf. ib. M. 15, 591; more frequently of bards: Ov. A. A. 2, 495, *sacris induta capillis/laurus erat: vates ille videndus adit*; cf. Ep. ex Pon. 2, 5, 67; Verg. Ecl. 8, 13; Hor. Od. 3, 30, 15; 3, 4, 19; 4, 2, 9; Mart. 12, 3, 11; Claud. de Con. Stil. 3, praef. 20. So Hesiod sang with

¹ We must remember, however, its ancient association with the Pythian oracle. Owing to this and to its connection with Apollo, such expressions as "Delphica laurus" or simply "laurus" = 'prophecy'; cf. Sen. Oed. 16; Stat. Theb. 7, 707; 8, 203.

² Ovid, Am. 2, 13, 18 also refers to the use of laurel in connection with Isis: *saepe tibi (sc. Isi) sedit certis operata diebus, qua tingit laurus Gallica turma tuas*. For statues of Men bearing laurel, cf. Roscher, Lex. s. v. 2695; 2745.

a laurel wand in his hand,¹ Paus. 9. 30, 3; cf. Hes. Theog. 30. Hence, poets gain inspiration by chewing laurel, Juv. 7, 19, nectit quicumque canoris/eloquium vocale modis laurumque momordit; Lycoph. 6 calls a bard *δαφνηφάγος*; cf. Call. Hym. Del. 94, ἀλλ' ἔμπης ἐρίω τι τορώτερον ἢ ἀπὸ δάφνης, Colum. de Cul. Hor. 216; Stat. Achil. 1, 509, calls the divine inspiration of Apollo 'laurigeros ignes'.²

It is a noteworthy fact that laurel, in spite of its connection with Apollo, the god of healing, is not mentioned as a medicinal plant by Hippocrates or Theophrastus, Dioscorides being the first to describe it as such.³ Its wide-spread use, therefore, as a folk remedy, as shown by the importance given to it by later writers on medicine, must rest primarily upon the belief in its power over demons, although its relation to Apollo must have had great influence. The employment of laurel in purificatory rites in time of pestilence,—cf. above,—must have been due to the former idea, which is illustrated too, by a statement in Herodian. 1, 12, that during a pestilence in Rome Κόμμοδος . . . εἰς τὴν Λαύρεντον ἀνεχώρησεν' εὐψυχέστερον γὰρ ὃν τὸ χωρίον καὶ μεγίστοις κατὰσκιον δαφνηφόροις ἄλσεσιν . . . σωτήριον εἶναι ἰδόκει καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἀέρος φθορὰν ἀντέχειν ἐλέγετο εὐωδία τε τῆς τῶν δαφνῶν ἀποφορᾶς καὶ τῇ τῶν δένδρων ἡδεῖα σκιᾷ. And Pl. 23, 157, says: *laurus Delphicae folia trita olfactaque subinde pestilentiae contagia prohibent: tanto magis si et urantur.* The naive idea underlying such statements is well illustrated by the words of Lyd. de men. 4, 4: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἱερὰ νόσος ἢ δαίμων βαρὺς ἐνοχλήσει τῷ τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ δάφνη ἔστιν; cf. Geop. 11, 2, 7. Hence, Nicand. Ther. 943, gives δάφνης σπερμείον as one of the ingredients of a mixture *πάσῃσιν ἀλεξητήριον ἄταις*; and Pl. 23, 154, says of it: *perunctos eo fugiunt venenata omnia; . . . bacae cum vino serpentibus et scorpionibus et araneis resistunt*; similar statements are made by Nican. Ther. 574; Cass. Fel. 67; Theod. Pris. Eup. F. 24, 74. We also read in Pl. 8, 101, *corvus occiso chamaeleone qui etiam victori nocet, lauro infectum virus exstinguit.* According to Geop. 11, 2, 5, *ὕγείας ἐστὶ ἐργαστική*; cf. Lyd. de men. 4, 4; and in another place, 2, 7, 3, we are

¹ Cf. Panofka, Arch. Zeit. 8 (1856), p. 254. On this custom, cf. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 1367; Hesych. s. v. *αλσακος*; Et. M. 38, 48.

² Sabinus, Ep. 1, 126, speaking of some poet, says: *sic cecinit laurus ille monere suas.*

³ Cf. Koch, Bäume u. Sträucher des alten Griechenl., p. 90.

told that when laurel is soaked in water it makes it healthy. Artemid. On. 4, 57, informs us that for sick people to dream of the olive, signifies death, of the laurel, life, and he explains by adding that the dead were laid out on olive leaves, never on laurel.¹ Interesting, in view of the supposed fiery nature of laurel,—cf. above,—is its use for fever: Diosc. 1, 106; Pl. 23, 156; Cass. Fel. 55. It is unnecessary to give in detail the many diseases for which it was employed as a cure; for them, cf. Dios., l. l., Pl. 23, 152 sq.; Galen. de Fac. Simp. Med. 6, 169. It is to be noted that laurel is seldom recommended for violent convulsive diseases,² as we should have expected on the principle of *similia similibus*, if the chewing of laurel leaves by the Pythian priestess is to be explained by its intoxicating properties. It was used, however, to cure mad animals,³ Veget. 5, 42, 2; cf. Pelag. 407, and Theod. Pris. Log. 3, 15, prescribes it for people who are afflicted with lethargy.⁴

¹ This explanation can hardly go to the root of the matter, since the use of the olive, in such a case, must rest upon a belief in the prophylactic powers of the olive,—powers which, as we have seen, laurel possessed to a high degree. Servius seems to reverse the matter in his note on the purificatory use of the olive in funeral rites, Verg. Aen. 6, 230; cf. above, p. 289; he says of 'felicitis olivae', arboris festae, sed moris fuerat ut de lauro fieret. He then quotes Donatus to the effect that Vergil made the change on account of Augustus, because of the fact that a laurel tree sprang up on the day of his birth, the branches of which furnished crowns for triumphators; therefore 'noluit laurum dicere ad officium lugebre pertinere;' cf. Pliny cited above p. 297. The explanation of such conflicting statements may lie in the fact that the laurel, owing to its connection with Apollo, lost the chthonic associations which it undoubtedly once possessed. Upon these words of Servius Boetticher, Baumk. 352, bases his statement: 'bei Todtenweihen ist der Lorbeer von den Alten überall ausgeschlossen.'

² In none of the authors quoted. But in the Ms. on Acute and Chronic Diseases, ed. Fuchs, Rh. Mus. 58 (1903) pp. 67 sq. we find laurel wine is mentioned among the *σπασμὸν θηρακία*, p. 92, l. 9; and also prescribed for convulsions in cases of hydrophobia, p. 106, l. 9. In both instances, however, the body of the patient is to be rubbed with the wine.

³ It may be noted that laurel was thought to be deadly poison to the goose, Ael. N. An. 5, 29. So the so-called rhododaphne was said to be poisonous to all animals, Pl. 6, 20, 33; Luc. Asinus, 17; Apul. M. 4, 2. We find laurel often recommended for sick beasts; Cato, 70, 1; Colum. 6, 7, 3; 13, 3; Veget. 1, 12, 4; 5, 58, 2; Pelag. 205; 245; so Pl. 10, 157, advises a 'cubitus in fumo . . . ex lauro' for chickens suffering from puita.

⁴ So in the Ms. referred to, Fuchs p. 76, l. 14.

Some interesting statements in regard to its use are made by Marc. Emp. Cf. 1, 67, a cure for headache: ¹ duo folia lauri circumcisa rotundabis resinaque terebinthina glutinabis et utrisque temporibus adfiges, nisi reddita sanitate non decident. 26, 94: calculus expertus adfirmat incredibiliter succurri remedio tali, si hircum, melius si agrestem, melius si anniculum et si mense Augusto claudas loco sicco per triduum, ut ei solas laurus edendas subministres et aquae nihil accipiat; ad postremum tertio die, id est aut Iovis aut Solis, occidas. Melius autem erit si castus purusque fuerit et qui occidit et qui accipiet remedium. The goat's blood is then burned to ashes in a clay vase which is afterward pounded into dust. In other cases the method amounts to simple magic, as 16, 25, where for a cough three grains of pepper and three laurel berries are to be taken first, then five, seven, nine, and then in reversed order down to three again; cf. 26, 30.

In magic, indeed, laurel must always have played an important rôle. Some examples of its use have been given above. Equally interesting, and showing more clearly the close connection between laurel and the spirits of the underworld, is a passage in Helioid. 6, 14; the Egyptian witch, in her magic rites to bring her son to life, makes a paste of dough, works it into the likeness of a man, and, after crowning it with laurel and fennel, throws it into the ditch into which she had previously poured an offering of honey, milk, and wine. She then cuts her arm with a sword, dips a branch of laurel in the blood, and sprinkles it over the fire; owing to the power of such spells the dead returned to life. In *ib.* 4, 5, when Calasiris pretends to free Charicles from the effects of the 'evil-eye' with a branch of laurel, he strokes the maiden several times from head to foot. Hippolytus, *Refut. om. Haer.* 4, 28, describes a magic incantation, when all who are present hold laurel branches and shake them. In *Apul. M.* 3, 23, Fotis tells Lucius, when he expresses a fear that, after he has turned himself into a bubo he may not be able to regain his proper form, 'tanta res procuretur herbulis: anethi modicum cum lauri foliis immistum rore fontano datur lavacrum et poculum'. In a magic performance described by *Am. Marcel.* 29, 1, 29, the tripod is made of laurel wood. Medea as a witch, appears in art with twigs of laurel; ² and according to

¹ Cf. *Pl.*, 1. 1., *Dios.*, 1. 1., *Scrib. Larg.* 3-5; *Fuchs*, 1. 1., p. 84, 1. 12.

² Cf. *Baum. Denkm.* 2, 903; *Jahn, Rh. Mus.* 6, 296; *Roscher's Lex.* 2501.

Orph. Arg. 916, laurel was one of the trees which grew in the garden of Hecate.¹ In Pap. Par. (Wess.) 2582, laurel is part of the offering in a *Διαβολή πρὸς Σελήνην*; cf. 2648; in Ber. Pap. II, 35, it is one of the ingredients of a magic ink; and the following charm to catch a thief occurs in Pap. Anast. 203 sq.: *ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος ἐπὶ τοῦ καθαρμοῦ· λαβὼν ἄγγος καλλάινον βάλε ὕδωρ καὶ ζυῖον καὶ κυνοκέφαλον βύτ καὶ ἐμβρέχων κλάδον δάφνης ἕνα ἕκαστον ἀποκαθαίρων Ἀ τρίποδα ἐπίθες, κτέ.*

The above citations, which I have endeavored, although I cannot hope to have fully succeeded, to make exhaustive in regard to all the important uses of laurel, support, it seems to me, the following conclusions which were derived from a study of numerous folk-lore plants: 1. Only the plants which are indigenous² to Greece or Italy, or which were, at least, in use there in prehistoric ages, were used in native religious rites. 2. These rites are connected with spirit worship; the plant was either employed directly as an offering to the souls of the dead, was used in purificatory rites which generally imply the presence of such souls, or was sacred to chthonic powers. 3. A corollary of the second, the plant was endowed with prophylactic powers; it could keep off spirits as such, or in the form of snakes and other noxious animals. It was endowed, also, with various magical properties. 4. It was employed in medicine, not in accordance with any medicinal quality which it may possess but in a manner corresponding to the supposed demonic nature of disease.

¹ Contrast with this Vergil's lines, Aen. 6, 656, in his description of the 'sedes beatae,' *conspicit . . . alios . . . canentes inter odoratum lauri nemus*. These two passages well illustrate the two-fold tradition in regard to laurel, the one resting upon its ancient association with the spirit world, the other upon its connection with Apollo and all the symbolism which sprang from such connection.

² It is pretty well agreed that the laurel is indigenous to Greece; cf. Lenz, *Botan. d. Gr. u. Röm.* 450 sq.; Koch, l. l.; Murr, l. l., 92 sq. The opinion of Hehn, *Kulturpfl. u. Haust.* 197 sq. that it came into Europe from Asia Minor, perhaps in the train "einer lustrierenden Religion" is surely not justified by the evidence. The question in regard to Italy is not as clear, and Hehn thinks that it was introduced there with the Apollo-cult. Such a theory, however, makes it difficult to account for the presence of laurel in the Mars-cult, in some of the most primitive of Roman religious rites; cf. Roscher, *Lex. s. v. Mars* 1247; and Preller-Jordan, *Röm. My.* 302, n. 2. It may, therefore, be native to Italy, also, as some authorities claim; cf. Pickering, *Chron. Hist. of Plants*, s. v. 'Laurel'; Schimper, *Pflanzen-Geogr.* 551.

It is impossible, of course, to determine definitely to what folk-philosophy laurel originally owed its connection with the spirit-world. We seem to be carried back to a time when the tree was a fetish,¹ and Gruppe² may be right in maintaining that this developed out of a more primitive fire worship. With the belief that a demon dwelt in a tree to start from, we can understand how the various ideas concerning laurel could have developed.

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¹ For evidences of the tree-fetish in Greece, cf. Gruppe, pp. 779 sq.

² *Ib.*, p. 784.

IV.—THE ORIGIN OF THE ACCENTUAL PROSE RHYTHM IN GREEK.

The first appearance of a well developed accentual rhythm in Greek prose falls at some time between 300 and 400 A. D. The older prose rhythm based on quantity at this time became obsolete, and the new principle of accentuation by stress instead of pitch, which was already well established in the spoken language, was recognized and adopted by the literary language. At about the same time there appeared in Latin prose an accentual rhythm which is practically the same as that in Greek. In both cases the rhythm consists in a careful arrangement of word accents at the ends of clauses by which the last two spoken accents are separated by either two or four unstressed syllables.¹ The question now is: was this rhythm developed in one of the languages, and taken over ready made by the writers of the other, or did it grow up independently in each?

For several centuries before the introduction of this accentual rhythm writers of prose, both Latin and Greek, had used a rhythm which was based on syllabic quantity. This particular quantitative rhythm, which was common to both languages, is generally believed to have originated in the Asianic school of Greek Oratory in the third century B. C., when Hegesias of Magnesia and others abandoned the flowing periodic style of the Attic Orators, and introduced in its place the so-called "commatic style", which was characterized by a choppy sentence structure and a rhythm which seemed to later critics to give too much of a sing-song effect by its extreme regularity. The rhythm used by these writers was primarily a rhythm of *clausulae*; a certain number of metrical forms were selected and used as closing cadences of commata and of cola. The Attic Orators had avoided this artificial limitation of accepted rhythmical forms,

¹The accentual prose rhythm was first explained by Wilhelm Meyer: "Der accentuirte Satzschluss in der griechischen Prosa vom IV bis XVI Jahrhundert", Göttingen, 1891; the law regulating the arrangement of accents in *clausulae* has been known since that time as Meyer's Law.

and had allowed no such monotonous repetition of similar metrical combinations at the ends of clauses. But in spite of the many faults of the Asianic style, and the almost universal condemnation which it received, the prose rhythm which the Asianists introduced found many imitators, even among their critics. It was only natural that the Roman orators of the first century B. C. should have been under the influence of Hegesias and other Asianic writers as well as their greater predecessors, and the rhythm at least of the commatic style was, with some reserve, adopted by them. The case is fairly plain in Cicero; he follows the Asianists in showing especial care for the rhythm of his clausulae, and in the choice of the particular rhythms used. This quantitative rhythm, therefore, which originated in Greek at about 300 B. C., was taken over into Latin, and continued in use in both languages until the accentual rhythm came into use in the fourth century. Nothing could be more natural than to suppose that the common quantitative rhythm passed naturally into the common accentual rhythm in the two languages independently and at the same time. This is exactly the thing which I shall attempt to prove did *not* happen.

The situation in Latin is comparatively simple; it has been recognized by those who have written on the subject that there must have been some kind of a direct development from a quantitative to an accentual scheme *in Latin*. The transition from the one to the other was a perfectly natural, and perhaps unconscious process. It is only in regard to the details of the process that there can be any disagreement. In the first centuries after Christ the forms of the quantitative rhythm which were considered desirable for clausulae became more limited in number, so that the great majority of clausulae could be classed under one of three heads: cretic-trochaic (e. g., *in parte naturae*), cretic-ditrochaic (e. g., *existimant nuncupari*) and dicretic (e. g., *aedificatur e motibus*). It was noticed by Louis Havet¹ and by Wilhelm Meyer² that all these quantitative Forms when read accentually correspond exactly to the regular Forms of the

¹ La prose métrique de Symmache; et les origines métriques du cursus. Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études, 94 (1892).

² Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik II, pp. 236-286 (Die rhythmische lateinische Prosa), esp. p. 261 ff. (This article was first printed as a review of Havet: La prose métrique de Symmache, in Gött. Gel. Anz. 1893.)

accentual rhythm; while the quantitative Forms which produce irregular accentual Forms are found to be in each case variations from the three typical Forms of clausulae given above, produced either by changing the position of the caesura, or by the resolution of long syllables. For example, the commonest quantitative Form, — ∪, — — ∪ (in *parte naturae*), which equals the regular accentual Form 2¹ (˘ ~, ~ ˘ ~), is frequently found in the modified form, — ∪, ∪ ∪ — ∪ (*tempus orietur*), or ∪ ∪ ∪, — — ∪ (*generis humani*); this resolution in each case produces the irregular accentual Form 3, ˘ ~ ~, ~ ˘ ~. This fact led Meyer to offer this explanation: when writers of rhythmical prose in the third and fourth century after Christ began to think in terms of word accent rather than syllabic quantity, the arrangement of word accents in the traditional types of clausulae came to be noted with increasing care, until the grouping of accents was regarded as the essential element in the rhythm of clausulae; at the same time the arrangement of syllabic quantities came to be more and more neglected, until they faded out, as it were, leaving the old shell for the new inhabitant. Thus the arrangement of word accents, which had been entirely secondary—the accidental result of the arrangement of syllabic quantities—came to be the essential element in the rhythm, while the quantities which had been the really essential element were gradually relegated to second place. A transition of this sort must have been gradual and for the most part unconscious. It was not effected by a deliberate substitution of accent for quantity; it came about because the accentual scheme *which was already present* in the traditional rhythm was kept, while the quantitative scheme was gradually neglected and forgotten.

A somewhat different explanation has been offered by J. J. Schlicher.² He gives as the reason for the change from quanti-

¹ The accentual Forms are here designated as Form 1, Form 2, etc.; the numeral in each case gives the number of unstressed syllables *between* the two *word-accent*s of the clausula. The regular accentual Forms are Forms 2, 4 and possibly 6, all having an *even* number of syllables between accents; the irregular accentual Forms are Forms 1, 3 and 5, all having an *uneven* number of syllables between accents. Of the irregular class Form 3 enjoys the greatest tolerance, so that in some writers it is found to occur half as frequently as Form 4; in other writers its use is so limited that it must be regarded as one of the distinctly avoided class.

² *Origin of Rhythmical Verse in Late Latin*, Chicago, 1900, pp. 83 ff.

tative to accentual clausulae the increasing difficulty in handling syllabic quantities; this difficulty led to certain devices which accidentally produced the groupings of word accents which characterize the accentual rhythm. The details of this theory may be passed over; the essential point in relation to this discussion is this, that Schlicher agrees with Meyer in recognizing the close relation between the quantitative and the accentual rhythm, and the necessity of supposing some kind of a development from the one to the other. This is the only really important thing for our present purpose, and about it there cannot be the slightest doubt.¹

An examination of the clausulae of Latin writers of the third and fourth centuries shows plainly that the accentual rhythm existed in the quantitative rhythm, and that the only thing needed to suggest

	Form 1	Form 2	Form 3	Form 4	Form 5	Form 6
Fronto.....	18.5	38.5	23.5	16	2.5	1
Apuleius....	16.3+	38	22.8+	18.6+	3.6+	1
Min. Felix....	2.5	32.5	31.5	31	2.5	0
Tertullian....	10.3+	46.3+	24	15	2.6+	1.6+
Cyprian.....	5.6+	49.6+	15.8+	28.3+	1	0
Arnobius.....	2.6+	63.2+	8.7+	23.6+	1.2+	.5+
Lactantius....	6	42.75	26.50	22.75	2	0
Eumenius....	3	39	31	26	1	0

the preferred accentual Forms was to read the quantitative clausulae accentually. This statement does not apply equally to all writers who used quantitative clausulae. Not *until* the third century is that particular phase of the quantitative rhythm found which marks the beginning of the transition. In the second century Fronto and Apuleius and Minucius Felix wrote with careful regard for the quantitative law of clausulae, but when their clausulae are read accentually there is found to be no suggestion of the later preference for the accentual Forms 2 and 4.² The same is true of Tertullian and Lactantius in the third century, as well as the panegyrist Eumenius. On the other hand Cyprian and Arnobius in the same century treated the quantitative rhythm

¹ The view of Louis Havet (*La prose métrique de Symmaché*, p. 9 f.), according to which the accentual rhythm as such first appeared in Latin in the twelfth century does not affect this discussion.

² Meyer: (*Ges. Abh.* II, p. 242) names Minucius as one of those writers whose clausulae suggested the accentual scheme.

in such a way that the effect of the accentual rhythm is distinctly present, in that the accentual Forms 2 and 4 predominate over all other accentual Forms. It has been found that the different accentual Forms occur in the clausulae of the writers named in about the above percentages.¹

Only in Cyprian and Arnobius do the regular accentual Forms 2 and 4 plainly predominate over all others.² The situation in Minucius Felix is striking in that Forms 2, 3 and 4 are so largely represented, but there is still no definite suggestion of the accentual rhythm, for in that rhythm it is essential that Form 3 be at least limited in use.

That limitation comes first in Cyprian, and more distinctly in Arnobius. The accentual law which obtains in their clausulae is not a law in itself at all, but only the accidental result of a carefully constructed *quantitative* rhythm which happened to avoid those quantitative Forms which show an uneven number of syllables between the two word accents of the clausula; this was accomplished by interpreting the quantitative law in its strictest sense and allowing the least possible variation from the typical Forms, both as to the position of the caesura and the resolution of long syllables. Thus the first definite suggestion of the accentual law is found in writers who constructed their clausulae on the basis of syllabic quantity only. In the following century it would appear that the Forms of clausulae which had been given preference by such writers as Cyprian and Arnobius came to be valued for their accentual cadence chiefly, and were so used first by Ammianus Marcellinus. Still the transition from a quantitative to an accentual base was a gradual one, for Ammianus still retained something of the traditional quantitative cadence in his clausulae, while his contemporary Symmachus

¹ The figures here given are based on tests which are admittedly limited in scope: only from 200 to 800 clausulae before heavy punctuation were counted in each writer; but this is sufficient to show in each case whether any suggestion of the accentual rhythm is present. Further investigation might show certain minor modifications to be necessary, but the proportions which are thus found to exist between the different accentual Forms are given as substantially correct for each writer.

² The same is true of the unknown author of the 5th Panegyric in the collection known as "xii Panegyrici Latini;" also in Pan. III by Mamertinus there is found this same suggestion of the accentual law, but not in Pan. II by the same writer.

shows the greatest care in making his clausulae conform to the quantitative law. After Ammianus other Latin writers took up the accentual rhythm, and it became a recognized ornament for all kinds of rhetorical prose.

The question of origin has not been so easy to settle on the Greek side. It has been recognized that the probability of an independent origin for the Greek accentual rhythm is very small, because the sameness of the rhythm in the two languages almost demands a common origin, and the generally accepted view has been that the rhythm was taken over by Greek writers from the Latin ready-made. A protest has been raised against this view by Prof. G. L. Hendrickson in a recent number of the *American Journal of Philology*.¹ He finds evidence of a direct development *in Greek* from the quantitative rhythm to the accentual rhythm in the Epistle to the Corinthians by Clement of Rome; there seems to be here a combination of the two systems, for both syllabic quantity and word accent appear to be used to mark the rhythm of clausulae. If this observation is correct, it is necessary to put the time of the beginning of the accentual rhythm three centuries earlier than the time heretofore believed to be correct.

Before taking up this view one point must be noted. The development which Professor Hendrickson supposes to have taken place is quite different from that which transformed Latin quantitative clausulae into accentual clausulae. Indeed the development could never have taken place along those lines in Greek, simply because the position of Greek word accents is regulated only in part by syllabic quantities,² and it is not within the reach of possibility that a fixed order of syllabic quantities could give a starting point for a fixed order of word accents in the way in which this took place in Latin. This may be made clear by examples. We may start from the quantitative unit cretic + trochee, the most frequent combination in the Asianic rhythm of Greek prose as well as Latin. This sequence of quantities can be represented in Greek in the following ways

¹ *Accentual Clausulae in Greek Prose of the First and Second Centuries of Our Era*, A. J. P. XXIX 3 (1908).

² It should be observed that only the *position* of word accents is to be considered, for in the accentual rhythm no distinction is made between acute, grave and circumflex: each kind of accent simply marks a *stressed* syllable.

(following the preference of the quantitative rhythm in allowing only a clausula of two words and a feminine caesura):

δεινός ἄνθρωπος	= (accentually) ~ ˘, ˘ ~ ~ (Form o)
δεινοῦ ἀνθρώπου	= (") ~ ˘, ~ ˘ ~ (" 1)
ἄνθρωπος δεινός	= (") ˘ ~ ~, ~ ˘ (" 3)
δεινός Ἡρακλῆς	= (") ~ ˘, ~ ~ ˘ (" 2)
μίμος εὐδαιμών	= (") ˘ ~, ~ ˘ ~ (" 2)

These examples are sufficient to make clear the point that Greek quantitative clausulae could never of themselves suggest *any* accentual rhythm, because in contrast to the Latin clausulae, the position of word accents has so little to do with syllabic quantity. A Greek of the fourth century, who pronounced his words with a stress accent, reading prose of an earlier period which was rhythmized on the basis of quantity, would find no regularly recurring groups of accents in clausulae; while he *would* find such regularly recurring groups of accents in the Latin prose of such writers as Cyprian and Arnobius, which had practically the same quantitative rhythm. It is necessary, therefore, to look for a different sort of development from a quantitative to an accentual basis; *if* Greek writers worked out the rhythm for themselves, they must have proceeded along quite different lines from those followed on the Latin side. And yet the result is the same in both languages. Judging the matter a priori, it seems improbable that the two languages should evolve independently the same accentual rhythm, when the development had to be of a distinctly different kind in each. It is agreed that both languages had the same quantitative rhythm to begin from; that rhythm had been developed by the Asianic school of Greek Oratory and borrowed by the Latin writers; but it still remains difficult to account for the production in Greek of an accentual rhythm in most respects like that in Latin, although there is no possibility of the same kind of a transition as that which seems to have taken place in Latin. To this difficulty must be added the fact that there was considerable difference in detail in the treatment of the quantitative rhythm in the two languages, so that in practice the rhythmical schemes were not identical, but only similar.

But there is still another difficulty in the way of the explanation offered by Prof. Hendrickson. His argument may be stated as follows: granting that Greek quantitative clausulae had in themselves no suggestion of the accentual Forms which were

to be, there is still the possibility that *accented* syllables came to be substituted for *long* syllables; this substitution may have been conscious or unconscious—the result would have been the same. There is abundant evidence, as Prof. Hendrickson points out, to show that as early as the second century B. C. the confusion between accented syllables and long syllables was common. Both in inscriptions and papyri long vowels are often found written in the place of short vowels, when they bear a word accent; and long unstressed vowels are wrongly written as short. This must be accounted for by the influence of the spoken language, in which the pitch accent was giving way to the stress accent. It is therefore perfectly reasonable to believe that the writers of rhythmical prose were influenced by this confusion to allow accented syllables (long or short) to take the place of long syllables; in the course of time quantity would entirely disappear as an element in the rhythm, and word accent would stand in its place.

The process which is supposed to have taken place may be outlined as follows. Starting with the typical quantitative clausula *δεινός ἄνθρωπος*, there are three long syllables for which accented syllables might have been substituted: *δεινός* might have been replaced by such a word as *ἴδε*; but what is to become of the last word? Both longs cannot be turned into stressed syllables, for we must suppose that the two-word clausula with the feminine caesura will be retained. Naturally the word accent will be used in place of that one of the two longs which carries the heavier metrical stress. Now the cretic foot is believed to have been the basis of all quantitative clausulae in the Asianic rhythm, and it is to be expected that the individuality of this unit will be retained at the sacrifice of everything else, for the hypothesis supposes that *the quantitative units are to be translated into terms of word accent*. But there is no trace of an accentual cretic in the accentual clausulae; rather it is rigidly avoided. No writer treats as regular such a close as *μέγα μίσμα*, which might fairly be said to give in terms of accent the effect of the quantitative unit cretic + trochee. It is necessary, therefore, to account for the disappearance of the cretic by proving that accent was substituted for quantity only in the thesis (in the Greek sense) of the *trochee*. We should then get the desired result, namely two unstressed syllables between the two word accents. For example the rhythm of *δεινός ἄνθρωπος* might be represented by *ἴδε πανούργος*. This is the crux of the whole matter, and until it is conclusively proved

that the one substitution was avoided (that in the second thesis of the cretic), while the other was favored, the whole theory is involved in uncertainty. The evidence found by Prof. Hendrickson in the Epistle to the Corinthians is hardly sufficient to prove this point, but as far as it goes it bears out the view that accent *was* substituted for quantity by preference in the thesis of the trochee: the form ἀλήθεια does not stand as a final word in clausulae, although when preceded by a long syllable (e. g., καὶ ἀλήθεια), it makes a correct quantitative clausula; but the clausula τῆς ἀληθείας (quantitatively equivalent to καὶ ἀλήθεια) does occur. Similarly such a phrase as καὶ ταπείνωσις is not found as a clausula, but there are cases like καὶ ταπεινώσει. Apart from this peculiar treatment of these two words, Prof. Hendrickson finds nothing to prove that accent tended to replace quantity *only* in the first thesis of the cretic and in the thesis of the trochee.

These general difficulties in the way of Prof. Hendrickson's theory are sufficient to bring it into grave doubt; but it is further found to be inconsistent with the facts revealed by an examination of the clausulae of different Greek writers of the fourth century and before. Tests have been made in some twenty five Greek writers, beginning with Dio Chrysostom and Clement of Rome in the first century, and ending with Cyril and Proclus in the fifth century. Since Clement is the writer chiefly concerned in Prof. Hendrickson's argument, his case may be now presented, not only for its own sake, but because it may be regarded as typical of what is to be expected in any Greek writer before the middle of the fourth century. Considering the matter from its general aspect, the following principle must be a correct one: if there is such a partial transfer to an accentual principle in the marking of the rhythm in clausulae as that which Prof. Hendrickson supposes, some suggestion of the accentual scheme must be apparent when all the clausulae are read accentually; in other words, statistics should show that the preferred Forms of accentual clausulae show some tendency to predominate over the accentual Forms which were avoided when the accentual rhythm was well established; there should be, therefore, more clausulae which read accentually as Form 2 or 4 than those which read as Form 0, 1, 3 or 5.¹ But a test shows that this is not true; the

¹ Clausulae are classified according to the number of unstressed syllables which separate the last two accents of a clause, the numeral in each case giving the number of such syllables. The position of the caesura and the

different accentual Forms occur in a proportion which must be regarded as purely accidental; there is no tendency to group accents in clausulae in any definite sequences. It is therefore beside the point to look for any transition from the quantitative to the accentual scheme, or any compromise between the two principles in this writer. If a tendency toward a preference for the regular accentual Forms cannot be demonstrated in this general way, the detailed evidence which Professor Hendrickson has found can have no standing whatever.

The results of the tests made in some of the Greek writers are here given in tabular form;¹ the usage of these writers may be regarded as typical of the conditions which may be expected in any writer before and after the introduction of the accentual rhythm. All figures give *percentages*.

	Form 0	Form 1	Form 2	Form 3	Form 4	Form 5	Form 6
Dio Chrysostom ...	7.5	12	84.5	19	19.5	4.5	8
Clement of Rome ...	2.35 +	8.37 +	40.05 +	24.66 +	20.15 +	2.61 +	1.57 +
Aelius Aristides ...	1	15.5	37	21	21	8.5	1
Clement of Alexan.	2.5	7	35	29.5	21.5	8.5	1
Porphyry	4	8	38	33	10.5	4.5	2
Libanius	3.1 +	19.1 +	41.4 +	17.5 +	12.7 +	4.7 +	1.0 +
Himerius	1.3 +	16.2 +	72.9 +	4.0 +	4.0 +	.9 +	.4 +
Themistius .....	.87 +	3.31 +	35.79 +	12.08 +	40.90 +	3.90 +	2.68 +
Julian	3.3 +	19	38.6 +	21.8 +	14.6 +	2	1
Basilius Magnus ...	1.3 +	7.8 +	43.8 +	6.8 +	37.1 +	2.1 +	1.3 +
Gregory of Nazianz.	3	10	40	3.5	40.5	1	2
John Chrysostom ...	2.8	15.4	38.2	15.2	22.2	5.2	1
Synesius	2.04 +	5.60 +	58.80 +	4.62 +	25.56 +	0	3.34 +

number of syllables which follow the last accent are details which may be disregarded in making tests which are intended to do nothing more than show that the accentual rhythm is or is not present. The different Forms may be illustrated as follows:

Form 0 φυσικοίς δόγμασιν

" 1 εἰς ἥθος τείνει

" 2 εὐδαίμονος βίον

regular

" 3 ῥήτορος ἀνδρός

" 4 Δίων ὁ Πρωσιαεύς

regular

" 5 μηδὲν προσπεριεργαζόμενοι

" 6 κίνδυνος καταφρονεῖσθαι

regular(?)

¹ Nothing more is claimed for these figures than was claimed in the case of the Latin writers; the tests have been of the same sort, and serve the same purpose.

It is clear that in the *clausulae* of all the writers who are earlier than Himerius there is no approximation to the accentual scheme; no preference is shown for the set of regular accentual Forms. Only two deserve to be noted especially; these are the two sophists, Dio Chrysostom and Aelius Aristides. It is a striking fact that in both of these Form 4 is found to occur as often as Form 3, and in the former it actually outnumbers Form 3 by a very small margin. But the total of all regular Forms together is so low that this relation between Forms 3 and 4 must be regarded as accidental, and the effect of the accentual rhythm cannot be said to be even faintly produced.

In the sophist Himerius (c. 315—386) is found the first observance of an accentual law; he makes perfectly clear a preference for Form 2, as is shown by the fact that about 73% of all his *clausulae* fall into this class. His treatment of Form 4 seems to show that he did not regard this as a desirable Form, but counted it among those which were avoided. Form 3 is likewise avoided. Form 1 occurs rather frequently (16.2+%) but it is plainly avoided in comparison with Form 2. There is no doubt that there is in Himerius an accentual law which had been observed by none of his predecessors.¹ That law consists in practically limiting the regular or preferred accentual Forms to one particular Form, namely Form 2. This narrow limitation to one accentual Form fits perfectly what we know of the later use of the rhythm in Greek: there were two distinct tendencies: one class of writers interpreted the law in the broader sense in which the Latin writers understood it, using either Form 2 or 4 (or 6), while others sought the cadence of Form 2 without variation.² A conspicuous example of the latter class was Sophronius (VII cent.), while others are not lacking. It seems

¹ Meyer allowed himself to be strangely deceived in regard to Himerius. After quoting a number of irregular *clausulae* (Form 0 and 1), he says: "Demnach hat Himerius wenigstens mit meiner Regel von dem accentuirten Satzschlusse durchaus nichts zu tun" (Ges. Abh. II, p. 215). His method of testing by gathering all the irregular *clausulae* from a limited space is entirely misleading; the statistics of *all* Forms as given above show a condition which he apparently never suspected. In the same way he was misled in the case of Porphyry: "Dagegen fand ich schon bei Porphyrius solche falsche Schlüsse auffallend wenige" (ib.). The complete statistics show that Meyer's Law was absolutely unknown to Porphyry.

² This narrower interpretation of the law seems not to have found favor with any Latin writer.

certain that this stricter interpretation of the law begins with Himerius.

At nearly the same time that Himerius was using the accentual rhythm, the sophist Themistius was also observing an accentual law in his *clausulae*. But the statistics show that his understanding of the law was the broader one which gave preference to Forms 4 as well as to Form 2. (It would seem that Form 6 is not accepted by him as a regular Form.) The range which is given to Form 4 is remarkable; in no other writer, as far as I know, is this Form used actually more than Form 2.¹

In these two writers, then, we have the first observance of an accentual law which had not before been hinted at; there were not two laws, but two interpretations of the same law.² The cause of the difference we can only guess at; perhaps one of the sophists thought to improve on the style set by his rival, and in so doing carried the matter to the extreme shown above. We must hesitate to admit that such a striking difference was due to accident only, for the style of each must have been well known to the other. It may well be that the difference in their schooling had much to do with the matter.

Before passing to the question where Himerius and Themistius found the accentual rhythm, we may pause a moment to notice an interesting chain of influence by which the trick of this rhythm was passed on from teacher to pupil. Among the great number of those who were attracted to the school of Himerius in Athens were two young men who later became leaders in the Christian Church, Basilus Magnus and Gregory of Nazianzus. Now these very men are the first Christian writers in whom there appears an observance of the accentual rhythm; Gregory of Nyssa, who was the brother of Basil, also used the rhythm. It is further known that Gregory of Nazianzus was an admirer of Themistius. There can be no doubt that the use of the accentual rhythm in these three writers is to be explained as due to the influence of Himerius and perhaps Themistius.³ It is true that the law which they follow is the broader form of the law rather

¹ There is a suggestion of the same fondness for Form 4 in some of the writings of Gregory of Nazianzus; e. g., *Orat.* VI.

² The introduction of the accentual rhythm into Greek is dated too late by Meyer—about 400 A. D.—v. *Ges. Abh.* II, pp. 269, 270.

³ The influence of Themistius seems especially plain in Gregory of Nazianzus, whose *clausulae* show an unusually high percentage of Form 4.

than that form which Himerius adopted for his own use, but it still seems certain that this adoption of a style new in Christian writings was due to the influence of the teaching of their earlier years.

This hypothesis receives some support from the contrast which appears between the style of these three writers and that of two who are known to have been strongly influenced by Libanius. In the works of Libanius himself there is no observance of the accentual law, and in his famous school of oratory in Antioch the rhythm which his two contemporaries had adopted must have been completely disregarded. Now it is known that the Emperor Julian was under the influence of this teacher in his younger years; Libanius became acquainted with the young Prince during the time when he was teaching in Nicomedia, and after Julian had ascended the throne continued to enjoy the favor of the Emperor until his early death in 363. It is therefore the most natural thing in the world that the writings of Julian show no use of the accentual rhythm. The case is not quite so clear for John Chrysostom, who attended the school in Antioch, and won great favor with the master, though he later sorely disappointed him by turning Christian. The accentual rhythm was plainly known to Chrysostom, but it was used by him in such a half-hearted way that he must have regarded it as incidental. Certain it is, he had not learned it from Libanius. He may have caught the trick from the contemporary Christian writers, but his comparative disregard for that particular stylistic device was evidently due to his early training in the school at Antioch.

We have now seen that the accentual rhythm makes its first appearance in the writings of two teachers of oratory and rhetoric. There may be something significant in this very fact; it is to be expected that innovations in style should be introduced by just these men. The new rhythm was something which appealed to the popular ear, and it was doubtless adopted for this very reason. It is also clear that no sign of this rhythm is to be found in writers before the middle of the fourth century; there is nothing even approximating a gradual development. Where, then, was the suggestion found which led Himerius and Themistius to use these particular accentual Forms in clausulae? It has already been shown that the explanation given above for the rise of the rhythm in Latin writers cannot be applied to Greek

writers. It is also clear that Prof. Hendrickson's theory is not in keeping with the facts.

Only one piece of evidence is now needed in order to set everything in a clear light. If there was a transition from the Greek quantitative rhythm to the accentual rhythm, there must have been traces of a quantitative scheme in the clausulae of those writers who are first found using the new rhythm. That is, we may look for exactly the same condition as that found in Ammianus—an accentual rhythm which pays some regard to quantity. This stage would be later in time than the intermediate stage which Professor Hendrickson believes he has found, and is just as necessary a stage. The writers in whom we may look for this lingering observance of quantity are, of course, Himerius and Themistius; to these may be added Synesius, Bishop of Cyrene, who wrote at the end of the fourth century.

It is necessary that the commonest Form of accentual clausula (Form 2) should show the remains of the earlier quantitative scheme if they are present. Only the two stressed syllables and the two syllables between the stresses need be regarded, and it must be shown that there is a plain tendency to make long both the stressed syllables, and above all the second of the unstressed syllables. There must be a suggestion of the sequence — ∪ — — (∪), and this suggestion should appear in the relative quantities of the two unstressed syllables at least; for it is clear that quantity must have been observed in unstressed syllables longer than in stressed syllables where the presence of the accent would excuse the neglect of quantity. In the same way those accentual clausulae which have four unstressed syllables between the two stresses should give a suggestion of the quantitative clausula — ∪ — — ∪ — (∪). But it is plain, as is shown by the following statistics, that none of these writers pay any regard to syllabic quantities in their clausulae; the arrangement of longs and shorts is guided by no rule and there is not the slightest suggestion of the cretic base of the quantitative rhythm.

In the following tables the different syllables of clausulae are designated according to the position in which they stand; in clausulae of Form 2 the syllable which bears the leading stress is called Thesis 1; this is followed by two unstressed syllables, which are called Arsis 1 and Arsis 2 respectively; these in turn are followed by the last accented syllable which is called Thesis 2; the syllables (if there be any) which follow Thesis 2 are called

Arsis 3 and Arsis 4—these are not considered in the tests for quantity. A similar nomenclature is applied to clausulae of Form 4.

Themistius.

Orat. XIX (ed. Petavius), all cases of Form 2 before heavy punctuation (counting a vowel before the combination mute plus liquid as always long, and long final vowels or diphthongs in weak hiatus as short; eliding according to the demands of the accentual rhythm).

Thesis 1 long 41 (56.9 + %); short 31

Arsis 1 " 44 (61.1 + %); " 28

Arsis 2 " 41 (56.9 + %); " 31

Thesis 2 " 43 (59.7 + %); " 29

All the syllables have a slight tendency to be long; there is no trace of any quantitative rhythm.

Orat. IX (ed. Petavius), all cases of Form 4 before heavy punctuation, counting as before.

Thesis 1 long 45 (56.2 + %); short 35

Arsis 1 " 57 (71.2 + %); " 23

Arsis 2 " 30 (37.5 + %); " 50

Arsis 3 " 27 (33.7 + %); " 53

Arsis 4 " 39 (48.7 + %); " 41

Thesis 2 " 52 (65%); " 28

The quantitative sequence suggested by these eighty clausulae is — ∪ ∪ ∪ —; from this comes no hint of the quantitative rhythm. The sequence which should be found if traces of the quantitative scheme are being sought is — ∪ — — ∪ — (∪).

Himerius.

Orat. VIII, XIII and XXIII (ed. Wernsdorf) all cases of Form 2 before heavy punctuation, counting as in Themistius.

	Orat. VIII		Orat. XIII		Orat. XXII		Average
	long	short	long	short	long	short	long
Thesis 1	23	13	20	11	16	16	59.5 + %
Arsis 1	26	10	18	13	23	4	72.7 + %
Arsis 2	23	13	11	20	20	12	54.5 + %
Thesis 3	24	12	24	7	20	12	68.6 + %

There is surely no suggestion of the sequence — ∪ — — (∪); the syllable which seems to show a tendency to be long is the very one which would be expected to be short (Arsis 1).

Synesius.

In three different parts of the Dion (Migne: *Patrologia Graeca* 66) 100 consecutive clausulae of Form 2 were counted (*omitting* all cases involving hiatus, and all those in which there is a vowel followed by a mute and liquid).

	A		B		C		Average long
	long	short	long	short	long	short	
Thesis 1	47	53	57	43	61	39	55%
Arsis 1	64	36	61	39	61	39	62%
Arsis 2	56	44	55	45	63	37	58%
Thesis 2	53	47	64	36	70	30	62.3 + %

The result is strikingly similar to that obtained from The-mistius; there is certainly not the faintest residuum of the quan-titative rhythm.

In order to make sure that this method of testing for quantities in the accentual clausulae of Greek writers has been a fair one, a test of exactly the same sort was made in three Latin writers. A number of clausulae which are read accentually as Form 2 and an equal number of Form 4 were examined to see what relation syllabic quantities hold to the accentual Forms. The result shows, as would be expected, a very close correspondence between the two schemes.

Form 2	Arnobius		Symmachus		Firmicus	
	long	short	long	short	long	short
Thesis 1	29	1	28	2	30	0
Arsis 1	4	96	3	27	8	22
Arsis 2	28	2	27	3	26	4
Thesis 2	29	1	22	8	23	7

The quantitative Form suggested is the commonest of the regular Forms: — ∪ — — (∪).

Form 4	Arnobius		Symmachus	
	long	short	long	short
Thesis 1	22	8	22	8
Arsis 1	0	30	0	30
Arsis 2	22	8	23	7
Arsis 3	26	4	23	7
Arsis 4	5	25	7	23
Thesis 2	29	1	29	1

The quantitative Form here suggested is one of very frequent occurrence in the quantitative rhythm: — ∪ — — ∪ — (∪).

These tests make it perfectly plain that in those Greek writers who first use accentual clausulae, there is no quantitative law

observed in connection with the accentual Forms. In contrast with this it is plain that in the Latin writers in whom the regular accentual Forms are first found to predominate, the accentual scheme is closely involved with the traditional quantitative rhythm.

It has now been shown that the accentual rhythm makes its first appearance in Greek about the middle of the fourth century in the writings of the Sophists Himerius and Themistius; that in Greek writers before that time there is no trace of the accentual scheme, and that neither in Himerius nor Themistius nor Synesius is there any trace of a quantitative law. On the other hand the accentual scheme makes its first appearance in Latin at the end of the third century, and for at least a century was closely involved in the quantitative rhythm. Add to this that the accentual law was practically the same in the two languages, and only one conclusion is possible: the Greek writers took over the accentual scheme from the Latin, disregarding the quantitative law of the Latin clausulae which they may or may not have observed in their model. It is true that both Himerius and Themistius gave an individual turn to the rhythm, the one by elevating the importance of Form 2 and the other by showing a preference for Form 4; but not only the idea of marking the cadence of clausulae by word accent, but also the suggestion of the accentual Forms to which preference should be given was derived from the practise of the Latin writers Cyprian or Arnobius or the unknown author of the Panegyric to Constantius (No. 5), or some other Latin writer who constructed his clausulae as these writers did.

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V.—RIG VEDA I. 32. 8.

An interesting verse in the Vedas, which has apparently presented certain difficulties and several varying interpretations in the past, is Rig Veda I. 32. 8, the first two *pādas* of which read :

nadāṣṭh nū bhinnām amuyāḥ śāyānam
māno rūhāṇā āti yanty āpaḥ.

As to the first of these two *pādas*, the translation of Professor Pischel (Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Vol. XXXV, pp. 717-724) seems to be the most acceptable and is adopted by Lanman in the Notes to his Sanskrit Reader, p. 361. In the second *pāda*, however, Pischel, in order to substantiate his rendering has been obliged to change the reading of the text. To begin, the difficulty lies only with the first two words of the *pāda*—“*māno rūhāṇā*”. Benfey (in “Orient und Occident”, I, p. 47, Anm. 265) assumed an adverbial use of *mānas* (reading “*manas*” for “*mano*”, by the regular laws of *samdhī*), as similar to *añjas* and rendered “*lustig steigend*” (lustily rising), and in this interpretation was followed by Grassmann, Delbrück (Altindische Tempuslehre, p. 108) and Lanman (Noun-Inflection, p. 562). Pischel, on the other hand, rejects this reading as well as those of Roth in the St. Petersburg Lexicon (“*ihren Willen erreichend*”), and Ludwig (“*ein Herz sich fassend*”), and assumes that the text is here corrupted. He supposes that the original text read: “*manoruhāṇa āti*”, which was to be separated “*mānor ūhāṇā āti*”. The Padakāra, on dividing this, read: “*māno rūhāṇā āti*”, and in consequence, made the change of *n* to *ṇ*. Following up this reasoning, he adduces certain other Vedic passages, to show that the genitive “*mānor*” (from “*manu*”) belongs to “*āpaḥ*”, and the two words, taken together, signify the same as “*mānuṣīr āpas* in Rig Veda IX. 63. 7. In conclusion, he renders the entire half-verse: “Ueber ihn der so dalag, zermalmt wie ein Schilfrohr, gehen hinweg die Gewässer zu den Menschen fließend.”

Following Pischel, first, in his interpretation of *pāda a*, and secondly, in his reading of "*manor*" instead of "*manas*", for "*mano*", I cannot, however, understand the necessity of assuming the corruptness of the text and the consequent change of cerebral *ṇ* to dental *n*. Either root, *√ruh* or *√uh* might be used in connection with the waters, and assuming that the Padapātha reading is correct, by a law of *samdhī* (cf. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 179), the consonant *r* can never be doubled, but where two *r*'s occur together, the first is dropped and the preceding syllable, if short, is lengthened. It seems, therefore, a possibility that the reading was originally: "*mānor rūhāṇā*"; and these two *r*'s falling together, that of "*mānor*" was dropped, and since the vowel *o*, is already long, being a diphthong, it remained as it was. This assumption would obviate the difficulty of reading "*manas*" for "*mano*", yet at the same time, would not necessitate a change in the reading of the text. Following this reading and assuming "*manor āpaḥ*" as equivalent to "*mānuṣṭr āpaḥ*" the translation would run: "Over him, lying so, crushed like a reed, the waters go, rising for man (lit, the waters of man, go)".

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REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

A Handbook of Greek Archaeology by HAROLD NORTH FOWLER and JAMES RIGNALL WHEELER with the collaboration of G. P. STEVENS. New York: American Book Co., 1909. Pp. 559.

In the narrow compass of this manual belonging to the series edited for colleges and schools by Professor Smyth an excellent brief sketch has been given of the most important departments of the extensive field of Greek Archaeology. The only entire category of art omitted is ivory, but in view of the valuable ivories found at Ephesus and Sparta and considering the fact that the pieces of ivory in the Hermitage exhibit perhaps the best example of Greek drawing we have from the fifth century B. C., this is a serious omission. The essential facts are presented in each chapter mainly in chronological order with reference to the historical development of art from its archaic stages. The second chapter on architecture by Stevens and the eighth on vases by Wheeler, who has filled a long-felt want by giving us a concise and accurate account of this art in 114 pages, will prove especially useful to the beginning student of Greek Art. They are the best and most systematic concentrated account of these subjects in English.

An introductory chapter deals with the study and progress of archaeology in modern times. This is followed by a discussion of Prehellenic Greece which is unsatisfactory because it has not taken advantage of Bulle's Orchomenus, of Tsountas' epoch-making work *Αἱ προϊστορικαὶ Ἀκροπόλεις Διμητρίου καὶ Σίσκλου*, of Soteriades' important prehistoric discoveries near Elatea and Chaeronea (cf. *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1908, p. 63 f.) or of the valuable pre-Mycenaean finds which the English have made in Thessaly at Zerelia (cf. B. S. A. XIV, p. 197 f.), Tzani, and Lianokladi (cf. *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, 1908, p. 120 f.) and are still making in northern Greece. At Zerelia eight successive neolithic strata were unearthed so that perhaps the stone age in Thessaly was not so very much shorter than in northern and western Europe (cf. p. 39). The description of the finds at Mycenae based on Schuchhardt is good but that of Crete is very meagre and disappointing. In view of the great role which was played in Cretan civilization by the bull-fight, which may also explain the Vaphio cups and the story of the Minotaur by whom the Athenian youths and maidens were butchered to

make a Cretan holiday, it is surprising that not even the fresco from Tiryns is mentioned or illustrated. This is not only of interest because probably a woman and not a man is performing acrobatic feats over the bull's back as in a similar relief in Crete but it has great artistic merit for the history of Greek painting. P. 73, it is hardly correct to say that the bull's head of silver was made expressly for the grave and could hardly have served any practical purpose. It was undoubtedly a ritual rhyton, as the hole in the mouth shows, like the clay bull's head from Gournia (cf. Hawes, Gournia, pp. 52, 55; pl. I) and the wonderful bull's head in black steatite found in the Little Palace at Cnossus; and perhaps even the gold lion's head was likewise a rhyton as has been suggested by Karo. P. 83, we read that the lion in Mycenaean art seems to indicate a real acquaintance with northern Africa. Why Africa, when the lion was not yet extinct in Greece (cf. Meyer, Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1903)? One defect which runs through the whole book is frequent reference to something not described in the work itself, which tends to confuse the beginner for whom an elementary book of this kind must be meant. So to take only one example, p. 80, by the steatite vase from Hagia Triada is meant the steatite rhyton with scenes from the bull-fight but the only steatite vase from Hagia Triada described is the Harvesters Vase (p. 68). The opposite fault of not giving enough detail or not telling the whole truth is also misleading. Let one example out of many suffice. P. 237, we read that "a well-known bust of Pericles in the British Museum is regarded as a copy of an original by Cresilas" as if there were not other such well-known busts of Pericles in other museums. Two confusing misprints occur in this chapter, p. 59 *prodromos* for *prodromos* and p. 76 grave V for grave IV.

The second chapter, on architecture, is by Mr. Stevens who was fellow in architecture for two years in Athens and who brilliantly demonstrated that the east wall of the Erechtheum had two windows, though Bötticher to whom Stevens gives no credit also had the idea but without proof (cf. Bötticher, *Tektonik der Hellenen*, pl. 41). Many of the drawings in this chapter are by Stevens himself and we regret that with his other drawings of the Erechtheum he has not included his restoration of the eastern wall (cf. *AJA.* X, 1906, p. 67, pls. VIII-IX). In this connection it is interesting to note that Mr. Stevens has changed his plan of the Erechtheum published in the *AJA.*, l. c., pl. VI, by dividing the middle room into two rooms by means of a cross-wall, probably the *παρὰστράς* mentioned in the Erechtheum inscriptions. When the drawings are so excellent and up to date it is a little startling to find an antiquated photograph of the Erechtheum on p. 131 which shows neither the replaced south nor west wall in its present condition. We miss also photographs of the theatre at Epidaurus, the Propylaea, the Olympieum, the Temple of Wingless Victory (these last two not even mentioned) and many

other important monuments of Greek architecture. P. 102, *μῦλος* came not merely from Sinope but from several other places such as Lemnos and Ceos. It was called *Σινωπῆς* because it was first discovered on the Pontus and exported from Sinope (cf. Pliny, N. H. XXXV 31 and A. J. P. XXVII, p. 141 f.) P. 107, the Z form of cramp is used in buildings even later than the early part of the fifth century, since it occurs along with the double T cramp in the temple at Bassae which dates probably in the last quarter of the fifth century. The type of cramp pictured in fig. 72 is not confined to Lesbos but has been found at Mycenae, Khorsabad, Ephesus, in blocks belonging to the Cnidian treasury at Delphi, and elsewhere (cf. Koldewey, *Die Antiken Baureste der Insel Lesbos*, p. 46; Hogarth, *Excavations at Ephesus*, Atlas, pl. X). P. 111, the "Theseum" is mentioned as an example of a temple with two steps but it has three, the lowest being of limestone. A better example would have been the Heraeum at Olympia or the temple at Assos which really have only two steps. The Heraeum at Olympia is said (p. 110) to date not later than the seventh century B. C. and to be perhaps the oldest temple in all Greece. But the earliest Artemisium at Sparta is dated at least as early as the ninth century and the Argive Heraeum much earlier; and in fact Dörpfeld dates the Heraeum at Olympia with Pausanias in the eleventh century. P. 156, the earlier Propylaea are labelled Cimonian instead of Peisistratean. P. 159, there were more than two earlier buildings on the site of the Telesterion at Eleusis and it is a mistake to give the idea that the Greek hall had forty-two columns and to reproduce only the Roman plan. P. 160, the Bouleuterion at Priene was hardly similar to that at Miletus, since it was square and not semi-circular. P. 183, the description of an elliptical altar of Zeus at Olympia must be revised in view of Dörpfeld's discovery at Olympia of elliptical prehistoric houses. In fact it would have been well in the chapter on prehellenic Greece to discuss the elliptical and round houses and those with an apse-like end found at Orchomenus, in Crete and elsewhere. This reminds me that one important type of Greek building is omitted entirely by Stevens, namely that with an apse such as we have at Delphi, Ptoon, Thespieae, Gla, at the Kabirion near Thebes, in Ozolian Locris, on the Athenian acropolis, at Thermon, Corinth, Heraclea near Mt. Latmos, Samothrace and Delos south of the Artemisium. To be sure the Bouleuterion at Olympia is described, p. 158, but nowhere are we given to understand that the Greeks were familiar with the apse and ellipse from the earliest times.

The third chapter, on sculpture, is altogether too brief and elementary and omits much which even the beginner should learn but a great deal has been condensed, though in a colorless style, into one hundred pages. The chapter is marred by some misprints and errors, p. 230 roman for Roman, p. 277 and in index Chaerostratus for Chaerestratus, p. 287 and in index

Athenadorus for Athenodorus. P. 207, the grave-stele of Aristion, excavated at Velanideza, is said to have been found at Marathon. P. 238, there are two fragments or rather two heads and not merely one in Copenhagen from a Parthenon metope.

One great merit of this handbook is its excellent series of 412 carefully selected illustrations. A special feature of the chapters on Terra-cottas, Metal Work (Bronzes, Silverware, Jewelry) and Vases is the fact that a large majority of the illustrations are taken from objects in Boston or New York, which will make the book useful not only to American students who have access to the museums there but will attract the attention of foreign scholars to our own Greek treasures.

The fifth chapter, on Metal Work, is very sketchy. In the discussion of Greek silver work are included none of the beautiful and artistic Greek silver vases from the fourth century B. C. in the Hermitage, and much of the ware from Hildesheim and Boscoreale which is discussed is Roman or late Greek. P. 345, we read that in the case of necklaces "woven and twisted ropes or bands of fine threads do not occur until the fifth century". But such are already known in Mycenaean times. P. 350, many scholars such as Loeschke, Hauser, Furtwängler and others are equally certain that the gold medallions from Kertch representing the head of Athena Parthenos are Ionic Work and not made at Athens.

The sixth chapter, on coins, is a good introduction to the subject but the student should not be told (p. 371) that Demarete was presented by the Carthaginians with a thousand talents of gold. The words of Diodorus XI, 26 are *στεφανωθείσα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἑκατὸν ταλάντοις χρυσίου νόμισμα ἐξέκοψε τὸ κληθὲν ἀπ' ἐκείνης Δαμαρέτειον*.

The seventh chapter, on gems, is nothing but a short summary in thirty pages of part of Furtwängler's *Antike Gemmen* from which all the illustrations of gems are taken. The beautiful Augustan cameo in Vienna is called three times (pp. 408, 409 and index) the *Gemma Augusta*, which is not absolutely wrong; but since quotation marks are used, we should keep the usual spelling *Augustea*.

The eighth chapter on vases, followed by an altogether too scanty consideration of Greek painting and mosaics in less than fifteen pages, is the best and therefore no strictures should be made on it. P. 447, the scyphus fig. 364 is proto-Corinthian and not Corinthian, so read fig. 365.

A selected bibliography and index complete this work which can be heartily recommended as the best, most authoritative and practical introduction in English to Greek Archaeology, putting on the shelf Murray's Handbook and Wright's translation of Collignon. The authors have done all that was possible in the limited space of 559 pages with such an immense field every subject in which should have a volume to itself.

A Literary History of the English People. Vols. II and III.
 Parts I and II: From the Renaissance to the Civil War.
 By J. J. JUSSERAND. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and
 London, 1906, 1909.

Volume I of the above-named work (1895) was noticed in this Journal, XVIII 3, for October, 1897. It was then intended to complete the work in three volumes, Part II, "From the Renaissance to Pope", and Part III, "From Pope to the Present Day". But the work has evidently grown on the author's hands, and it will take at least two more volumes to complete it. However, the public will be the gainer, for we should not like to spare any portion of what has been written; only we hope that a shorter time may elapse between the third and fourth volumes than has elapsed between the first and second, and the second and third.

M. Jusserand has done well to write the work in English, that it may be an original work and not a translation, even if occasional expressions show that he is not "to the manner born". It is well that English people may see themselves through foreign spectacles, especially when they are worn by one who is so familiar with French literature as the American ambassador, and who can therefore trace better than a native Englishman the influence of French upon English literature.

Volume I closed with the taking of Constantinople (1453), and has a separate Index; volumes II and III close with the Civil War (1642), and have a joint Index, being separated by the chapter on the Novel, to which *genre* the author has already given a volume, written in French, but translated into English. Volume III treats chiefly the dramatic literature, especially of the age of Elizabeth, with the predecessors and successors of Shakespeare to the closing of the theatres, when English dramatic literature suffered an eclipse. The volumes are divided into Books, and these into Chapters, which are still further subdivided into Sections, an analytical method that serves the convenience of the reader. Numerous bibliographical notes fill the lower portions of the pages, but it may be a question whether it is not better to assemble them after the respective chapters, as they interrupt the narrative and criticism.

Volume II comprises two books, on the time of the Renaissance and the Reformation, and on the Age of Elizabeth, the first of which treats, besides the Renaissance in Europe and in England, the rise of printing, humanism in England, including English prose and poetry, on the transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, and the poets of the Revival especially Wyatt and Surrey and their contemporaries. Under the Reformation we find Henry VIII, Cranmer and Cromwell treated, More and Tyndale, and the English Bible, Mary's persecutions, and, as a consequence, the restoration of Protestantism. This

was confirmed by Elizabeth, and it became a time of great maritime and commercial expansion, of travel, and of development in many ways, especially of patriotism. The literary development in this age was notable, both in prose and poetry, history and criticism, original works and translations. We find lyrics and love-poetry, ballads and religious poetry, poems satirical and comical, with a lengthy consideration of Spenser and the "Faerie Queene", the volume closing with the chapter on the Novel; and a treatment of Lyly, Sidney, Nash, Greene, Chettle, Middleton, and Dekker.

Volume III opens with the predecessors of Shakespeare, with respect to whom Symonds's work is the standard authority in English, but M. Jusserand takes exception to Mr. Symonds's statement that "The chronicle play is peculiar to English literature" (p. 133, note), and adduces instances from French literature, but he adds: "The truth is that, thanks to Marlowe and Shakespeare, England alone produced at that period works deserving a permanent rank in literature". This Book deals with theatres and theatrical performances under Elizabeth, and, after a consideration of the immediate predecessors of Shakespeare, it treats at some length the personal and literary biography of Shakespeare, his dramatic work, his contemporaries and successors, and closes with the aftermath in other kinds of literature. Here are included the poets, travellers, moralists, and observers, the archaeologists and historians, notably Bacon and the religious writers who preceded the storm, not omitting the learned pedant, with his theory of divine right, and his no less learned, but more obstinate, son.

Where we have so much that is well done, it may seem hypercritical to take exception, but the few exceptions are taken in no censorious spirit. Jefferson founded the University of Virginia near the banks of the Rivanna, not "Fluvana", but the adjoining county to Albemarle, in which the University is located, is "Fluvanna" (II, 17, *ad fin.*). The author has not as high an opinion of Dunbar as some other critics have, especially his German editor Koch, of whom we find no mention, even in the bibliographical notes, but Gallic and Gaelic, however, differ. If Dunbar is not a humorous poet, we have none in Scotch literature. He is no unworthy leader of the mighty line that seems to have ended with Burns. Douglas and Lyndsay continue the Scotch tradition, contemporary with the English Hawes and Skelton, which last, even if Erasmus did call him "*unum Britannicarum literarum lumen et decus*", does not, *me judice*, approach Dunbar. Sir Thomas Elyot, whose "Governour" set the standard of education for the time, gives the precepts which the noted poets, Wyatt and Surrey, illustrated in their lives and writings.

It is well to remind us that the French possessed a translation of the New Testament, that of Lefèvre d'Étaples, in 1523, two

years before Tyndale, and of the whole Bible in 1530. Luther's New Testament appeared in 1522, and his German Bible in 1534. The author thinks, and apparently rightly, that Henry VIII would never have left the ancient Church, "if his personal interest had not been at stake". After Wolsey and More come Cranmer and Cromwell. It is sad to think that the Reformation of the Church must be accomplished by such instruments. "But", says M. Jusserand, "this was an age of baseness, of weakened characters, in which the Protestant Archbishop Cranmer sent Protestants to the stake, and the Catholic Bishop Gardiner wrote against the Pope". Henry died on January 28, 1547, and it is a matter of speculation what would have been the fate of the Reformation if he had lived longer. Somerset, however, helped it on, but the death of Edward VI soon followed. "The cause of the Reformation, which seemed lost at the accession of Mary, was won by the martyrs", but would it have been won but for Elizabeth?

We have an attractive description of Elizabeth, and on the whole a just one. It was necessary that she should steer in the true *via media*, and her strong common sense guided her in this path. This was particularly true in respect to religious matters, and if she had acted differently, in all probability we should have had an English "Thirty Years' War". The maritime glory of England receives due recognition, as does the progress of the Kingdom in many ways.

The numerous works of the reign in both prose and poetry are commented on, with pertinent bibliographical notes, and a brief sketch of the classical and anti-classical verse controversy, "Tityrus, / happilie / thou lyste / tumbling / under a / beech-tree", for which, and similar, Jonson dubbed Fraunce "a fool". It is well that Harvey's "hexameter meditations" did not prevail in English verse. Ascham favors "the Greeks in true versifying", but Gascoigne, Puttenham, Daniel and Chapman, are champions of rime,—with Sainte Beuve. Besides original treatises, as of Sidney and Webbe, translations abound, as Phaer and Stanyhurst of Vergil, Goldin of Ovid, and many others.

M. Jusserand notes "the richness, the variety, the incredible literary fecundity of this country", quite a contrast to the time when Tottel could gather for his "Miscellany" but "a nosegay that could be held in one hand". Soon followed many "Miscellanies", and such-like, similar to Tottel's. Poetical imitators too abound, as Watson with his "Hecatompethia", and other sonnets to ideal and real loves, of which writers Raleigh and Sidney "bear the bell". "Aglaiia, Delia, Diella, Diana, Laura, Idea, Coelia, Corinna, Fides, Aurora, Coelica, and multitudes of other divinities, real or imaginary", find worshippers.

Campion has been but recently rehabilitated by Mr. Bullen, who has done so much for our knowledge of Elizabethan literature. Ballads and verse romances increase the stock, and at last comes Donne, with his satires and other verses before he

turned preacher at the instigation of King James. This Book closes with a chapter on Spenser, and a final one on The Novel,—referred to above,—with criticism of Lyly's "Euphues", Greene's "Pandosto" and "Menaphon", Lodge's "Rosalynde", Sidney's "Arcadia", and Nash's tales of rogues and cheats.

Volume III is almost entirely taken up with the drama, of which it gives an interesting account that may be compared with Professor Schelling's two volumes. M. Jusserand thinks that, in both France and England, "the cleverest critics, the most learned and experienced scholars, the thinkers of greatest fame, . . . with the same energy, but widely different results, declared for classical art". Doubtless the increased knowledge of classical art polished "the lawless romanticism inherited from the Middle Ages", but we have only to compare Shakespeare and Racine to appreciate the difference. Through Kyd, Peele, Greene, Lodge, Nash and Marlowe we reach Shakespeare, who "never went to a university". The author pronounces "Edward II" "the first well-conceived and solidly built tragedy in English literature", and Marlowe's "dramatic masterpiece". A whole chapter is devoted to Shakespeare's biography, and another to his dramatic work, but strange to say (!) the much written of Bacon-Shakespeare controversy is altogether neglected; it is to be hoped that it has at last been buried.

M. Jusserand has unearthed the first French criticism of Shakespeare, that of one Nicolas Clément, librarian to Louis XIV (1675-1684), who says: "This English poet has a somewhat fine imagination, his thoughts are natural, his words ingeniously chosen, but these happy qualities are obscured by the filth he introduces into his comedies". Unfortunately we cannot deny the impeachment, but he was only *un anglais barbare*, so let it pass. This criticism remained in MS until M. Jusserand found and published it in the *Revue Critique* for November 14, 1887. The Grand Monarque had a copy of the second folio, and Fouquet had also a copy of Shakespeare's works, which he kept in his garret, and which the learned experts valued at "1 franc" (!) But another French critic well says (1738): "*C'est au tribunal du bon sens qu'il faut le citer*".

The first French translation appeared in 1745, that of La Place, who "celebrated Shakespeare's genius and . . . defended his liberties and his disdain of rules". This was before Lessing, so the French appreciated Shakespeare before the Germans. But the greatest man of letters of his day was Jonson, not Shakespeare. "When foreigners asked English people who was their great man of letters, they did not answer Shakespeare, but Jonson". Saint Amant visited England in 1631, and never heard of Shakespeare. He was lost to fame fifteen years after his death, and eight after the publication of his collected works. Clément, however, in cataloguing Jonson's works, pronounces him *poeta Anglicus percelebris*, and makes a note (afterwards

erased): "Ce poète anglois est un des meilleurs, des plus retenus, et des plus modestes", which last criticism we may take the liberty of doubting. Jonson, doubtless, suited better the French taste. "Jonson's great concern through life was literary art". His "learned sock" was more highly appreciated by French critics than Shakespeare's "wood-notes wild". M. Jusserand says: "While with the latter [Shakespeare] fantasy, lyrical imagination, independence, alertness, and fiery passion predominated, the other [Jonson] was for reason, observation, truth, accuracy, precedents, deliberation". Jonson was not unappreciative of his own attainments. "He was better versed", he said to Drummond, "and knew more in Greek and Latin than all the poets in England". This was, doubtless, true, but it might have been left to some one else to say it. "Volpone" is rightly called "his masterpiece", but it is a hard play to expurgate; it must be taken as it is, for expurgation is emasculation. "The noble figure of Celia, 'the blazing star of Italy', a rare type in Jonson's theatre, makes the dark group of vultures, foxes, and ravens stand out even darker". But I must pass over the other contemporaries of Shakespeare, and his successors, closing with Shirley, who survived the Restoration, and I must neglect "the aftermath" even though it contains so notable a figure as Bacon. "In the distance the storm was rumbling; soon it was no longer in the distance". The succeeding volume will treat the *dii minores* of this century, and will include the *Jupiter optimus maximus*, who has enriched English literature with that epic which alone deserves to be compared to the works of Homer, Vergil, and Dante.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

The First Grammar of the Language spoken by the Bontoc Igorot, with a Vocabulary and Texts—Mythology, Folklore, Historical Episodes, Songs. By Dr. CARL WILHELM SEIDENADEL. Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, 1909.

The book is a handsomely bound quarto volume of XXIV + 588 pages, dealing with one of the minor languages of Luzon, about which, up to this time little or nothing has been written. Dr. Seidenadel has reduced the language to writing, and has given students of Philippine languages a work which will greatly increase their knowledge of the northern group of these languages, the better known members of which are Ibanag, Iloko, and Pangasinan. The author shows himself a careful observer, as well as a scholar having some acquaintance with the principles of linguistic science, and his work is probably, all things considered, the best grammar of a Philippine language that has yet been published.

The book consists of three parts, a grammar, a vocabulary, and a series of texts.

The grammatical part of the work contains a great amount of valuable material, but it might have been arranged in a more effective manner. While the treatment of the phonology stands at the beginning, comprising the first twenty-nine (29) paragraphs, no attempt is made to separate morphology and syntax, the two being treated together in the remaining paragraphs (30-462), and the relation between the various divisions and subdivisions of the subject are not indicated with sufficient clearness.

The phonology is superior to that found in other Philippine grammars, the statements being on the whole clear and scientific, but some points call for comment. In § 2, in which the various sounds of the language are enumerated it would have been better to give examples of the various sounds occurring in native words as initial, medial, and final; the statement that *f* is like the *f* in *fine*; i. e., labio-dental like English *f*, does not agree with the assertion of Prof. C. E. Conant that *f* is a pure labial; i. e., bilabial, in all the Philippine languages (cf. F and V in Philippine Languages, Publications of the Division of Ethnology of the Bureau of Science at Manila, Vol. V (1908), Part II, p. 138 f.): the author says *p* is to be pronounced 'as in pin but without following spiritus asper'; English *p* is a simple stop and not an aspirate (cf. H. Sweet, *A Primer of Phonetics*, Oxford, 1890, p. 81, § 219). In §§ 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20 it would have been better to give examples of the phonetic changes mentioned. In § 19 he states that a final mute comes near to being a spiritus lenis, but he does not seem to realize that this is the same as the glottal check or glottal catch which he treats in § 25. It is unfortunate that he does not give us a fuller treatment of the accent in § 27, and in § 28 it would have been better to discuss the whole subject of Reduplication rather than to take it up piecemeal in the following pages: § 29 on what he calls Elocution, i. e., the manner of speaking, is not very clearly expressed. One of the most remarkable phonetic facts of the language is that mentioned in § 3, viz., that the same individual often pronounces a word differently at different times without being conscious of the variation; e. g., *fafayi* or *babayi* 'woman', *bilak* or *pilak* 'money', but the author does not make it clear whether this is due to sentence phonetics or not. In at least one case he has failed to note in the phonology a clear case of phonetic change. In § 34, after the completion of the phonology, the statement is made that the article *si* standing between two vowels becomes *s* or *sh*; from the examples given it is clear that it becomes *sh* under the influence of a preceding *i* or *y*, tho this is not stated. This change should have been given a place among the other phonetic changes discussed in §§ 4-22.

In the remaining part of the grammar, comprising morphology and syntax, one of the best features is the large number and

variety of the examples given. The treatment of indefinite pronominal ideas, relative and interrogative pronouns, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, auxiliary verbs, emphatic expressions, and the ideas 'to be', 'to become', 'to have', is especially good, while the care that the author exercises in pointing out the uses of the ligatures adds greatly to the value of the work.

The treatment of the most important of the parts of speech, the verb, however, is disappointing. In the first place he introduces a new nomenclature and divides all verbs into two classes, viz., personal and possessive, according to the pronominal particle that follows the verb. Any word followed by a nominative pronominal particle he calls a personal verb, thus including here not only what are usually called active verbs, but also such combinations as *lalaki-ak* 'I am a man', *lolo-kami* 'we are three', *kad-kayu* 'how many are you', etc., in which we have no verb at all, but simply non-verbal predicates followed by pronominal subject. In his discussion of the so-called possessive verbs, which are regularly called passives in other Philippine grammars, he goes out of his way to inveigh against the theory that these forms are passives. He states emphatically that they are not passive but active, since they correspond regularly to the active verbs of other languages (p. 71 ft. nt. f.) Nevertheless he tells us in §§ 205, 208 that the logical subject stands in the genitive case. The author here confuses the grammatical with the logical aspect of the matter. From the standpoint of logic these constructions are certainly active, and there is no important Philippine grammar that does not fully recognize this, but from the standpoint of the grammatical construction they are certainly not active but passive, the grammatical subject being the thing that receives the action, and the person or thing that performs the action standing in the genitive or case of the possessor or agent (cf. my article, The expression of case by the verb in Tagalog, JAOS., Vol. XXVII, 1906, pp. 183-189). Leaving aside these peculiarities, which will occasion no great difficulty to anyone familiar with the general structure of Philippine languages, the chief defect in the treatment of the verb is that he gives no complete survey of the whole verbal system, but contents himself for the most part with the discussion of the various classes of forms without showing clearly how they are related with one another. Moreover part of the verbal forms are treated in one part of the grammar (§§ 167-177) and the rest in another (§§ 294-303) without any apparent reason.

The following points call for some comment. In § 33 the author analyses the article *si*, as consisting of two elements *s* and *i*; it is more probably a single particle (cf. my article Contributions to Comparative Philippine Grammar, JAOS., Vol. XXVII, 1906, p. 346). In § 39, he misunderstands the construction in such cases as *tja Olóshan ken Langágan* 'Oloshan and Langagan (two people)'; here *ken* is not a conjunction = 'and',

but a preposition or case sign as in the corresponding Tagalog construction *siná Pedro ni Juan* 'Pedro and Juan'. In § 40, he says that the origin of the ligatures is unknown; they are undoubtedly pronominal particles (cf. my article on The Tagalog ligature and analogies in other languages, JAOS., Vol. XXIX, 1908, pp. 227-231). The ligature *n* should be separated by a hyphen from the preceding word, as otherwise it is difficult to recognize its presence. In § 123, the comparison of equality is mentioned but no examples of it are given; in § 127 a way of expressing this important idea different from that mentioned in § 123, and not described in the text, is exemplified.

In the vocabulary, pp. 281-475, the chief defect is the difficulty of quickly recognizing the verbal root, as verbal forms are always given with pronominal suffixes. Otherwise it seems to be excellent.

The texts, comprising with notes about 100 pages, besides furnishing us with examples of connected discourse, give us some insight into the religion and the manners and customs of the Igorot.

With regard to the external features of the work, rather a strange impression is made on opening the book to find at the beginning before the title page a series of photographs of the Igorot unaccompanied by any introduction or explanation. The appearance of the printed page is marred by the fact that in Igorot words the accented vowels are usually in somewhat larger type and have a different slant from the other vowels, while the symbol for the vowel having a sound between *u* and *o* (an *u* larger than the other letters with an *o* within it) is exceedingly awkward, as also is the sign for the glottal catch, which is represented by a slanting stroke, viz., *sak/en* 'I'. The author's English is often a little strange, and contains a number of Germanisms. The large size of the book is a great disadvantage, rendering its use in field work in the Philippines very difficult to say the least. It would have been much better to have published it in two volumes, viz., I. Grammar, and II. Vocabulary and Texts, and to have still further decreased the size by the use of a somewhat smaller type.

Of the defects that have been pointed out above, the most serious are the unsatisfactory treatment of the verb, and the unwieldy size of the book itself, but even these defects are not vital in character. Upon the whole, Dr. Seidenadel's book is an admirable piece of work, and will form a most welcome addition to the material available for the study of the Philippine languages.

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Modern Greek-English Dictionary with a Cypriote Vocabulary. By A. KYRIAKIDES. Athens, Anesti Constantinides. London, William & Nigate, 1909. 15s.

English-speaking people learning Modern Greek and Greeks learning English will find a valuable aid in Kyriakides' Modern Greek Dictionary. The vocabulary is full; the shades of meaning finely drawn, the translation generally accurate. The sprinkling of the technical terms of the Arts and Sciences will be found useful and the introduction of characteristic proverbs interesting. There is, however, a tendency to purism; e. g., γελοιopoήσεις, εὐκταῖος, εὐσύνοπτος, ἐρυσιβώδης, καθ' ὅσον ἐφικτόν, ἐπιτετηδευμένον ὕψος, κωδός, etc., etc., are words and terms hardly ever used and barely understood by the ordinary Greek, and the translation of the Greek phrases into English might be simplified for the Greek student, e. g., τὸ φαρμάκι τοῦ ἔφαγε τὰ σωτικά, 'the poison corroded his entrails'; τὸ σχοινὶ ἐφαγώθη, 'the rope is frayed'; ὁ σκοπὸς τοῦ τραγουδιοῦ, 'the burden of his song'; μὴ γελείσαι, 'do not delude yourself'; αὐτὸ δὲν μοῦ γεμίζει τὸ μάτι, 'this is not a great matter'; ὁ στόμαχος ἐπεξεργάζεται τὰς τροφάς, 'the stomach elaborates food'; ἡ φυσικὴ κατάστασις ἐπιδρᾷ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕψους, 'the physique of a man exerts an influence over his moral faculties', etc., etc., could be rendered by English forms more readily understood.

Such ancient proverbs as: ὄψι θεῶν ἀλέουσι μύλοι, ἀλέουσι δὲ λεπτά, 'Ἄλλαι μὲν βουλαὶ ἀνθρώπων ἄλλα δὲ θεὸς κελεύει, would find a more fitting place in the *Paroemiographi Graeci*. Their modern equivalents would be more characteristic of the modern spirit and atmosphere: e. g., ὁ θεὸς ἀργεῖ μὰ δὲν ἀλυσμονεῖ; 'Ἄλλα σκαμπάζ' ὁ γαῖδαρος καὶ ἄλλα ὁ γαῖδουρολάτης. When we consider that this dictionary is destined by the author primarily for the use of Greeks sojourning among English-speaking people, and secondly, for the English, who are learning Greek; that ninety-five per cent. of the former have but a very limited knowledge of English, and that only of the most popular form, and that very few of the latter have any grammatical knowledge of Modern Greek, a Modern Greek Dictionary could not be made too simple for either. A closer adherence to the spoken idiom, a systematic rendering of the principal tenses with illustrations, the translation of the indicative by the indicative: e. g., βιάζω τὴν μύξαν μου, 'I blow my nose', not 'to blow one's nose', would have enhanced the value of Kyriakides' work. Dealing, however, with such an elusive subject as Modern Greek—elusive in matter and form—is a Herculean labor and when the last word is said the fact remains that Kyriakides' Modern Greek Dictionary is a valuable book and, to use his own words, a serviceable *vade mecum*.

ARISTOGEITON M. SOHO.

REPORTS.

ARCHIV FÜR LATEINISCHE LEXIKOGRAPHIE UND GRAMMATIK, Vol. XIV.

Pp. 1-24. J. Wackernagel, Zu den lateinischen Ethnika. I. A general sketch, confined for the most part to Republican times. The ethnika are in part of foreign origin both in Greek and in Latin, the designations used by the peoples themselves being adopted, and in part native. The Latins introduced many from the other Italic dialects, as well as from Greek. II. A special treatment of forms in -tanus. This corresponds to Greek -της, and is then (from the Augustan Age on) extended in its employment. Some words in -tanus have only an accidental resemblance to the ethnika.

24. E. Wölfflin, Ovile, Ziegenstall? In Tibull. 2. 1. 58, dux pecoris a pleno ovili, the term dux pecoris may be used of a ram, to avoid caper and caprile.

24. E. Wölfflin, Faustus. It is not necessary to assume with Bréal a neuter *favos, since faustus may be derived from favos (favor); cf. honestus from honos (honor).

25-40. S. Schlossmann, Tributum, tribuere, tribus. Tributum is not from tribus, but from tribuere, which originally meant "divide, share". Tribus is also from tribuere, not from tres.

40. E. Löfstedt, Stantes missi. Doubts Bréal's explanation of this phrase in ALL. IX. 599 (A. J. P. XXVIII. 341); Bréal overlooked Sen. Epist. 92. 26, where stans means "while he still stands and fights".

41-61. C. Weyman, Sprachliches und Stilistisches zu Florus und Ambrosius. In Flor. 1. 20. 2 would read quam mox with cod. Bamberg. and in 1. 4. 7, ne qui sexus. Other textual notes and comparisons with Ambrosius follow. The rhetorical nature of Florus' style becomes clearer by comparison with the Declamationes, Seneca Trag. and other rhetorical prose and poetry. Asyndeton of three members is common in his work. In the second part of his paper W. expresses the belief that Ambrosius wrote the "Jewish War" (Cf. Landgraf, ALL. XII. 465 ff.) Examples of his rhetorical style are cited. Ambrosius sometimes shows correspondence with Juvenal (e. g. X. 148 ff. and VIII. 215), but W. regards this as due to the use by both of

rhetorical commonplaces, not to direct influence of Juvenal on Ambrosius.

61-62. J. Denk, *Ληκυθος*, fem. lecythus, masc. Undoubted examples of a masculine lecythus occur in the Vulgate.

62. W. Heraeus, *Fritamentum*. Would read this word, instead of *fretamentis*, in Gell. 5. 1. 1; cf. Corp. Gloss. Lat. II. 580. 42.

63-74. G. Landgraf, *Bemerkungen zum sog. poetischen Plural in der lateinischen Prosa*. Both the gender and number of words were influenced by the requirements of metre. In considering the poetic plural those cases must be excluded in which the meaning of the singular and of the plural are not identical, a thing which is not always done by Mass (ALL. XII. 479 ff.), as well as those cases in which there is actually a plural force, such as *harenae*, *gemitus*, and the like. The plural both in prose and in poetry is used to denote not only repetition but also unbroken extent (in space or in time), as in *glacies* meaning "eternal ice". The influence of *pluralia tantum* sometimes affects the number of synonyms; so *arae* from *altaria* (cf. *inter aras et altaria*, Plin. Paneg. 1. 5.) *epistulae* from *litterae*. We must also recognize a poetic singular, e. g. *litera* in Ov. Heroid. 3. 1, *copia* in Plaut. Amph. 219, etc. Observing the necessary limitations, we find that the poetic plural is not so common as Keller assumes, nor does it play so insignificant a role as Dräger believes.

75-88. K. E. Goetz, *Waren die Römer blaublind?* An examination of the word *caeruleus* in prose and poetry leads Goetz to answer this question in the negative, so far as that word is concerned.

89-104. J. C. Jones, *Simul, Simulac und Synonyma*. A thorough historical study of the numerous words in Latin meaning "as soon as". The first instalment is devoted mainly to *simul* (*simulac*) and *quom extemplo*.

105-112. O. Hey, *Zur Enallage adiectivi*. *Enallage* is a modern term for which the ancient grammarians used *hypallage*. It consists in the transfer of an adjective attribute from the substantive to which it seems to belong to another substantive; e. g. *angusti claustra Pelori*, Aen. 3. 411. A history of the study of the subject is followed by a collection of interesting examples, including double *enallage*, as in Aen. 6. 268.

112. O. Hey, *Zur Aussprache des C*. Evidence for the assimilation of C in an epigram of Ausonius (52, p. 331 Peiper) where *caelo* forms a series with *salo* and *solo*.

113-118. E. Wölfflin, *Nach Zwanzig Jahren*. A survey of the work accomplished by the ALL., and a statement of the principles of modern Lexicography.

119-138. Miscellen. W. Heraeus, Zur Sprache der *Mulomedicina Chironis*. Lexical and grammatical notes.

W. Heraeus, *Sueris*. This word is the primitive of *suericulum*, Tir. Not. p. 103. 59. It is a nominative fem. and should be introduced into the lexicons as such, while the so-called genitive form *sueris* should be ejected.

Th. Sinko, *Lucricupido, -onis*. Would read *lucricupidonem* in Apul. dog. Plat. 2. 15, instead of *lucricupidum* (Skutsch, ALL. XII. 200; A. J. P. XXX. 217).

A. Klotz, *Nochmals eques = equus*. An examination of Gell. 18. 5. 4 ff. with the conclusion that *eques* does not connote *equus*, but means "horse and rider". The first case of *eques = equus* seems to be in the *Genethiacus* of Maximianus, Paneg. III. 8, p. 108. 18 Bähr.

E. Löfstedt, *Glossographische Beiträge*. Vergil-glosses and miscellaneous notes.

A. Döhring, *Vindex, iudex, und Verwandtes*. These words do not contain the idea denoted by *dicare* and *dicere*, but in *vindex* the idea is separation or division. This word is therefore to be connected with *vid-* in *vidua*, *dividere*, etc. *Iudex* is connected with *iubeo* (stem *ioudh*). *Amicire* is from *am-*, "embrace" found in *amo*. The etymology of *iacio* is also discussed.

139-152. Review of the Literature for 1903. 1904.

153-177. I. Müller, *Lateinische Uebersetzungsversuche einiger Briefe Schillers über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen*. After a discussion of the Latin form of the title the letters and the Latin version are given in parallel columns with notes.

177. J. Denk, *Aspis = scutum*. To the one example in the Thes. Ling. Lat. should be added *Priscillianus*, p. 24. 22 Sch.; cf. ALL. III. 314.

178. A. Becker, *Concorporalis, Kamerad, "Bundesbruder"*. Suggests this meaning (cf. ALL. XIII. 200) in *Ps.-Quint. decl. mai. XIV. 12*, p. 305 Burm., applied to the *collegia (corpora) iuventutis*, CIL. III. 4272, IX. 4696, etc.

179-184. R. Thurneysen, *Senium und desiderium*. Bücheler separates *senium*, "decay, wasting" from *senex* and *senium*, "old age", associating the former with Greek *οἶσος, οἰσέσθαι*, Germ. *schwinden*, Latin *sons*, etc. He believes that the meaning of *senium*, "wasting" would be inconsistent with the Roman feeling of respect for age. But *senescere* occurs in the sense of "pine away" in Varro, R. R. 2. 2. 17 and is used of the waning of the moon in 1. 37. 5. Festus derives *desiderium* from *sidus* (Paul. Fest. 75) and the connection of meaning has been much discussed. Th. connects it with the dog-star and the idea of weakness; cf. Eng. "languish for". *De-* is intensive; for the

simplex see Plin. N. H. 9. 58 *caniculae exortu sideratur*. We should expect the passive *desiderari*, but this is not a fatal objection. In the same way *considerare* is used of a group of stars.

184. E. Wölfflin, *Improsperare*. This adverb and the corresponding adjective occur first in Tacitus. In early Latin *prosperare pugnare* occurs commonly and we should expect also *improsperare* (cf. *feliciter* and *infeliciter*). But *prosperare* = *pro sperare* (from *spes, speris*), and *prosper* is a new form.

184. J. Cornu, *Zu Lucan* 6. 558. Would read *vacabat* with frag. N, instead of *vocabat*.

185-188. F. Glöckner, *Zum Gebrauch von olli bei Vergil*. This form is used by Vergil and Ennius in the repetition of certain Homeric phrases. In *Aen.* 1. 254 *olli* is to be taken with *natae*.

188. O. Keller, *Cetrus* = *cetra*. Note on *Corp. Gloss. Lat.* VI. 754.

189-209. E. Bickel, *Die Fremdwörter bei dem Philosophen Seneca*. Greek words are especially common in the philosophic writers, for example Cicero. In many cases the best MSS give these words in the Greek alphabet, but the use of Greek inflections is avoided as far as possible. The discussion of these questions is followed by an alphabetical list of Seneca's foreign words, in which those which occur only in his works are printed in spaced type. The number of these is small, and they occur mostly in the Epistles and in the criticisms of luxury. Numerous instances of the avoidance of Greek words, often by the use of metaphor, are cited.

209. O. Keller, *Zum Corpus inscript.* vol. I. Suggests *per clivom* for *fertilivom* in I. 1443, where Ritschl reads *fertilior*.

210. A. J. Kronenberg, *Corrugare* (*corrogare*). This word may stand in *Apul. de deo Socrat.* 7 in the sense of *fissiculare* (cf. *Mart. Cap.* 2. 28).

210. G. Lehnert, *Miserinus*. Would read *miserini* in *Ps.-Quint. decl. mai.* 1. 2 and 1. 5. The word occurs in *Apul. Metam.* 8. 21 and elsewhere (see *ALL.* XII. 96; *A. J. P.* XXX. 215). It forms another link between Apuleius and the *Declamationes*.

211-219. S. Schlossmann, *Stipendium*. Is derived from *stips* (*stipi-pendium*). It means first the tax to raise money for the pay of the soldiers, then money for military purposes in general, then war-tax, and finally tax in general.

219. E. Wölfflin, *Zu Catull.* 101. 2. Would read *advenio has seras, frater, ad inferias*, to avoid four dactyls. This reading if accepted, would show that Catullus visited his brother's grave on his return from Bithynia.

220. E. Wölfflin, *Deus agricola = Priapus*. In order to get this meaning would change the order of the distichs in Tibull. 1. 1. 14 ff.

221-232. E. Wölfflin, *Zum Chronicon Livianum von Oxyrhynchus*. Livy was not only epitomized as a whole, but certain parts of his great work were combined and epitomized: *bella* (Florus), speeches (see Suet. Dom. 10), *de viris illustribus* (Aur. Vict.), etc. We have 1) the Epitome, of the time of Tiberius; 2) the *Periochae*; 3) *Periochae* in the form of headings, not complete sentences; 4) *Chronicon*, lists of consuls, anecdotes, etc. The papyrus of Oxyrhynchus, ed. E. Kornemann, 1904, gives a portion of the last-named. There follows a discussion of the choice of subject, and of the language and style, with critical notes.

233-252. J. C. Jones, *Simul, simulac und Synonyma*. A continuation of the article on pp. 89 ff. *Cum primum, ut primum, ubi primum* are discussed, together with mixed forms and those due to analogy.

253-268. Rand-Hey, *Eine Predigt über Christi Höllenfahrt*. A reprint with comments of Rand's publication of the *Sermo de confusione Diaboli et Inferni* in *Mod. Phil.* II (1904). 261 ff. from a Vienna codex. Many of the errors were due to the false interpretation of abbreviations.

268. O. Hey, *Nachtrag zur Enallage adiectivi*. Additional bibliography.

268. F. X. Burger, *Quadrantal*. In *Caper Gr.* VII. 111. 5 K. for *quadrata amphora* would read *quadrantal amphora*, the second word being a definition of the first.

269-284. *Miscellen*. O. Hey, *Atacinus*. Suggests that this formation is on the analogy of *Reatinus*; also that the former was first coined by P. Varro and the latter by M. Varro.

O. Hey, *Präpositives enim*. Found in Plaut. and Terence, and then not until Apuleius, the cases between Terence and Apuleius being all doubtful or false. This use of *enim* occurs ten times in Apuleius. In some cases the editors have made changes in the text, but Hey believes that this usage occurs in Apuleius, and that in such instances *enim* stands first. So also in Jul. Val. and in the author of the *Itiner. Alex.* (see XIII. 207).

W. Heraeus, *Tacitus und Sallust*. A comparison of *Ann.* 4. 49 ff. and *Sall. Hist. fr.* II. 87 Maur., in which many close parallels are pointed out.

W. Heraeus, *Lepcis neben Leptis*. Occurs in the Medicean codex of Tacitus and in inscriptions. An examination of the MSS of other authors shows frequent examples of this form. *Leptis* also occurs.

W. Heraeus, Ein vermeintliches Cicerofragment. The frag. inc. in C. F. W. Müller's edition, vol. IV, part III, 413, refers to in Verrem act. sec. IV. 124; cf. Agroeceius, Gr. Lat. VII. 124. 22.

J. Denk, Aetna, masc. The masc. is not recognized by the Thes. Ling. Lat. I, 1160-62, but examples of it are recorded in Neue-Wagener, I. 954.

J. Denk, Zur Itala. Lexical notes.

S. Kraus, Das Teträpylon in Caesarea. The reference to the magnificence of this work in ALL. XIII. 50 is not an isolated one.

F. X. Burger, Penitus amputare. In Exuperantius 7 penitus should be taken with amputatae and not with applicarunt (cf. Landgraf-Weyman, ALL. XII. 568, line 21). Thirteen examples of penitus amputare are cited.

B. A. Müller, Eorum = suus. Would retain eorum in this sense in line 28, col. III of the Latin translation of the Didascalia apostolorum (Hauler). The confusion of eorum and suus was very common in Gallic Latin of the sixth century.

O. Keller, Vertauschung von D und L im Lateinischen. In CIL. VIII. Suppl. 12509 and 12510 Ἀδάριον = Alarium occurs three times. The editors have corrected this, but Keller is of the opinion that it should stand, citing lacrima, lingua, levir, olfacere, and other examples of change of d to l. In CIL. VIII. 12508 Δοῦε = Δοῦε (luem).

285-300. Review of the Literature for 1904. 1905.

301-316. J. Zeller, Vicus, platea, platiodanni. An examination of the meanings of these words in the inscriptions of Upper Germany. He regards the last as a hybrid of Latin and Celtic origin, corresponding to magistri vicorum.

316. E. Wölfflin, Haec inter. Supports Landgraf's conjecture of vertitur haec inter misero lux, Hor. Sermon. 2. 6. 59, comparing vertitur interea caelum (Enn. and Verg.). Horace uses haec inter instead of interea to emphasize the nominal idea in haec; it is not merely temporal.

317-360. E. Bednara, De sermone dactylicorum Latinorum quaestiones. A discussion of the words which for various reasons are not fitted for hexameter verse, as well as of the modifications resorted to and the substitutes employed.

360. J. Hausleiter, Contropatio. This word, a derivative of tropus from tropare, is used by Cassiodorus. See Complex. in epist. et acta apostolorum et apocalypsin, Maffei, Florence, 1721, from which H. cites two examples.

360. E. Löfstedt, Aperio. In the sermon published in ALL. XIV. 257 ff. aperuit (p. 263) is not intransitive, but se is to be supplied.

361-368. H. Stadler, *Neue Bruchstücke der Quaestiones medicinales des Pseudo-Soranus*. A publication, from a codex at Chartres, of the parts lacking in Rose, *Anecdota Graecolatina*.

368. B. A. Müller, *Lapis als Femininum bei Julius Valerius*. A new example in *Jul. Val.* 2. 18, p. 100. 22 Kübler, according to *cod. Taurinensis* a II. 2.

370-391. C. Thulin, *Fulgur, fulmen, und Wortfamilie*. The dictum of the writers on synonyms, that *fulgur* is used of the light and *fulmen* of the effect, does not hold for early Latin, and figurative uses must also be excepted. *Fulgur* is retained as the general word in religious formulas, in the technical writers, and in the poets, e. g., *Hor. Carm.* 2. 10. 12. In prose Varro and Livy always use *fulmen*, while Cic. and Verrius Flaccus use *fulgur* when referring to the Etruscan religion. There follows a discussion of the derivatives of these two words, of the epithets applied to lightning, and of its representation in art.

392. O. Keller, *Der Name Paestum*. The Latin equivalent of *Posidonia* is not easy to explain. From the name of the neighboring mountain we might get the following series: *Ποσιδιον, Ποισδιον, Ποίστιον, Ποίστον, Poistum, Poestum, Paestum* (cf. *Pomerium*, etc.). The word was perhaps connected by popular etymology with Oscan *pestlum*.

393-422. W. Heraeus, *Beiträge zur Bestimmung der Quantität in positionslangen Silben*. An exhaustive collection of the evidence from the grammarians, with comments.

423-435. Miscellen. A. Zimmermann, *Versuch einer Erklärung lateinischer Gentilsuffixe*. The gentile names are derived from *praenomina* and *cognomina* by various suffixes. Thus those in *-ilius* come from names in *-ulus*; cf. *familia* from *famulus*; *-inus* with the idea of origin comes to mean son of; *Marcellinus* from *Marcellus*: *-icius* and *-ius* mean belonging to; *-idius* is related to *-ius* as *-idus* is to *-us*: *-idius* and *-edius* are abstracted from names like *Didius* and *Fidius*, and are influenced by Greek names in *-μήδης*.

A. Klotz, *Flumen, fluvius, amnis* beim älteren Plinius. In his independent style, which is best seen when he is translating from Greek and not following a Latin source, Pliny regularly uses *flumen*. He uses *amnis* of Greek rivers, to avoid a heterogeneous form with masc. river-names; and also when some form of *fluo* occurs in the same clause.

J. Denk, *Agniculam facere*. Evidence is given for the view that this expression does not mean "sacrifice" in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* I. 1350. 50-51, but "imitate, represent", i. e. *se in ferinas species transformare*.

J. Denk, *Anabolarium = anabularium* (*Thes. Ling. Lat.* II. 13. 7). Evidence for the existence of this word.

J. Denk, *Zur Itala*. Antelena = antelaena, *μηλανή*, Schafpelz. A correction of *Thes. Ling. Lat.* II. 150. 47-55.

O. Hey, *Amica*. Notes the form *amicabus* in *CIL*. VI. 7671. In cases where there was no ambiguity *amicis* was used; e. g., *Pl. Bacch.* 712.

M. Niedermann, *Portica* = *porticus*. In the *Itala* fragment from the monastery of St. Paul in Kärnten *portae* q<uo>niam in *Ezechiel* 42. 5 should be *porticae*; the fem. form is found also in *Corp. Gloss. Lat.* V. 442. 11.

O. Keller, *Hadra* = *lapis*. Hence *Hadria*, "stone-city" from the breakwater in the harbor, and perhaps also the sea-name. *Hadra*, -ae, f. = *lapis* is found in the *Leyden* and *Paris scholia* on *Juv.* 4. 40, not in the *schol. Bern.* on *Verg. Georg.* 2. 158, as *Georges* records it. *Atrium* may perhaps be derived from this same word, which seems to be of *Italic* origin, since "blackened chamber" is not appropriate to some uses of the word, if to any.

436-448. Review of the Literature for 1905.

448. Corrections of *ALL.* XIV. 276, 288, and 278.

449-477. W. Heraeus, *Beiträge zur Bestimmung der Quantität in positionslangen Silben*. Further evidence from the grammarians.

477. J. Denk, *Aspergo*, *ἀσπράω*. From *abs-pergo*, a correction of *Thes. Ling. Lat.* II. 817-821.

478. E. Wölfflin, *Zu den Perfecta auf -erunt und -ere*. The form *-ere* is the prevalent one in *Cato*, *Orig.* and in *Sall.* *Caesar* on the other hand has but two cases, both in the *Bell. Civ.* It is common in hexameter verse. The form in vulgar Latin is *-erunt* and not *-ere*. *Vitruvius* prefers the former, and although *Petronius* has 13 cases of *-ere*, against 86 of *-erunt*, his use of the form is due to rhythmical considerations, since he never uses *-ere* at the end of a sentence, and confines its use to verbs with long penults.

479-507. C. Weyman, *Die editio princeps des Niceta von Remesiana, des Sängers des Te Deum laudamus*. A notice of A. E. Burn's *Niceta of Remesiana*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1905, with additional observations on the text and on the language. An index is appended.

508. H. A. Strong, *Zu den Hisperica famina*. Notes on eight passages.

509-514. C. Thulin, *Fulgur, fulmen, und Wortfamilie*. The metaphorical uses.

515-523. E. Wölfflin, *Die dreifache Alliteration in der zweiten Vershälfte*. A consideration of alliterative combinations of adjective and noun (*caeca cupido*, *in diti domo*, etc.), of alliterative

series of two words each (Plaut. Capt. 904 ff.), of complete verses composed of words beginning with the same letter, or repeating the same sound (Naev. and Enn.). Alliteration is not of Greek origin, but Ennius transferred it from the Saturnian to the hexameter, to make his verse pleasant to Roman ears. Vergil followed him to some extent, but alliteration became much less common in the later writers of epic poetry, and Lucilius, Lucretius, and Ovid make but little use of it. Plautus is so rich in alliteration that imitation of the Saturnian in this respect cannot be assumed in his case.

524-531. J. C. Jones, *Simul, simulac und Synonyma*. The combinations with *mox*.

532-604. E. Bednara, *De sermone dactylicorum Latinorum quaestiones*. A further consideration of the means of avoiding forms and words not suited to hexameter verse. Syntactical remedies: plural for singular and vice versa, use of the vocative and other modifications in the cases, peculiarities due to enallage, hendiadys, etc.

605-610. Review of the Literature for 1905, 1906.

610. Necrology. Prof. Wilhelm von Christ.

JOHN C. ROLFE.

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Janvier.

Raymond Weeks. *Études sur Aliscans* (suite et fin). 43 pages. This final instalment of the article contains: X. Résumé des précédents articles; XI. Éléments qui composent Aliscans; XII. Conclusion. "Tout le monde admettra . . . que la modification ne peut s'être produite que de deux façons: 1° par un développement lent, et, pour ainsi dire, organique et naturel; 2° par l'incorporation d'épisodes venus d'ailleurs."

Paul Meyer. *Les Plus Anciens Lapidaires français*. 27 pages. This first instalment contains: I. Du livre de Pannier sur les lapidaires français; II. Du premier lapidaire publié par Pannier; III. Du texte contenu dans le ms. B. N. fr. 14969. IV. Lapidaires du ms. B. N. fr. 14969. This article is a new handling of a subject whose treatment had been only partially completed by Léopold Pannier when he died on Nov. 9, 1875.

Arthur Piaget. *Le Songe de la Barge de Jean de Werchin, Sénéchal de Hainaut*. 40 pages. Voltaire looked upon Jean de Werchin as the original in the flesh of the immortal Don Quixote of Cervantes, but the author of this article does not think that he

deserves such high honor. The poem here published is extant in a unique manuscript now at Chantilly.

M.-J. Minckwitz. Notice de quelques Manuscrits du Trésor de Brunet Latin. 9 pages. The author here discusses the value of the two fragmentary manuscripts preserved at Berne.

Hugh A. Smith. Some Remarks on a Berne Manuscript of the Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne et de Godefroy de Bouillon. 9 pages. This article is intended to correct the erroneous statements of A. G. Kruger published in the Romania in 1894.

Mélanges. G. Huet, Romans arturiens et récits irlandais : un nouveau rapprochement. Giulio Bertoni, L'Histoire du chansonnier provençal ambrosien D 465 inf. No. 25. Mario Roques, Roumain alnic, alnicie. A. Kluyver, Tropare, contropare. A. Thomas, Note complémentaire sur vernis.

Comptes rendus. Willy Schulz, Das Handschriftenverhältnis des Covenant Vivian (A. Terracher). E. K. Chambers and F. Sidgwick, Early English Lyrics, amorous, divine, moral and trivial (L. Brandin). G. T. Northup, El Libro de los gatos (A. Morel-Fatio: "bien conduite"). A. Paz y Mélia, Cancionero y obras en prosa de Fernando de la Torre (A. Morel-Fatio). Clemente Merlo, Grillotalpa vulgaris (A. Thomas). A. Ernout, Les éléments dialectaux du vocabulaire latin (A. Thomas). Hugo Wendel, Die Entwicklung der Nachtonvokale aus dem Lateinischen ins Altprovenzalische (A. Thomas). Paul Duchon, Grammaire et Dictionnaire du patois bourbonnais (A. Thomas). J.-E. Choussy, Le Patois bourbonnais: Simple essai étymologique (A. Thomas). Henri Lemaitre et Henri Clouzot, Trente Noël's poitevins du XV^e au XVIII^e siècle (A. Jeanroy).

Périodiques. Revue des langues romanes, LI, janv.-oct. (P. M.). Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, XXXII. 1-2 (M. Roques, with long discussion of etymologies). Bulletin historique et philologique, année 1906 (P. M.).

Chronique. Obituary notices of Georges Steffens and Ed. Wölfflin. "L'étude du français parlé au Canada, brillamment inaugurée il y a près de vingt-cinq ans par le prof. A. M. Elliott, de Baltimore (voir Rom., XV, 158), et pour laquelle le Bulletin du parler français au Canada fournit tant d'excellents matériaux, attire de plus en plus l'attention des linguistes du Canada et des États Unis."

Livres annoncés sommairement. 22 titles. William Averill Stowell, Old-French Titles of Respect in Direct Address (P. M.). Ch. Eugley Mathews, Cist and Cil: A Syntactical Study (H. Yvon).

Avril.

A. Thomas. Fragments de Farces, Moralités, Mystères, etc. (B. N. nouv. acq. fr. 10660). 19 pages. The well-known Munich

bookseller L. Rosenthal has recently presented to the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris a collection of manuscript fragments recovered from old bindings. Fourteen fragments are here inventoried, and in part published. They throw new light on the Mediaeval French stage.

Gertrude Schoepperle. Chievresfoil. 23 pages. After a comparison of numerous legends similar to Marie de France's lay, the authoress concludes that the French form of the story may go back to an original Pictish legend with Drostan as its hero.

Auguste Longnon. Nouvelles Recherches sur les Personnages de Raoul de Cambrai. 35 pages. The author endeavors to refute the new theory of the origin of Raoul de Cambrai recently advanced by M. Joseph Bédier. He does not believe that the annals of Flodoardus were known to the clerks of Cambrai.

Paul Meyer. Les Plus Anciens Lapidaires français (2^e article). 32 pages. V. Du texte contenu dans le ms. 2200 de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève. VI. Rédactions en prose du lapidaire *Evax fut un mult riche reis*. Numerous extracts from the manuscripts are here published.

Amos Parducci. La canzone di "Mal Maritata" in Francia nei secoli XV-XVI. 40 pages. The author traces the history of this popular lyric poem during the latter portion of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance period in France, remarking that it has lived among the people down to the present day.

Comptes rendus. Werner Hensel, Die Vögel in der provenzalischen und nordfranzösischen Lyrik des Mittelalters (A. Thomas). Karl Reuschel und Karl Gruber, Philologische und volkskundliche Arbeiten Karl Vollmöller zum 16 Oktober 1908 dargeboten (A. Thomas). Arthur Piaget, Le Miroir aux Dames (A. Thomas). Eugène Rolland, Flore populaire, tome VII (A. Thomas). Gustav Körting, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der französischen Sprache (A. Thomas). Andreas C. Ott, Eloi d'Amerval und sein "Livre de la Diablerie" (Émile Picot).

Périodiques. Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, CVIII-CXXI, 1-2 (Salverda De Grave). Studi medievali, I. 2-II. 4 (P. M.). Annales du midi, XX (A. Thomas). Reale istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere, Rendiconti, série II, T. XLI-XLII.

Chronique. Obituary notice of Dr. Dejeanne. Summary of Philologie et linguistique, a memorial volume in honor of the sixtieth birthday of M. Louis Havet. La Société internationale de dialectologie romane.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 11 titles. James Geddes, Study of an Acadian-French Dialect spoken on the North Shore

of the Baie des Chaleurs ("l'étude de M. Geddes est faite avec soin et compétence").

Juillet.

A. Thomas. Notes étymologiques et lexicographiques. 53 pages. This first instalment of a longer article is preceded by a bibliography of dialect dictionaries for the French provinces containing fifty-two titles. After this the etymologies of some fifty-one words are studied as localized usually in one or more provinces, Canada being included in the list.

E. Philipon. Le suffixe -in, -ina en Moyen-Rhodanien. 12 pages. This article is a contribution to the ethnographical and etymological studies of M. Muret on the place-names of South-Eastern France, which was successively occupied by the Ligurians, the Latins and the Germans.

A.-T. Baker. Vie de Saint Panuce. 7 pages. The Duke of Portland owns a French manuscript of the thirteenth century containing a collection of lives of saints, of which one is here published. The manuscript is now preserved in the library of Welbeck Abbey, but in the fourteenth century it belonged to a convent at Campsey near Woodbridge in Suffolk County, as appears from an inscription on the last leaf. The Vie de Saint Panuce was probably composed by Nicole Bozon.

Mélanges. Gaston Raynaud, Le jeu de la Briche ou la Briche-Musard. J.-A. Herbert, The Monk and the Bird (mentions H. L. D. Ward, Catalogue of Romances, Vol. III, as forthcoming). A. Thomas, Le suffixe -trix en Franche-Comté. A. Thomas, Les Moules de Cayeux. A. Thomas, Meuslic dans Girart de Roussillon. A. Thomas, La Provenance des Regrets et Complaintes des Gosiers Alterez. P. M., Mélanges anglo-normands: I. Correspondance amoureuse; II. Chanson d'amour; III. Recette médicale.

Comptes rendus. J. Spanke, Zwei altfranzösische Minnesinger: Die Gedichte Jehan's de Renti und Oede's de la Couroierie (A. Jeanroy). Joseph Bédier et Pierre Aubry, Les Chansons de Croisade (A. Jeanroy). Dr. Emil Lorenz, Die Kastellanin von Vergi (Gaston Raynaud). Bernard et Henri Prost, Inventaires mobiliers et extraits de comptes des ducs de Bourgogne de la maison de Valois (1363-1477), tome I et tome II, fasc. 1 (P. M.). Wilhelm Friedmann, Altitalienische Heiligenlegenden nach der Handschrift XXXVIII, 111 der Bibl. Nazionale Centrale in Florenz (Giulio Bertoni). G. Kalfß, Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche letterkunde, Tomes II-IV (G. Huet). K. Nyrop, Grammaire historique de la langue française, Tome III (A. Thomas). A. Silvani, I libri della Genesi e di Ruth figurati e illustrati in antico veneto (G. Bertoni). Achille Ratti, Vita di Bonacosa da Beccalore (1352-1381) ed una lettera

spirituale a Bianca Visconti di Savoia (G. Bertoni). Ch. Petit-Dutaillis, Documents nouveaux sur les mœurs populaires et le droit de vengeance dans les Pays-Bas au XV^e siècle (P. M.). V. Chichmaref, Guillaume de Machaut, Poésies lyriques (Gaston Raynaud).

Périodiques. Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, XXXII, 3 (Mario Roques, with long note on H. O. Sommer, Zur Kritik der altfrz. Artusromane in Prosa). Revue de Philologie française et provençale, XX-XXI (P. M.). Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, X (P. M.). Jahresbericht des Instituts für rumänische Sprache zu Leipzig, XIII (Mario Roques).

Chronique. Obituary notices of Jean Bastin and Karl von Reinhardstöttner. Controversy between Auguste Longnon and Joseph Bédier concerning Raoul de Cambrai.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 15 titles. K. Bartsch, Chrestomathie de l'ancien français, neuvième édition revue et corrigée par L. Wiese. Guy Everett Snively, The Æsopic Fables in the Miroir Historial of Jehan de Vignay (P. M.). Paget Toynbee, Dante in English Literature from Chaucer to Cary (c. 1380-1844).

Octobre.

Paul Meyer. Les Plus Anciens Lapidaires français (3^e article). 72 pages. VII. Le lapidaire alphabétique en vers. Publication of a long French poem found in a twelfth or thirteenth century manuscript preserved in the library of Jesus College, Cambridge. Extracts from several Latin lapidaries are given by way of illustration, together with a facsimile of the Old-French manuscript. Copious notes and a vocabulary are also appended.

A. Thomas. Notes étymologiques et lexicographiques (suite). 34 pages. This second and last instalment of the article discusses the etymologies of some twenty-six words, chiefly dialectal.

Gustave Cohen. Le Théâtre à Paris et aux environs à la fin du XIV^e siècle. 9 pages. There has always been a considerable gap in the history of literature in France between the liturgical drama of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and the great mysteries of the fifteenth century. The present article seeks to partially fill this gap by giving some notes on the drama at the close of the fourteenth century.

Mélanges. A. Thomas, Alain Chartier en Hongrie. Mosemiller, Manceau ameturée. Mosemiller, Berrichon fenée. Ferdinand Lot, Encore Vivien et Larchamp: Brève réponse à M. Hermann Suchier.

Comptes rendus. Émil Levy, Petit dictionnaire provençal-français (A. Thomas). Georges Doutrepont, La littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne, Philippe le Hardi, Jean sans Peur, Philippe le Bon, Charles le Téméraire (A. Piaget). Annibale Tenneroni, Inizi di antiche poesie italiane religiose e morali (Giulio Bertoni).

Périodiques. Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, XXXII. 4-6 (Mario Roques, with discussion of etymologies). Revue des langues romanes, LI, nov.-déc., LII, janv.-fév., mars-avril (P. M.). Jahresbericht des Instituts für rumänische Sprache zu Leipzig, XIV (Mario Roques).

Chronique. Obituary notices of Eugène Rolland, James Bruyn Andrews and Grégoire Tocilescu. Memorial volume for Prof. Fr. B. Gummere of Haverford College. Discovery of an autograph manuscript of Petrarch at Berlin.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 11 titles. C. H. Grandgent, Dante Alighieri, La Divina Commedia, Vol. I, Inferno. Fr. Bliss Luquiens, The Reconstruction of the Original Chanson de Roland (P. M.). P. M., À Propos du texte de Joinville.

GEORGE C. KEIDEL.

BRIEF MENTION.

Ritschl, whom I adored afar off when I followed his lectures in 1852-1853 (A. J. P. V 340), was a sworn foe of rhymed translations from classical poetry, and I recall the scornful expression of his mobile countenance as he held up to our derision a new rendering of Horace in German rhyme and read out with contemptuous emphasis the opening of Od. II 2: Sallust, du bist dem Erz nicht hold. If teachers only realized the effect of their *obiter dicta* on their pupils, they might be a little more careful in their utterances. From that time, doubtless, dates my abandonment of rhyme and my long series of failures in the rendering of Greek and Latin verse into the metres of the original (A. J. P. XXX 354). 'The Restraint of Rhyme too often forces the ingenious Translator to abandon the true sense of the Poet and for the sake of a sounding Word, to put in something of his own', says old Dunster, a quotation which I owe to a lover of Horace, who has appended to a privately printed translation of the poet a string of protests against the meretriciousness of the modern Muse, who walks and minces as she goes and makes a tinkling with her feet. Of course, every reader can supply specimens of passages that have been utterly ruined by rhyme, but there is just one illustration that will not be suppressed. It has haunted me for thirty odd years, because the exigency of rhyme has spoiled the dramatic propriety of a speech in the Odyssey and the dramatic propriety of the speeches in the Odyssey is a matter of perpetual wonder to the student of Homer. It is hardly possible to refine too much on the subtlety of the workmanship or, if you choose, the fidelity of the mirror. In the final scene between Odysseus and Nausikaa, the daughter of Alkinoos says:

χαῖρε ξεῖν' ἵνα καὶ ποτ' ἐὼν ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ
μνήσῃ ἐμεῦ, ὅτι μοι πρότῃ ζῶάγρι' ὀφέλλεις.

The ἵνα is in the air. So much the better. It is feminine syntax, the same feminine syntax that one recognizes in Hera's confused reply to Zeus when he awakes in anger to find how she has beguiled him (O 35 foll.). It is pitiful to read what some grammarians have written about the exceptional construction of the Hera passage and the irregular use of what I have called the feminine negative (A. J. P. XXXI 71). These are they who have never read the novels of the late Charles Reade. More's the pity for he knew something about woman's language (A. J. P. V 68; cf. IX 151). Now in the days when I tried to interpret

the charm of the *Odyssey* to an audience of non-Grecians, I was much given to drawing on Worsley. His romantic rendering is as seductive practically as it is hopelessly wrong theoretically and I needed his lucent syrop for my philtre. But what does he make of the passage, thanks to the fatality of rhyme?

Hail stranger guest! When fatherland and wife
Thou shall revisit, then remember me
Since to me first thou owest the price of life.

Surely, at such a time a wife is an inexpressive she.

And yet I have no quarrel with Worsley, nor have I any quarrel with Professor GILBERT MURRAY's translation of *Euripides' Iphigenia in Tauris* (Oxford University Press). Professor MURRAY's success in conveying the thrill of his conception of Hellenism to those that are without the pale entitles him to the admiration and the gratitude of all professed Grecians, and I mention this, his most recent study, only to express my appreciation of his easy mastery of a difficult art. To translate the choruses into rhyme, for that there is precedent enough, but to go back to the days of Dryden and put bells on the toes of the dialogue as well as jingling rings on the fingers of the singers shews the supreme confidence of a genius that defies criticism. The best plan for the Grecian would be to read Professor MURRAY's *Iphigenia* as if it were an original poem and try to find in it the charm that Professor MURRAY's renderings have for those who see Euripides only through his eyes. It is a truer vision than some of us had when we were under the thrall of the once prevalent school of German aestheticism, a truer vision than was accorded even to Jebb (A. J. P. XXVIII 483). I myself do not need the adjustment that was eminently necessary for me fifty years ago. No one who has lived and loved and suffered, who has been taught by the rude discipline of war the ineluctable hold of the native soil, no one who has learned the deeper meaning of everyday things and everyday people, who has learned to answer to the call of the woods, and above all to the call of the sea, no one with such a training needs a vindication of Euripides as a poet. My business ought rather to be with Professor MURRAY's text-edition of Euripides which has been happily completed and of which much good has been said by those who are more competent to judge than I am of his constitution of the text. But as I turn from the translation to the original I am reminded of those who are ready to say, in illustration of a familiar thesis, that an intelligent reader, innocent of Greek, will get much more out of GILBERT MURRAY's translation or transcription than can possibly be squeezed out of the

original by the schoolboy, who painfully puts together what are to him the disjected members of a Greek sentence and clothes them, not with the vernacular—that might be amusing—but with the piebald lingo that has been handed down from schoolmaster to schoolmaster as the proper attire for the classics. To the true Grecian a little Greek is better than none. Even the proper names are untranslatable. The finest line in Racine, says Gautier, is 'la fille de Minos et de Pasiphaë', which occurs suspiciously early in the *Phèdre*, just the position in which favorite verses are apt to occur. But 'Minos and Pasiphaë' in English has no such effect as 'Minos et Pasiphaë' in French, and Pope's *Iphigénia* and Professor MURRAY's *Iphigénia* lack the dactylic surge of the Greek *Ἰφιγένεια*, whose other and queenlier name is *Ἰφιάνασσα*. Listen: ἡ ν' Αὐλίδι σφαγεῖσ' ἐπιστέλλει τάδε | ζῶσ' Ἰφιγένεια, τοῖς ἐκεῖ δ' οὐ ζῶσ' ἔτι:

She that was slain in Aulis, dead to Greece
Yet quick, Iphigenia, sendeth peace.

'Sendeth peace', peace where there is no peace and 'Greece' where there is no Greece, but only the *ἐκεῖ* of the world of the loved and lost. And so against my firm resolve I am launched into the discussion of the hopelessness of translation, which is really an apology for my own acknowledged failures.

Translation is, indeed, a hopeless task, but this very hopelessness is, in a sense, the measure of its usefulness as an initiation into the spirit of the author and of the language. No better way of introducing the novice to the *curiosa felicitas* of Horace than a close study of the *Commentarius ad modum Minelli*, the *ordo* of the Dauphin edition. Every change of a word is for the worse and the schoolboy learns why. In like manner, I am grateful to that fine scholar, Émile Egger, from whose *Grammaire Comparée* I learned sixty years ago the pedagogical value of the Paraphrase of the *Iliad*. And so it comes to pass that when I am forced to compare a translation, line by line, with the original, I go to school again and my heart is stirred to sympathy with the man who feels the original doubtless better than I do, though perhaps he is less meticulous. Πέλοψ δ' Ταντάλειος with which Euripides opens the I. T. is a problem. To an Attic the patronymic meant so much more than it did to the Boeotian, who used it familiarly. & Κλεινίου παῖ heightens the tone of & παῖ Κλεινίου, itself high enough. We are in the sphere of & Κρόνιε παῖ Πέας. No wonder then that an admirable Grecian like Professor MURRAY is not content with 'Tantalid Pelops', but finds himself moved to prefix 'Child of the man of torment and of pride', and so carries us back to the First Olympian of Pindar to which both Tantalos and Pelops belong. However, the same problem recurs in τῆς

Τυνδαρείας θυγατρός, but as the chief thing about Tyndareos in his marital partnership with Zeus, we have to be satisfied with 'Clytemnestra', though we are tempted to use the language of Amphitryon: *τίς τὸν Διὸς ξύλλεκτρον οὐκ ὀδεν βροτῶν*;—*θοαῖς ἀν' ἵπποις* calls up to the mind of the Greek scholar a very different image from 'on flying steeds'. He remembers out of the same First Olympian Poseidon's *χρυσείαισιν ἀν' ἵπποις*, and he thinks of Pelops and his *δίφρον τε χρύσειον πτεροῖσιν τ' ἀκάμαντας ἵππους*, whereas 'on flying steeds' transports one to Rubens and his famous picture of the Rape of the Daughters of Leucippus by the Dioscuri. To be sure, the horse is sometimes a very inconvenient animal to the translator, and 'steed' is generally accepted as a poetical equivalent. So Jebb, accounted a prince of translators, renders *εὐίππου τᾶσδε χώρας* 'this land of goodly steeds'. By the way *εὐ-* in compounds is often negligible and I should prefer to say 'Land of steeds' as Burns says 'Land of cakes'. True, 'steed' is a fine old A.-S. word, but it means 'stallion' when it does not mean 'mare', and the Authorized Version which is chiefly concerned with chariots does not use it. So here we have to do with a chariot. The steed does not work so well in harness and we feel the same incongruity that amuses us when we read:

Barbs, barbs, alas! how swift you flew
Her neat postwagon trotting in.

The little word *τε* in *Μενέλαος Ἀγαμέμνων τε* is a resurgent trouble. Every Grecian feels the difference between *τε* and *καί*, but to reproduce it would cost more than it comes to and would thus violate one of the great canons of translation. *τε* links. Combine it with *καί* and we have a pair of handcuffs, a pair of nippers such as Sokrates claps on the notorious brace of sophists, *ὃ Εὐθύδημέ τε καὶ Διονυσόδωρε*. But despite the canon just cited Professor MURRAY is overborne by his feeling for *τε* and interprets it by 'linked king with king'. All this is fourth-form erudition, doubtless, but the fact abides that for everyone who knows Greek at all this fantastic procession of caps and bells dances down the margin of every translation from beginning to end. It utterly unfits the grammarian for the right kind of criticism and the 'poor soul' is justly stigmatized as a 'mean spirit'.

It has been said of Flaubert that imagination was his Muse and reality his conscience. Flaubert is not a model for a syntactician, but there are to my mind worse formulae for the kind of study to which I am addicted than this characteristic of Flaubert. No patient assemblage of details will take the place of vision (A. J. P.

XXIII 113), but there is no vision that is worthy of record without the patient assemblage of details. The false scent that we grammarians follow so often is really a matter of imagination and I do not know a finer picture of certain investigators than the one Xenophon furnishes in his *Kynegetikos* 3, 10 where he is telling of a pack of poor harriers: μεταθέουσι γὰρ αἱ μὲν ἀσαφῆς, αἱ δὲ πολὺ ὑπολαμβάνουσαι, δοξάζουσαι δὲ ἑτεραι, αἱ δὲ πεπλασμένως, φθονερῶς δὲ ἄλλαι ἐκκυνόουσι παρὰ τὸ ἔχνος διὰ τέλους συμπαραφερόμεναι. Let me give Mr. Dakyns's version. I cannot improve on it for my present purpose. 'They run on without clear motive, some of them; others taking too much for granted; and a third set simply play at hunting; or from pure jealousy, keep questing about beside the line, continually rushing and tumbling over one another'. I have not made up my mind whether I belong to αἱ δὲ πολὺ ὑπολαμβάνουσαι or to δοξάζουσαι δὲ ἑτεραι, but I have had no little amusement from time to time in watching the antics of the rest of the pack. Some months ago I was indiscreet enough to follow Stahl in his couraging over the field of the Greek verb, and though I was not nearly so much bored as I pretended to be, I came home dogtired after the hunt and closed the volume of the *Syntax des griechischen Verbums*, never to open it again for continuous study. Those who know the subject know that the essentials of the second half are contained in the first and why should I be at the pains of looking up the various passages in which the A. J. P. has anticipated both facts and doctrine or protested in advance against Stahl's teachings? Such a proceeding would savor of arrogance unless it were accompanied by references to the sources of my own wisdom—which are often hidden from me—forgotten dissertations, stray notes in a mass of commentaries, chance utterances of some dead teacher. My syntactical researches have heightened my personal enjoyment of Greek literature and that suffices me at the close of my long career. The rest of the pack can quarrel as much as they please about the first smell—real or fancied. And yet a number of the Journal without some allusion to Greek syntax as a number of the Journal without some quotation from Pindar would give rise to the suspicion that I had lost my bearings. ἦ ῥ', ὦ φίλοι, κατ' ἀμενσίπορον τρίοδον ἐδινήθην ὀρθὰν κέλευθον ἰὼν τοπρίν. And having thus done my devoir to Pindar, I proceed to remark on a couple of syntactical matters that have forced themselves on my attention of late.

The doctrine of the cases is the opprobrium of syntacticians (A. J. P. II 88; XXIII 17). It was said by them of old time that σῶμα and σῆμα were one and I am tempted to say that πτώσις and πτώμα are one and that the carcasses of the cases have fallen in the wilderness of vain speculation. The verb,—if there be such a thing as the verb,—is the soul, and the soul according to Plato

is the *prius* that clothes itself with matter, but the process of putting on is a very fanciful one. The verb itself is not a simple problem as we have seen, but the noun is infinitely more difficult. The verb can be disposed of after a fashion in a catechism, but the noun belongs to the world of things. And you cannot bet on the cases. *ἰνδρεῖν*, said an American Orbilius sixty years ago, ought to take the dative, and so he changed all the accusatives to datives and earned the everlasting contempt of Greek scholars. He was only one degree removed, however, from Cobet, whose uniformitarian soul kicked at *καταρᾶσθαι* with the dative (A. J. P. XXIII 23). The definitions are too vague to be of any practical service. The outer object evolves itself from the inner object, but once evolved, it goes its own sweet way. When the free love marriage of verb and noun is sanctioned by usage, by common law, we try to understand it, or pretend to understand it. For my part I find no comfort in elastic definitions. 'Elastic definition' is a contradiction in terms and I am not surprised to find that in a recent number of the IGF. XXVII 121 f. Brugmann quarrels with the so-called accusative of respect (Akkusativ der Beziehung), though he finds himself obliged to use the terminology. I cannot undertake to follow here his evolution of the use and his restrictions of it. 'Beziehung', 'respect', 'extent'—all these terms instead of clearing up the matter stand between the student of language and the true conception. Let such an one strengthen his vision by a contemplation of the so-called accusative in Hebrew and the Aryan accusative will be a bagatelle.

I have had occasion to tell the story of the Greek infinitive a mort of times in the last thirty years, how it began with the dative or, if you choose, the dative-locative of a verbal noun and won its way to being the representative of the finite verb in oratio obliqua; how the dative case lent itself to the conception of finality, a finality which survives in the accusative of result into which the dative was deadened, the article being as it were the seal of the coffin; how the early time cared not to divide finality into purpose and tendency, purpose that lies in the individual, tendency that resides in the nature of things. If man does not purpose, the gods are then to purpose. Those Filipinos who, according to STARR (*Filipino Riddles*, World's Book Co., Yonkers, 1900), call everything that is, a block as well as a blockhead, 'a creature of God', occupy the primitive plane. The world is full of gods, as the first Greek philosopher said, and the Greek of Homer's time is as the poet of Tennyson's time, who recognizes an increasing purpose in the history of the world. The world is full of demons to thwart the purpose of the individual. One returns home to wed. No. One returns home to die. It was not until after Homer that the distinction between

purpose and tendency was formally made. The purpose became a quasi-purpose and *ἔοτε* was the sign thereof, and *ἔοτε* (*ῶς*) with the infinitive gave the quasi-purpose as *ῶς* with the participle *was* used afterwards to give the quasi-fact. All this I had threshed out, the essentials of it, long before some of the monographs that Mr. CHARLES JONES OGDEN has paraded in the bibliography of his dissertation—*De Infinitivi Finalis vel Consecutivi Constructione apud priscos poetas Graecos* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1909). But so far as Dr. OGDEN is concerned, I have written in vain, for his reference to my Syntax is meaningless and I doubt whether he has studied Berdolt or he might have been prompted by Berdolt to read what I have written on the subject of the consecutive infinitive, part only of which has passed over into Goodwin's Moods and Tenses. Those who are acquainted with my views will not be surprised, therefore, that I do not see much benefit to be gained from Dr. OGDEN's categories in a domain in which the absence of discrimination is the important feature. Of course, Dr. OGDEN puts STAHL's monumental book on his list. Whether he has studied STAHL or not is another matter, but I will allow myself to give a summary of STAHL's view in order to shew the irreconcilable antipodism. In my discussion of the matter I start with the finality of the infinitive as I should start with the personality of the dative. In his chapter on the consecutive and final infinitive STAHL starts with the consecutive. Both consecutive infinitive and final infinitive, he says, have the common notion of consequence. Only in the final infinitive the consequence is aimed at; and then he proceeds to distinguish between the infinitive of 'Zweck' and the infinitive of 'Absicht'. 'Zweck', he is good enough to tell us, is objective, and lies in the nature of the thing itself. 'Absicht' has to do with the subjective 'Zweck' of the subject. But this playing with an objective object and a subjective object does not bring the veteran explorer much practical comfort. What he calls 'Zweck' we call 'tendency', what he calls 'Absicht' we call 'purpose', but he finds great difficulty in distinguishing everywhere between 'Folge' and 'Zweck' and still greater in distinguishing between 'Zweck' and 'Absicht'. I wish the translator of STAHL all joy, for here as elsewhere the eminent scholar makes use of German synonyms that have no exact counterparts in English (A. J. P. XXIX 270).

In his first edition of the *Wasps of Aristophanes* VAN LEEUWEN had not hit upon the three story arrangement of his notes, critical apparatus, exegetical commentary, proof-texts. This arrangement, which is followed in the later editions of the plays and has much in its favor, obtains in the new edition of the *Wasps* also. At this late day, it is not necessary to give

expression to any general recommendation of VAN LEEUWEN'S Aristophanic work, which has been cordially welcomed by all lovers of the poet everywhere and has become a necessary part of the scholar's apparatus. His commentary is sharp, clear, sensible and individual. Individual, did I say? An achromatic edition of Aristophanes would be an abomination and yet no sympathetic commentator of Aristophanes reflects the poet's smile at the same angle with his fellows and it is just here that criticism is apt to come in. VAN LEEUWEN is not afraid of criticism and lays stress upon his originality. True, he says that he has availed himself of studies that have appeared since the first edition of the *Wasps*, notably Starkie's edition (A. J. P. XIX 113), and he professes to have profited by the strictures of the philological press, but 'ante omnia' he cries, with a certain Dutch sturdiness, 'operam dedi ut meus manerem'; and on comparing the new edition with the old I find that he has stood to his colors like Washington Irving's Hardkoppig Piet and sometimes, where it would have been better if he had surrendered. To be sure, he reads now v. 177: ἐξάξεν δοκῶ (A. J. P. XIV 498) and he has supplied a note to v. 231: ἡμᾶς κύναιος and to v. 394: τὰς κάρτας. There is a *conspectus metrorum* and ἀπίσκειν is allowed to take an accusative, but the monstrous etymology of ἐξεφρίεμεν = ἐξεπαρίεμεν abides, despite my protest; and whilst he has modified (v. 429) his untenable statement as to the 'tantum non semper' order, object inf. subject, he dies hard and merely substitutes 'constanter' for 'tantum non semper'. In a matter like this nothing short of exhaustive statistics will settle the point. See A. J. P. XIV, l. c.

There is no disputing the virtues and the value of Polybios. To everyone who has to do with history he is an inevitable study; and every earnest soul is apt to resent the contemptuous way in which that narrow rhetorician Dionysios of Halicarnassus dismisses him as Cicero dismisses those admirable orators whom no one reads. We say to ourselves, 'Polybios is interesting', but in the next breath we catch ourselves saying, 'He ought to be interesting', and wind up by asking ourselves the question: 'Why is he so tiresome?' Wisdom there is in Polybios, and to spare. Adventures there are that would furnish forth a library of shilling shockers. Why does not some one write a book of Stories from Polybios? There are glimpses of the life of the times such as we find in no other historian of antiquity. The lover of historical parallels will find a host of diagrams at his service. There are character sketches that remind one of the historical portraits in which moderns delight. There are bits of description that may give the topographer trouble, but which for all that seem singularly vivid to him who reads for entertainment. Those who have a weakness for anecdote and epigram

cannot complain of any lack of such things in Polybios. The speeches have meaning, have point and are not merely rhetorical exercises on the parade-ground of the commonplace. He is a conscientious writer, in fact, he makes too much of his conscientiousness, and there is or ought to be a charm in honesty. But he preaches too much, he sprawls too much. He is scrupulous in the avoidance of hiatus, but there is one hiatus that he cannot escape, the yawn in the face of his reader. The famous alternative of 'Guicciardini, or the galleys', doubtless suggested by the story of Dionysios and Philoxenos, repeats itself in the form of Polybios or the penitentiary. We can understand those who love to bathe in the *lactea ubertas* of Livy, but wading is the only word for most of the readers of Polybios; and the only way to forget the wading is to fish, and there is good fishing in the current of Polybios' history, so that Polybian specialists, not a few, have arisen of late years, and among these CARL WUNDERER is noteworthy for his interesting studies, of which mention has been made in the Journal (XXIII 349), and the third in the series is an essay on *Similes and Metaphors in Polybios* (Leipzig, Dieterich). Studies of this kind have multiplied greatly in recent times. The collection and sorting of such things may easily degenerate into more or less mechanical cataloguing and the true value of such collections, which lies very largely in the comparison of authors and periods and nationalities, is seldom realized, but WUNDERER has gone deeper into the matter and has succeeded in enhancing the puzzle why Polybios is not more interesting than he is. In the old times to edit an author was to take a brief in his case, but that rule does not hold nowadays and close association often serves to beget an antipathy, to which intimacy lends pungent expression. WUNDERER is not blind to the defects of Polybios, but he is after all a generous advocate.

'Nicht mit dem bekannten Dem und Dem zu verwechseln' was a favorite formula of Karl Friedrich Hermann's in his lectures on Greek and Roman Literature, in fact, so great a favorite that by force of habit we, his admiring disciples, were fain to write in our note-books 'T-e-u-f-f-e-l, nicht mit dem bekannten Teufel zu verwechseln'. Of course, the especial public of the Journal is supposed not to need such admonitions, but I am told that rank outsiders sometimes read *Brief Mention*, and even professional scholars have been known to confound the two Ernestis and the two Nitzschs (A. J. P. V 342, l. 19, where read G. W. N.) and the two Kocks. There is a Friedrich Cauer and there is a Paul Cauer and there are two Burys, both Greek scholars, R. G. BURY, the younger, and J. G. BURY, the elder and more terrible. Years ago one brother pitched his tent on the *Χαίρων ἀρούρα* of

Pindar and now the younger has staked out a claim on the flowery field of *Plato's Symposium*, both favorite hunting-grounds of my own. There is an interesting contrast in the behavior of the two brothers. The 'intoxication of Pindar's style' seems to have communicated itself to the elder brother, as I pointed out at the time (A. J. P. XI 528). The younger brother has partaken of the *moly* 'that Hermes to the wise Ulysses gave', and the first English edition of the *Symposium* of Plato by R. G. BURY (London, Simpkin, Marshall & Co.) is so sober a performance that it stirs an insane longing for such a commentary as the late Oscar Wilde might well have furnished. What the mortal name of Mr. BURY's *moly* is I do not know. Perhaps it is the Philebus with which Mr. BURY employed himself a few years ago. 'Der neueste Herausgeber und gründliche Bearbeiter des Dialogs' says Constantin Ritter of the editor, and I am willing to take Constantin Ritter at his word, for the Philebus is no favorite of mine and I have never studied it since I compared my own elaborate analysis with Horn's (A. J. P. XV 92) wondering all the while why Dionysios should have picked out this particular dialogue as a specimen of Plato's simple style. Perhaps a decoction of Rettig, whose esculent name ill fits his commentary, may have cooled the current of Mr. BURY's veins, or he may have been chilled by the close embrace of Hug, traces of whose 'scholarly and useful' and, to my mind, dreary edition are found on every page of Mr. BURY's commentary. But there is a new edition of Hug's *Symposium* by Schöne and further mention will be postponed until I can take up the two together.

I began by citing one guide of my youth, Ritschl. Goethe was a still earlier guide; and one thing that I learned from his 'Wahrheit und Dichtung', which I refuse to call 'Dichtung und Wahrheit', was the sacredness of the proper name. To the end of his days Goethe never forgave Herder the elephantine fun he made of his patronymic, and his illustrious example justified me when I resented, as I shall always resent, being called Gilderstene. I have walked a mile sometimes, sometimes spent an hour in getting an initial straight, and in the strength of my own virtue I have rebuked my fellow-craftsmen for writing Kirchof and Süsemihl, Boeck and Hoeckh. Years ago I remonstrated with the worthy scholar Holden for playing the piano on the name of Leunclavius and insisted on keeping Le Paulmier and Arthur Palmer apart. Like a recent German cataloguer—shall I write 'catalogger'?—I made *oe* and *ö* a matter of conscience, and whenever I wrote Böckh for Boeckh I did penance; and until Zielinski became the world-wide celebrity that he is to-day, I dutifully put a diacritical mark, a manner of prince's feather over the *z* of his name, but now that would be almost as

great an affectation as to write Napoléon. But I am still solicitous to write Brugman or Brugmann according to the stages of the life of that eminent scholar. How often have I written the name of von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and gloried in the consecutive two f's that seem to challenge the world! And now to think that in an article in which I have treated somewhat irreverently the same theme with the master I have allowed the printer to leave off one of the f's (A. J. P. XXXI 143, l. 37) as if I were ignorant of the *fortissimo* significance of the duplication; as if I had never heard the German student phrase 'Aus dem ff'. I am much more grieved about this typographical error than I should be about certain of Professor POSTGATE's *Flaws in Classical Research*.

H. L. W.: Among the Manuali Hoepli, which cover almost the whole field of human knowledge, there are several that have proved valuable to Classical students and ought to be widely known in America. L. Borsari, for example, gave an excellent summary of the results of Roman topographical studies in his *Topografia Romana* (1897), S. Ricci furnished a useful manual of Latin Epigraphy (1898) on a method quite different from that of Cagnat, D. Cancogni published a well illustrated guide to the Palatine Hill in *Le Rovine del Palatino* (1909), and the history of Greek, Etruscan and Roman art and archaeology by Gentile-Ricci (1901-1905) is by far the best brief account of this whole subject in existence. The present year sees two more Classical books added to the series, namely, *Il teatro antico Greco e Romano* by VIGILIO INAMA and *Epigrafia Cristiana* by ORAZIO MARUCCHI. Professor INAMA discusses in eight chapters such questions as the first theatre, the development of the theatre, theatrical machinery, the *dyôves*, the actors and their number, the audience, besides giving a partial list and some illustrations of the theatres which still exist in more or less ruined condition. In contrast with his rather full account of the development of the drama in Greece is his almost total neglect of dramatic beginnings in Italy and of the history of theatrical performance in Rome. On the whole the author's outlook over things Roman is far too limited and some of the more important recent studies in this field are apparently unknown to him, for example, the work of Mau and Dörpfeld on the large theatre of Pompeii (Mitt. d. k. d. arch. Inst., röm. Abth., 1906, 1-59). In connection with the theatre at Verona, too (p. 86), though he mentions the recent excavations and gives five illustrations from late photographs, he ignores in his bibliography the book of E. Giani, *L'antico teatro di Verona* (1908), giving as authority only the monograph of S. Ricci, which was published in 1895.

Since the death of De Rossi none has been better fitted to deal with the Christian inscriptions than Professor MARUCCHI,

who now gives us this excellent handbook. After a brief statement of some of the elementary principles of Latin epigraphy (pp. 1-34), he devotes the first part of his book (pp. 35-70) to a general introduction which includes a bibliography of the subject. The rest of the volume (pp. 71-450) is taken up by the inscriptions themselves, four hundred and ninety-one in number, classified chiefly from the point of view of their bearing on the church and its doctrines, together with necessary comment and discussion. Thirty good plates complete the volume, which lacks only an index to make it all that could be desired in a handbook of such small compass.

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Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 30-32 W. 27th St., New York, for material furnished.

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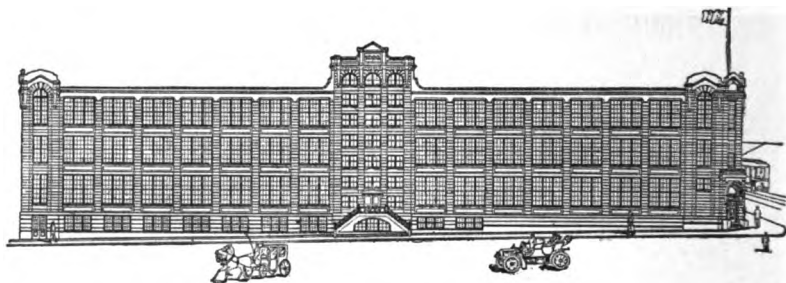
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WHOLE NO. 124.

I.—NEW GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM ATTICA, ACHAIA, LYDIA.

During my wanderings about Athens and its vicinity a year ago last October and November I made copies and squeezes of several inscriptions which had not yet been removed to the epigraphical museum. The following, among which are also included some unedited stones in the National Museum, are unpublished, so far as I am aware, with the exception of nos. 3, 5, 9 and 35. The majority are of the form known as *κιονίσκος* or columellae,¹ which were so frequent after the time of Demetrius Phalereus. But two belong to the class of *τράπεζαι* or mensae and four are marble lecythi and one is for a labellum (cf. Cic. De Legibus II, 26). The inscriptions in themselves barring the epigram (no. 35) are of little intrinsic worth, but taken as a whole they are of considerable value for Greek prosopographia, since several new names occur and some of the persons mentioned can be identified with names already known. For this reason they are arranged in alphabetical rather than chronological order.²

1. Large *κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble in the garden of the Observatory. Here are also nos. 7, 8, 18, 19, 22, 25, 39, 41, 52,

¹ Brueckner in his excellent book, *Der Friedhof am Eridanos*, p. 47, n. 2, gives the text of twenty-five others, which are at the Dipylon. No. 25 he makes the same observation which I made some years before him in *Classical Philology* II, p. 100, that the third line containing the word *Ἀνδρία* was omitted in *Εφ. Ἀρχ.* 1893, col. 221, no. 2. Ibid. col. 221, no. 3, *Καρυστία* should be read for *Καρυστία*; col. 223, no. 15, *Ἀμυσνή* for *Ἀμυσνία*; and no. 19 *Κυρηναίος* for *Μυρηναίος*.

² I am indebted to Professor Von Premerstein for calling my attention to nos. 5, 48, 62, and to Mr. Leonardos, Ephor of the Epigraphical Museum, for permission to publish nos. 12, 20, 24, 27, 30, 45, 57, 69.

58, 63, all found there some years ago when the pine trees were planted. They are set in the ground, as are so many of these *κιονίσκοι*, so that their height could not be measured. Diameter above of no. 1 is 0.42 m. From top to molding 0.09 m. Wreath carved in relief below the inscription. Letters 0.035 m. high. Late Hellenistic.

ΑΘΗΝΟΠΟΛΙΣ	'Αθηνόπολις
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ	Δημητρίου
ΛΑΜΠΤΡΕΥΣ	Λαμπτρέυς

The name 'Αθηνόπολις does not occur in any of the indices of the Corpus nor in the Prosopographia Attica nor in Pape, Gr. Eigenamen. It however is found on coins of Ephesus, cf. Num. Chron. 1881, p. 20, and in B. C. H. XXX, 1906, p. 188, we have an αὐλητῆς 'Αθηνόπολις Δημητρίου, perhaps the same man.

2. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble, 0.36 m. high; 0.22 m. in diameter above. From top to molding 0.04 m. Now in ὁδὸς Πλαταιῶν near the church of the Prophet Daniel. Letters, carelessly cut and crowded in l. 3, vary from 0.015 m. to 0.03 m. in height. Hellenistic.

ΑΙΓΛΑΤΗΣ	Αιγλάτης
ΑΝΤΙΦΙΟΥ	'Αντιφι(λ)ου
ΚΥΔΑΘΗΝΑΙΕΥΣ	Κυδαθηναίεύς

Αιγλάτης which I have not found elsewhere in inscriptions or literature as a proper name is probably Doric and formed from the epithet of Apollo, *αιγλήτης*, which occurs in Apoll. Rhod. IV, 1716, 1729; Strabo 484; and Callimachus fr. 113a, Schneider (cf. Bruchmann, Epitheta Deorum s. v. Apollo). A similar name *Αιγλάτωρ* is given by Pape, op. cit., s. v. For formation of proper names from epithets of divinities cf. Fick-Bechtel, Die Griechischen Personennamen, p. 301 f. Since there is no proper name 'Αντίφιος we must assume that lambda was omitted in l. 2 by the stone-cutter, which shows that the liquid perhaps was barely pronounced; cf. for omission of a liquid Meisterhans-Schwyzler Grammatik der Att. Ins., p. 82 f.; Mayser, Gram. der Gr. Papyri, p. 186 f.; Wilhelm, Klio V, p. 299; Beiträge zur Gr. Inschriftenkunde, p. 122.

3. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble in yard of house near the

stadium. Height 1.07 m. Diameter 0.40 m. From top to molding 0.12 m. Letters 0.03 m. Early Roman.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ	Ἀλέξανδρος
ΚΥΡΟΥ	Κύρου
ΣΦΗΤΙΟΣ	Σφήτιος

This inscription is already published in I. G. III, 2028, but the relative position of the letters is incorrectly given and Σφήτιος is printed with two taus. No dimensions are given nor is it stated that below the inscription there is a panel, 0.21 m. wide by 0.23 m. high, which has a large mask sculptured in high relief. This perhaps indicates that this Alexander was an actor, though no such actor is to be found in the Prosopographia Histrionum Graecorum as published by O'Connor, Chapters in the History of Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece nor in Wilhelm's Urkunden Dram. Aufführungen in Athen.

4. Κιονίσκος of Hymettian marble set in the pavement at 14 ὁδὸς Γρανίκου. Diameter 0.22 m. From top to molding 0.07 m. Letters 0.035 m. Late Hellenistic.

ΑΛΙΝΗ	Ἀλίνη
ΧΡΗΣΤΗ	χρηστή

The name Aline, though fairly common to-day, was rare, it seems, in ancient Greece. Such was the name of the lady whose beautiful portrait exists on a mummy from Hawara in Berlin (cf. Ant. Denkmäler II, pl. 13 and p. 2, where Erman says there is no other occurrence of the name). Ἀλείνη is found in Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1898, col. 248 (from Ceos) and Ἀλίνη in I. G. XII, 1, 620 (from Rhodes). The name is formed from an adjective meaning sickly or thin (cf. ἀλινόν and ἀλιν[ν]όν in Hesychius' Lexicon and Bechtel, Die Attischen Frauennamen, p. 45).

5. Κιονίσκος of Hymettian marble in court of house at 4 ὁδὸς Τζαβέλα. Diameter 0.20 m. From top to molding 0.02 m. Letters 0.011 m. Hellenistic.

ΑΞΑΙΟΣ	Ἀξαῖος
ΑΞΙΟΧΟΥ	Ἀξιόχου
ΑΜΑΞΑΝΤΕΥΣ	Ἀμαξαντεύς

This inscription is incorrectly published in I. G. II, 1828, where Ἀξίου or Προξίου is read. Kirchner also Pros. Att. no. 1328 reads ΑΞ<Α>ΙΟΣ ΑΞΙΟΥ vel [ΠΡ]ΑΞΙΟΥ.

6. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble in Kato Liosia, much broken. Height of fragment 0.66 m., diameter above 0.38 m. From top to molding 0.09 m. Letters from 0.03 m. to 0.035 m. Early Roman.

ΑΠΟΛΛΟΦΑΝΗΣ	'Απολλοφάνης
ΘΕΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ	Θεοκλέους
ΚΗΦΙΣΙΕΥΣ	Κηφισιεύς

Θεοκλῆς Κηφισιεύς occurs also in a much earlier inscription of the fourth century B. C. (cf. I. G. II, 945, l. 25).

7. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble in the garden of the observatory. Diameter 0.27 m. From top to molding 0.07 m. Letters from 0.025 m. to 0.035 m. Late Hellenistic.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ	'Απολλώνιος
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ	'Απολλωνίο(υ)
ΣΑΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ	Σαρδιανός

This inscription is interesting because the stone-cutter has written *Σ* instead of *Υ* in the second line, probably influenced by the last letter of the first and third lines.

8. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble in same place as no. 7, with relief of a loutrophorus beneath the inscription. To rough part 0.63 m. Diameter 0.31 m. From top to molding 0.06 m. Letters 0.025 m. to 0.03 m. Late Hellenistic.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ	'Απολλώνιος
ΣΙΤΑΛΚΟΥ	Σιτάλκου
ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ	'Αμφιπολίτης

9. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble in the yard of the church of 'Α. *Σαράντα* between Liosia and Menidi. Circumference above 0.88 m. Letters 0.035 m. Late Hellenistic.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ	'Απολλώνιος
ΣΕΡΑΠΙΩΝΟΣ	Σεραπίωνος
ΜΕΛΙΤΕΥΣ	Μελιτεύς

This inscription is already published in I. G. III, 1851, but the copy there is incomplete. All the letters are preserved.

10. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble, stuck in the ground at 13 δδὸς *Σατωβριάνδου*. Letters 0.025 m. Diameter 0.17 m. Hellenistic.

ΑΡΤΕΜΩΝ	'Αρτέμων
ΑΡΤΕΜΩΝΟΣ	'Αρτέμωνος
ΕΦΕΞΙΟΣ	'Εφέσιος

The combination of the forms *Α* with *Μ* and *Ξ* is noteworthy.

11. *Κιονίσκος* of Pentelic marble with relief of loutrophorus below the inscription. Now in the *ὁδὸς Φαλήρου*. Height 0.40 m. Diameter 0.23 m. From top to molding 0.04 m. Letters 0.018 m. Early Hellenistic.

ΑΡΧΕΙΔΗΣ	' <i>Αρχείδης</i>
ΔΙΟΥ	<i>Δίου</i>
ΣΤΕΙΠΙΕΥΣ	<i>Στειριεύς</i>

'*Αρχείδης* is probably a variant form of '*Αρχίδης* or better '*Αρχιάδης*, which is found in the *Prosopographia Attica*, nos. 2438–2441, 2437 a. The formation would be the same as in *Πραιτωρείνος* and *Practorinus* for *Πραιτωριανός* or *Casinus* for *Casianus* in inscriptions from Sinope (cf. A. J. A. IX, 1905, p. 317; X, 1906, pp. 429, 433; A. J. P. XXVII, p. 449).

12. Fragment of *κιονίσκος* in National Museum of Athens, of Hymettian marble. Height 0.39 m. Diameter 0.41 m. From top to molding 0.09 m. Found on west slope of acropolis. Letters 0.035 m. Late Hellenistic.

ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΣ	' <i>Αρχέλαος</i>
ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ	<i>Διόδотου</i>
ΤΤΙΟ	<i>Συπαλήττιο[ς]</i>

Possibly this '*Αρχέλαος* is identical with '*Αρχέλαος Συπαλήττιος* in I. G. II, 953, 32 (about 160 B. C.). But this *Διόδотος* cannot be the same as *Διόδотος Συπαλήττιος* of B. C. H. XXIII, p. 352, since that inscription dates from the fourth cent. B. C.

13. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble at Kato Liosia. Diameter 0.17 m. From top to rough part which went in the ground 0.39 m. Letters 0.02 m. Hellenistic.

ΑΡΧΙΟΝ	' <i>Αρχιον</i>
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ	<i>Διονυσίου</i>
ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΕΩΣ	<i>Κασσανδρείως</i>
ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ	<i>θυγάτηρ</i>
ΝΙΚΑΓΟΡΟΥ	<i>Νικαγόρου</i>
ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΕΩΣ	<i>Κασσανδρείως</i>
ΓΥΝΗ	<i>γυνή</i>

The name '*Αρχιον* is not in Pape, op. cit., or Bechtel, op. cit., but it occurs in I. G. II, 3327 and similar neuter formations for female names are common.

14. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble near the Ilissus. From top to rough part 0.34 m. Letters from 0.02 m. to 0.025 m. Late Hellenistic.

ΑΦΡΟ ΙΣΙΑ Ἀφρο[δ]ισία

15. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble in a house near the theater of Dionysus, 0.51 m. high. Circumference at top 0.59 m., at bottom 0.46 m. Letters rather carelessly cut from 0.02 m. to 0.03 m. Late Hellenistic.

ΒΡΟΜΙΑΣ	Βρομιάς
ΕΙΣΙΔΩ ΟΥ	Εισιδώ[ρ]ου
ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΤΙΣ	Ἡρακλεῶτις

The name *Βρομιάς* is formed similarly to Ὀλυμπιάς, Πυθιάς, etc., Widmungsnamen as Bechtel calls them, op. cit., p. 56. *Βρομιάς* would be connected with *Βρόμιος*, the epithet of Dionysus. It occurs also in I. G. III, 2246. In I. G. III, 2435, 2448 we have *Βρόμιος Ἡρακλεῶτης* and in I. G. III, 2434 *Βρομία Βρομίου Ἡρακλεῶτις*.

16. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble at Kolokythou near the church of Ἀγ. Παρασκευή. Diameter above 0.28 m. From top to molding 0.08 m. Letters 0.03 m. Late Hellenistic.

Γ Ν Ω Μ Η	Γνώμη
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	Ἀλεξάνδρου
ΜΙΛΗΣΙΑ	Μιλησία

For name *Γνώμη* cf. Bechtel, op. cit., p. 132 (Frauennamen aus Abstracten).

17. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble at 48 ὁδοί Πλαταιῶν, used as door-post for door to yard of stable. Circumference at top 0.93 m. Letters 0.02 m. Hellenistic.

ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ	Γοργίας
ΛΕΟΝΤΕΩΣ	Λεοντέως

18. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble at the Observatory. Diameter above 0.44 m. Height more than 1.00 m. From top to molding 0.10 m. Letters 0.04 m. Late Hellenistic.

Δ Η Μ Η Τ Ρ Ι Ο Σ	Δημήτριος
ΑΘΗΝΟΠΟΛΙΔΟΣ	Ἀθηνοπόλιδος
Λ Α Μ Τ Τ Ρ Ε Υ Σ	Λαμπρεύς

Above the inscription is an ivy wreath carved in relief, which possibly indicates that this Demetrius was an actor, though no

such actor is elsewhere known. So on the *κιονίσκος* of the famous actor Hieronymus and of the actor Lysimachus we have an ivy wreath (cf. Wilhelm, *Urkunden Dram. Aufführungen in Athen*, pp. 59, 82). Possibly this Demetrius is the son of Athenopolis, the flute-player of 97-6 B. C. (cf. above, no. 1).

19. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble in same place as no. 18, and with the same inscription. Diameter above 0.40 m. Height more than 1.00 m. From top to molding 0.09 m. In panel below inscription (0.42 m. by 0.17 m.) relief of Ioutrophorus. Letters 0.04 m. Late Hellenistic.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ	Δημήτριος
ΑΘΗΝΟΠΟΛΙΔΟΣ	'Αθηνοπόλιδος
ΛΑΜΠΤΡΕΥΣ	Λαμπρεύς

20. *Κιονίσκος* in National Museum, of Hymettian marble. Height 0.78 m. Diameter 0.28 m. From top to molding 0.07 m. Lower part rough. Letters 0.043. Hellenistic.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ	Δημήτριος
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ	'Απολλωνίου
ΑΖΗΝΙΕΥΣ	'Αζηνιεύς

Among the 'Αζηνιείς given by Kirchner, *op. cit.*, there is no Demetrius but the Δημήτριος 'Αζηνιεύς of I. G. III, 1112, 45 is possibly identical with the one in this inscription.

21. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble at corner of *ὁδὸς Καστορίας* and *ὁδὸς 'Αγίου Ὁρους*. Diameter on top, where there is a round hole, 0.21 m. Circumference below molding 0.645 m. From top to rough part 0.34 m. Letters 0.015 m. Early Hellenistic.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ	Δημήτριος
ΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΥ	Νικάνδρου
ΜΑΡΑΘΩΝΙΟΣ	Μ(α)ραθώνιος

In the third line the second letter is a stone-cutter's error for Λ.

22. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble at the Observatory. Diameter 0.17 m. From top to molding 0.05 m., to rough part 0.40 m. Letters 0.02 m. Late Hellenistic.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ	Δημήτριος
ΤΙΜΩΝΟΣ	Τίμωνος
ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΤΗΣ	'Ηρακλεώτ(η)ς

The confusion which the stone-cutter has made between H and N should be noted. In the first line in the case of the fourth letter he cut first N and then changed it to H, and in the second line vice versa he cut first H and then changed it to N. In the last line he became again confused and cut N for H.

23. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble at 29 ὁδὸς *Ιερά*. Circumference below molding 0.52 m. Late Hellenistic.

ΔΙΟΔΩΡΑ	Διοδώρα
ΧΡΗΣΤΗ	χρηστή

24. *Κιονίσκος* of Pentelic marble in the National Museum, found at the corner of ὁδὸς *Μενάνδρου* and ὁδὸς *Ξοῦθου*. Height 0.28 m. Diameter 0.185 m. From top to molding 0.055 m. Letters 0.017 m. Late Hellenistic.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΑ	Διονυσία
ΑΝΔΡΩΝΟΣ	Ἀνδρωνος
ΩΡΩΠΙΑ	Ὠρωπία

25. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble at the Observatory. Diameter 0.17 m. From top to molding 0.05 m., to rough part 0.43 m. Letters 0.025 m. Late Hellenistic.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΑ	Διονυσία
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ	Δημητρίου
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΣΣΑ	Ἀντιόχισσα

26. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble on ὁδὸς *Λεωνίδου*. Height 0.76 m. Circumference above 1.00 m. From top to rough part 0.41 m., to molding 0.07 m. Letters about 0.025 m. Late Hellenistic.

ΔΩΡΗΜΑ	Δώρημα
ΜΙΤΥΛΗΝΑΙΑ	Μιτυληναία
ΣΙΜΑΛ	Σιμάλ[ου]
ΓΥΝΗ	γυνή

For name *Δώρημα* cf. Pape, op. cit. It occurs also in inscriptions from Delphi (cf. Collitz, Gr. Dialekt-Ins. 1803, 2084) and in I. G. III, 2543.

27. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble in the National Museum, found at corner of ὁδὸς *Σταδίου* and ὁδὸς *Αἰόλου*. Height 0.36 m.

Diameter 0.125 m. From top to molding 0.04 m. Letters vary from 0.015 m. to 0.024 m. Hellenistic.

ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΣ

Δωρόθεος

28. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble in yard of deserted house near Dipylon. Diameter 0.19 m. From top to rough part 0.35 m. Letters 0.02 m. Early Hellenistic.

Δ Ω Ρ Ο Ξ

Δῶρος

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΤΗΣ

Ἡρακλεώτης

29. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble at 38 ὁδὸς Σάμ. Height 0.54 m. Diameter 0.22 m. From top to very narrow molding 0.02 m. Letters 0.025 m. Late Hellenistic.

ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ

Ἐπικράτης

ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΟΥ

Ἐπικράτου

ΜΙΛΗΣΙΟΣ

Μιλήσιος

In I. G. II, 2445 we have Ἐπικράτης Ἐπικράτου Πειραιεύς and in B. C. H. XXIX, p. 519, Ἐπικράτης Ἐπικράτου Χολαργεύς.

30. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble in National Museum, found probably near the sacred way. Much broken. Height 0.22 m. Diameter 0.19 m. From top to molding 0.03 m. Letters 0.015 m. Hellenistic.

ΕΡΜΙΟΝΗ

Ἑρμῖονη

31. Slab of Pentelic marble with molding above and below, at the church of Ἁγ. Σαράντα between Menidi and Liosia (where nos. 9 and 35 are). Height 0.72 m. Width 0.63 m. Letters, which are near the top of the slab, about 0.023 m. Late Hellenistic.

ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣΣΕΡΑΤΙΩΝ

Ἑρμογένης Σεραπίων

ΥΣ

ΖΩΙΛΟΣ

υς

Ζωίλος

ΥΣ

υς

Θ

ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥ

Στέφανος Ἀριστοβούλου

The three lines 1, 2 and 5, to judge by the forms of the letters, were cut at different times. The most notable difference is the lunated sigma in Ζωίλος, whereas in lines 2 and 3 we have Σ and in the last line Σ. The form of omega also varies slightly and in the case of alpha in the last line the cross-bar is straight whereas in l. 1 it is broken.

At the same place is another similar slab of same width which has at the upper right hand corner the letters ΑΝΘΕΣΤΗΡΙΟ. These two slabs undoubtedly belong with that now in Menidi (also 0.72 m. high) published in C. I. G. 488 and I. G. III, 219 as from the same church. Not only are the measurements the same, but also some of the names as Σεραπίων, Στέφανος and Ἀριστόβουλος. The facsimile in I. G. III, 219, of the part preserved at Menidi is not altogether accurate. The two canthari, the one to the left incised and the other in very low relief, are much more nearly alike. The relative position of the letters is also wrongly given and their forms are not exact. (See Photograph, Fig. 1.) In the first line we have the caret used, of the form Λ and not λ, and Ε instead of Ε with the bars all equal. In the second line we have Ε and not Ε and Λ instead of λ. Alpha has the straight and not the broken cross-bar. The photograph here published of the only remaining fragment at Menidi will show also other differences from the Corpus. The exact purpose of all these slabs which came from the same monument is obscure. Boeckh rightly recognized the fact that it was not sepulchral. The new slab with the word Ἀνθεστήριον[ν] perhaps throws some light on the problem. This word and the two canthari on the slabs in I. G. III, 219, indicate that the monument was connected with the festival of the Anthesteria in honor of Dionysus whose sacred vessel was the cantharus. One thinks at once of the second day, the χόες or Cups, which marked the climax in the drinking. The priests mentioned in I. G. III, 219, in the fragment to the right which has now disappeared, would then be priests of Dionysus and it is altogether probable that our slab joined the one which has been lost, the *vs* of lines 2 and 3 being the end of the *ιερε-* in lines 2 and 3 of I. G. III, 219. The whole inscription would then read:

- | | | |
|----|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1. | Ξενοκλῆς πρεσ(βύτερος), Ξενοκλῆς, Ἀπολλώνιος, Σεραπίων, Ἐρμογένης,
Σεραπίων | |
| 2. | Διονύσιος, Φ(λάουιος) Ξενοκλῆ[ς] ν(εώτερος), Ἀπολλώνιος ἱερεὺς,
Ζωῖλος | |
| 3. | | Εὐπορος ἱερεὺς |
| 4. | Ἀριστόβουλος | Ἀπολλώνιος Εὐπόρου |
| 5. | Στεφάνου | |
| 6. | Φοῖβος Ἀριστοβούλου | Φιλίργυρος, Στέφανος Ἀριστοβούλου |
| 7. | Ζωσιμιανὸς Ἀριστοβούλου | Ἀριστοβούλου |



FIG. 1
Photograph of Inscription No. 31



FIG. 4
Photograph of Inscription No. 51



FIG. 5
Photograph of Inscription No. 75



FIG. 2
Photograph of Inscription No. 35 a.



FIG. 3
Photograph of Inscription No. 35 b.

The difference in the forms of the letters shows that the names were cut at various times. The names of Aristoboulus and his sons Phoebus and Zosimianus seem to have been cut at the same time, but those of his sons Philargyrus and Stephanus at a different time.

32. Table-like monument or *τράπεζα* of Pentelic marble, 0.66 m. high, 0.60 m. wide, 1.58 m. long. Molding above and below. In yard of house on *ὁδὸς Πλαταιῶν*. Letters from 0.025 m. to 0.035 m. Late Hellenistic.

ΕΥΚΛΗΣ	Εὐκλῆς
ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΥ	Ἀπολλοδώρου
ΣΙΔΩΝΙΟΣ	Σιδώνιος

33. *Κιονίσκος* in *ὁδὸς Ἡρακλείου* in Patisia. Diameter 0.16 m. From top to rough portion 0.36 m., to molding 0.04 m. Letters 0.02 m. Early Hellenistic.

ΙΩΠΥΡΑ	Ζωπύρα
ΑΓΑΘΩΝΟΣ	Ἀγάθωνος
ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΤΙΣ	Ἡρακλεῶτις

The name *Ζωπύρα Ἡρακλεῶτις* occurs in I. G. II, 2939; III, 2446, 2447 and *Ἀγάθων Ἡρακλειώτης* in I. G. II, 2909, 2910.

34. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble, corner of *ὁδὸς Λενόρμαντ* and *ὁδὸς Κερατσινίου*. Diameter 0.24 m. From top to molding 0.07 m. Letters 0.025 m. Late Hellenistic.

Ζ Ω Σ Ι Μ Η	Ζωσίμη
ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΟΥ	Ἀφροδισίου
Μ Ι Λ Η Σ Ι Α	Μιλησία

35. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble in yard of church of *Ἁγ. Σαράντα* between Liosia and Menidi. Diameter above 0.29 m. Height 1.49 m. From top to first inscription 0.37 m., between first inscription and epigram 0.22 m. Letters of inscription *a* 0.027 m.; of inscription *b* 0.015 m. Late Hellenistic. (See Photograph, Fig. 2.)

(a).	Ζωσίμη
	Εὐνίκου
	ἐξ Εὐπυριδῶν
	Εἰσιγίνου
	Φλυΐως
	γυνή

The Εδνικος of this inscription is probably to be identified with Εδνικος Εὐπυρίδης of I. G. II, 1049, 76 (middle of first cent. B. C.), cf. Kirchner Pros. Att. 4028. (See Photograph, Fig. 3.)

(δ). τ[ὴν λιτὴν] ὑπὸ βῶλον ἢ ἐνθάδε | κείται ἄτεκνος
 3 ὠδεῖνας πικρὰς λυσαμένη | θανάτῳ
 Ζωσίμῃ ἔπλησεν δῶσ' οὐ βρέφος | ἢ νεόνυμφος
 7 οὐ τὴν ἐξ ἐτέων τρίζυγον | [ἐ]βδομάδα
 αἰε]ῖ τῇδ' ἐπ' ἴσον σπείσω δάκρυ | μήτε θανούσῃ
 11 μητέρι μήτ' αὐτῇ μητέρα | ὀδυραμένη

"She who lies here beneath this poor clod childless, having found deliverance from her bitter birth-pangs in death, Zosime, the young bride who had given no real child, did not complete her third septennial. Ever shall I pour a tear alike for her who neither died a mother nor herself bewailed a mother."

These two inscriptions have already been made known by Ziebarth among the Funde published in Ath. Mitth. XXI, 1896, pp. 465, 466. But since the epigram has evidently escaped notice and since Ziebarth gives only a copy in capitals (which in some respects is inaccurate) and attempts neither a division into words nor an interpretation, it seems well to publish photographs of the inscriptions and to endeavor to interpret in some fashion the bad Greek. In the many cases where Ziebarth gives A and M and E should be read A, M, and E. The relative position of the letters in lines 2, 4, 6, 8, 10 to the other lines in Ziebarth's copy is also entirely wrong. In l. 1 Ziebarth reads nothing before βῶλον but the word ὑπό and at least the letter T at the beginning are certain; and there are clear traces of the others which fit better the word λιτὴν than ἀργὴν which was also suggested to me by Professor Von Premerstein. The traces on the stone and squeeze are T..^|T'|N\ΠO. The adjective λιτός with long iota in the sense of paltry or poor is used of the tomb in Anth. Pal. VII, 18 and 73 (cf. also I. G. III, 1360). In Athenaeus VII, 296d in a verse from Alexander Aetolus (cf. also Orph. Arg. 92) we have λιτὴ γαῖα. Lines 3 ff. indicate that it is a case of abortion (οὐ βρέφος). Cf. for examples of such negatives Hamilton, Negative Compounds in Greek, p. 31; and other examples in Gayler, p. 18. For epigrams dealing with death in child-birth cf. that on the painted *stèle* from Pagasae which represents such a subject and those cited by Arvanitopoulos, *κατάλογος τῶν ἐν γῇ Ἀθανασκείῳ Μουσείῳ Βόλου Ἀρχαιοτήτων*, p. 215 f.; 'Εφ. Ἀρχ.

1908, p. 24, notes 2 and 3). δῶσ' is for δοῦσ(α), wrongly formed perhaps from an infinitive δῶναι made on the analogy of γῶναι (cf. Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis*, p. 251, note 2, where many references are given for δῶναι and its compounds in papyri and manuscripts). In l. 5 we should read for the eighth letter Π and not Τ as Ziebarth did (*ἔπλησεν*, not *ἔτλησεν*). The loose order and construction in ll. 5-8 is perhaps due to inability to fit the words otherwise into the meter. The negative οὐ is out of place and *ἐξ ἐτίων* is peculiar, perhaps due to the verbal idea in *τρίζυγον* = *τρίς ἐζευγμένην*. But cf. also such phrases as *ἐπτά που ἐξ ἐτίων δεκάδας* (B. C. H. VII, 1883, p. 279). Line 9, the restoration *αλεῖ* seems better than *αλαῖ* which would also be possible. I had thought of *αὐτῇ* but there is not room enough for more than three letters before the iota. In the case of *ἐπ' ἴσον* the first letter has been corrected from Σ (due perhaps to ΣΠ of *σπείσω*) to Ε. The use of *μήτε* for *οὔτε* in the last lines produces *παρήχησις* with *μητέρι* and *μητέρα*. The encroachment of *μή* on *οὐ* is characteristic of late Greek (cf. Gildersleeve, A. J. P. I, p. 55 f.). Another example of an epigram on a *κιονίσκος* is I. G. III, 1339. To make clear my interpretation which is the first one to be given so far as I know, a very literal translation has been added.

36. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble on *ὁδὸς Ἀστερίου*, 1.00 m. high. Circumference at top 1.12 m. Letters 0.04 m., with exception of θ, ο, and sigma, which are 0.025 m. Roman Imperial times.

ΘΑΛΗC	Θαλῆς
ΑΦΡΟΔΙC|ΟΥ	'Αφροδισίου
ΜΑΡΑΘΩ	Μαραθῶ-
ΝΙΟC	νιος

37. *Lecythus* of Pentelic marble, foot and neck broken off. Height 0.41 m.; diameter above 0.25 m. Letters 0.01 m. In house on *ὁδὸς Φαλήρου*. Relief of aged man shaking hands with woman. Hellenistic.

ΘΕΟΚΛΗΞ and ΝΙΚΟΞΤΡΑΤΗ
Θεοκλῆς, Νικοστράτη.

38. *Τράπεζα* of Pentelic marble at *Kukuvaones*, 1.68 m. long

by 0.82 m. wide and 0.53 m. high. Letters 0.03 m. Early Hellenistic.

ΘΕΟΜΝΗΣΤΟΣ	Θεόμνηστος
ΘΕΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ	Θεομένους
ΚΕΦΑΛΗΘΕΝ	Κεφαλῆθεν
ΘΕΟΜΕΝΗΣ	Θεομένης
ΘΕΟΜΝΗΣΤΟΣ	Θεομνήστου
ΚΕΦΑΛΗΘΕΝ	Κεφαλῆθεν

The Θεόμνηστος of this inscription is probably to be identified with Θεόμνηστος Κεφαλῆθεν in I. G. II 5, 773 b. The variation between Σ and Ξ should also be noted and the fact that in line 5 for the fifth letter the stone-cutter first cut Η and then changed it to Ν.

39. Κιονίσκος of Hymettian marble at the Observatory. Diameter 0.28 m. From top to molding 0.07 m. Letters 0.03 m. Hellenistic.

ΘΕΟΜΝΗΣΤΟΣ	Θεόμνηστος
ΞΩΞΙΚΡΑΤΟΥ	Ξωσικράτου
ΟΙΝΑΙΟΣ	Οιναῖος

In I. G. II, 985 E II 50 (95/4 B. C.) we have a Ξωσικράτης Οιναῖος (cf. Kirchner Pros. Att. s. v.) and he may be a descendant of the Sosicrates of this inscription. He cannot be the same person because of the difference in date between the two inscriptions.

40. Large Κιονίσκος of Hymettian marble, corner of ὁδὸς Φαλήρου and ὁδὸς Διάκου. Diameter 0.26 m. From top to molding 0.06 m. Late Hellenistic.

ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΣ	Θεόφιλος
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41. Κιονίσκος of Hymettian marble at the Observatory. Height more than 1.50 m. Diameter 0.45 m. From top to molding 0.11 m. Letters 0.03 m. Late Hellenistic.

ΙΣΙΑΣ	Ἰσιὰς
ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΥ	Ἀμμωνίου
ΕΡΧΙΕΩΣ	Ἐρχιέως
ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ	θυγατήρ
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ	Δημητρίου
ΛΑΜΠΤΡΕΩΣ	Λαμπτρέως
ΓΥΝΗ	γυνή

42. Slab of Hymettian marble in yard of house some distance behind the Observatory Hill. Height on right side 0.40 m.; on left 0.36 m. Width of smooth part above rough part which went into the ground 0.245 m. to 0.26 m. Height of smooth part 0.21 m. Letters 0.015 m. to 0.02 m. Hellenistic.

ΙΞΤΟΡΙΑ	Ἱστορία
ΧΡΗΣΤΗ	χρηστή

This is undoubtedly different from I. G. II, 3815 which is described as a columella and where we have Ἱσσορία with two sigmas.

43. Κιονίσκος of Hymettian marble, corner of ὁδὸς Φυλῆς and ὁδὸς Ἑπείρου. Diameter 0.21 m. From top to molding 0.05 m. Letters 0.02 m. Hellenistic.

ΚΑΛΛΕΤΕΙΜΑ	Καλλετεῖμα
ΝΙ·ΩΝΟΞ	Νί[κ]ωνος
ΓΥΝΗ	γυνή

The name Καλλετεῖμα is new but is formed regularly after the analogy of such names as Καλλένικος, Καλλίτιμος, Νευτίμα, Ἱποτίμα etc. (cf. Fick-Bechtel, op. cit., pp. 157, 267).

44. Κιονίσκος of Hymettian marble in the cellar of a παντοπωλείον at corner of ὁδὸς Γρανίκου and ὁδὸς Σαλαμίνος. Height, 0.98 m. Diameter 0.38 m. From top to molding 0.09 m. Letters 0.03 m. Hellenistic.

ΚΑΞΤΑΛΙΑ	Κασταλία
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ	Δημητρίου
ΜΙΤΥΛΗΝΑΙΑ	Μιτυληναία
ΕΡΜΑΓΟΡΟΥ	Ἑρμαγόρου
ΞΤΕΙΡΙΕΩΞ	Στεiriεύς
ΓΥΝΗ	γυνή

Possibly this Hermagoras is to be identified with Ἑρμαγόρας Στεiriεύς of I. G. II, 470 (cf. Kirchner, Pros. Att. s. v.).

45. Κιονίσκος of Hymettian marble in National Museum. Found at Patisia. Height of part preserved 0.28 m. Diameter 0.125 m. Letters 0.021 m. Hellenistic.

ΚΕΡΔΩΝ	Κέρδων
ΣΟΛΝΟΣ	Σόλ(ω)νος

There are very faint traces of letters in a third line so that we cannot read an ethnicon *Σαυός*. For the disappearance of an unaccented vowel cf. Meisterhans, op. cit., p. 69.

46. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble near the corner of *ὁδὸς Κυψέλης* and *Παξῶν*. Height 0.77 m. Diameter 0.30 m. From top to rough portion 0.50 m., to molding 0.07 m. Letters 0.02 m. Hellenistic.

ΚΛΕΑΡΙΣΤΗ	Κλεαρίστη
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ	Δημητρίου
ΠΕΜΠΤΙΟΥ	Πεμπτι(δ)ου
Ξ	'Ατηνείως
ΓΥΝΗ	γυνή

Rather than postulate a new name *Πέμπτιος* we can assume that Δ has been carelessly omitted by the stone-cutter in l. 3 as Δ was in *'Αντιφίλου* in no. 2. The letters are so clear that we can be certain that the letter was never cut. Perhaps it was not pronounced.

47. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble in yard of tram-way near the Dipylon. Diameter 0.46 m. From top to molding 0.11 m. Letters 0.03 m. Late Hellenistic.

ΚΤΗΣΑΡΧΟΣ	Κτήσαρχος
ΚΑΛΛΙΦΑΝΟΥ	Καλλιφάνου
ΦΛΥΕΥΣ	Φλυεύς

48. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble set in the pavement at 34 *ὁδὸς Ψαρρῶν*. Diameter 0.27 m. From top to molding 0.09 m. Letters from 0.025 m. to 0.035 m. Hellenistic.

ΜΗΤΡΟΔΟΤΑ	Μητροδότα
ΤΙΜΩΝΟΣ	Τίμωνος
ΡΩΤΙΑ	'Ωροπία

Μητροδότα is a new name not in Fick, op. cit., Fick-Bechtel., op. cit., Pape, op. cit., or in the indices of the Corpus. But the masculine *Μητροδότος* is known.

49. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble at 37 *ὁδὸς Σαλαμίνος*. Diameter 0.22 m. Letters 0.035 m. Roman.

ΜΙΛΩΝ	Μίλων
ΚΑΣΙΟΥ	Κασίου
ΜΕΙΛΗΣΙΟΣ	Μειλήσιος

50. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble in yard of church of 'Αγ. Παρασκευή at Kolokythou. Diameter 0.31 m. From top to molding 0.07 m. Letters 0.025 m. Late Hellenistic.

ΜΟΣΧΑΡΙΟΝ	Μοσχάριον
ΒΑΚΧΙΟΥ	Βακχίου
ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΤΙΣ	Ἡρακλεῶτις
ΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ	Ζήνωνος
ΜΗΔΟΥ	Μήδου
ΓΥΝΗ	γυνή

For the name Moscharion which is also the name of a *ἐταίρα* in Alciphron I, 39, 2 cf. Bechtel, op. cit., p. 88.

51. *Lecythus* of Pentelic marble in the lot next to the offices of the Peloponnesus railroad in ὁδὸς Καρόλου. Neck and foot broken off. From upper edge to break at the bottom 0.61 m. Diameter above 0.43 m. Letters 0.013 m. Hellenistic. (See Photograph, Fig. 4.)

ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝΣΤΡΑΤΟΚΛΕΙΟΥΣ ΕΙΟΥΞ
ΤΙΤΘΗ

Μοσχίων Στρατοκλείους. Τίτθη.

This inscription is above the three figures carved in relief in a rectangular panel with a slightly raised border. To the left is a small youth wearing the *exomis* which leaves his right shoulder bare. He is advancing to right and his right foot is bent to the rear at the knee. In his right hand he carries a scabbard and with his left a large round shield which reaches from his nose to his knees. Next to right is a large youth, clad in cuirass with flaps at the bottom and chiton showing below and reaching nearly to his knees. On his head he wears the Attic close-fitting helmet. He raises his left hand and with his right clasps the hand of the draped female figure (*Τίτθη*) who faces him to left. Over his left arm and behind him over his right elbow falls his *chlamys*. The position of his feet is similar to that of the figure behind who is only about three quarters as tall and who is his attendant shield-bearer. He is a head taller than the female figure, which indicates that he is the important person and that the *lecythus* is his grave monument. The style of the relief reminds one of good work of the fourth century B. C. Similar reliefs on marble *lecythi* are published in Conze, *Die Attischen Grabreliefs* I,

p. 110, no. 470; II, p. 229; pl. C, no. 436; CCXVII, nos. 1063, 1072; CCXXV, no. 1110. The shield-bearer is anonymous. The warrior is named Moschion, son of Stratocles. The letters *Μοσχίων Στρατοκλ* are to the left of his head and *είους* to the right. For *είους* instead of *έους* cf. Meisterhans³, op. cit., p. 46. Over the female figure is the inscription *Τίτθη* which is a proper name rather than *τίτθη* (nurse); cf. for *Τίτθη* Conze, op. cit., I, p. 17, pls. XXI, LIII, no. 166; CCLV, CCCXXXVI and I. G. III, 3384. For *τίτθη* as nurse cf. Conze, pl. XXII, no. 1; LXIII, no. 292.

52. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble at the Observatory. Height of part now above ground 0.34 m. Diameter 0.16 m. From top to molding 0.05 m. Letters from 0.02 m. to 0.027 m. Hellenistic.

Μ Υ Σ Τ Η Σ	Μύστης
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ	'Απολλωνίου
ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΤΗΣ	'Ηρακλεώτης

53. Fragment of *κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble, in National Museum. Height 0.33 m. Diameter 0.20 m. From top to molding 0.07 m. Found on *ὁδὸς Κηφισίας*. Letters 0.02 m. Late Hellenistic.

Ν Ι Κ Η	Νίκη
ΜΑΡΙΩΝΟΣ	Μαρίωνος
ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΙΣ	'Ιεροπολείτις

54. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble in *ὁδὸς Πειραιῶς* near the Dipylon. Tapering toward the bottom which is broken. Much corroded. Height 1.00 m. Diameter 0.33 m. From top to molding 0.07 m. Letters from 0.02 m. to 0.028 m. Hellenistic.

Ν Ι Κ Η	Νίκη
ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΟΥ	Μενεκράτου
Μ Ι Λ Η Σ Ι Α	Μιλησία

In I. G. III, 2764 we have *Νείκη Ἀθηναίου Μειλησία* and in I. G. III, 2664 *Ἐπικρατία Μενεκράτου Μιλησία*. The form *Ε* to represent sigma dates the latter in the Hadrianic Age but perhaps *Ἐπικρατία* is a descendant of the Menecrates of our inscription.

55. Small *κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble at Kato Liosia. Diameter 0.18 m. Letters from 0.01 m. to 0.02 m. Hellenistic.

Ν Ι Κ Ι Α Ξ	Νικίας
Υ Λ Λ Ο Υ	'Υλλου
ΑΝΚΥΡΑΝΟΣ	'Αγκυρανός

The use of both Α and Α and of 'Αγκυρανός instead of the usual 'Αγκυρανός are noteworthy.

56. Κιονίσκος of Hymettian marble on ὁδὸς Καστορίας near the 'Ιερὰ 'Οδός. Height 0.46 m. to rough part which is 0.28 m. high. Circumference at top 0.87 m. From top to molding 0.05 m. Letters 0.02 m. Hellenistic.

ΝΙΚΟΞΤΡΑΤΗ	Νικοστράτη
ΚΤΗΞΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ	Κτησιφώντας
Ν Α Ξ Ι Α	Ναξία

57. Large κιονίσκος of Pentelic marble in the National Museum, found above the Odeum of Herodes Atticus. Height 1.20 m. Diameter 0.43 m. From top to molding 0.10 m. Letters 0.042 m. Late Hellenistic.

ΝΙΚΩΝ	Νίκων
ΛΥΣΙΟΥ	Λυσίου
ΑΛΑΙΕΥΣ	'Αλαιεύς

58. Κιονίσκος of Hymettian marble at the Observatory. Height more than 1.00 m. Diameter 0.43 m. From top to molding 0.10 m. Letters from 0.04 m. to 0.048 m. Hellenistic.

Ο Ν Α Ξ Ω	'Ονασώ
ΤΙΜΟΚΡΑΤΟΥ	Τιμοκράτου
ΞΑΛΑΜΙΝΙΑ	Σαλαμινία
ΑΝΑΞΗΝΟΡΟΣ	'Αναξήνορος
Ο Ι Ν Α Ι Ο Υ	Οίναίου
Γ Υ Ν Η	γυνή

59. Κιονίσκος of Hymettian marble set in ground outside house near ὁδὸς Λεωνίδου. Diameter 0.21 m. From top to molding 0.06 m. Letters 0.02 m. Late Hellenistic.

ΠΑΝΙΚΗ	Πανική
ΜΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΥ	Μηνοδότου
ΑΙΓΙΝΗΤΙΣ	Αιγινήτης

The name Πανική is new but formed on the analogy of Bromias, Olympias, Pythias, though a different termination is used, a person sacred to Pan (cf. Bechtel, op. cit., p. 56).

60. Κιονίσκος of Hymettian marble set in the ground at same

place as no. 56. Circumference at top 0.765 m. From top to molding 0.05 m. Letters 0.02 m. Hellenistic.

ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΗ	Παραμόνη
ΠΑΡΜΕΝΟΝΤΟΣ	Παρμένοντος
ΜΙΛΗΣΙΑ	Μιλησία
ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΥ	Ἀνδρονίκου
ΠΑΜΝΟΥΞΙΟΥ	Ῥαμνουσίου
ΓΥΝΗ	γυνή

The form of alpha varies, being in l. 1 Α and elsewhere Α. Probably this Ἀνδρόνικος Ῥαμνούσιος is identical with Ἀνδρόνικος Ραμνούσιος of B. C. H. VI, 319, 324, 339, and C. I. G. 2297 who is dated in the second century B. C. (cf. Kirchner, Pros. Att. s. Σέλευκος Ἀνδρονίκου Ῥαμνούσιος, who was priest of Serapis at Delos in 112/1 B. C.).

61. Κιονίσκος of Hymettian marble near ὁδὸς Θερμοπυλῶν. Diameter 0.175 m. From top to molding 0.06 m. Letters from 0.015 m. to 0.025 m. Late Hellenistic.

ΠΙΘΑΝΟΝ	Πιθανόν
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΣΣΑ	Ἀντιόχισσα

For the name Πιθανόν cf. Pape. s. v. and I. G. III, 3325.

62. Small κιονίσκος of Hymettian marble in house of Mr. Skoludis, next to the Hotel Grande Bretagne. Height 0.40 m. Diameter 0.10 m. From top to molding 0.02 m., to rough part which is much wider 0.27 m. Letters 0.015 m. Hellenistic.

ΠΑΤΩΝ	Πλάτων
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63. Κιονίσκος of Hymettian marble at the Observatory. Diameter 0.28 m. From top to moulding 0.07 m. Loutrophoros in relief below the inscription. Letters 0.025 m. to 0.03 m. Late Hellenistic.

ΡΟΔΟΚΛΕΙΑ	Ῥοδόκλεια
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ	Δημητρίου
ΚΟΛΩΝΗΘΕΝ	Κολωνήθεν
ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ	θυγάτηρ

64. Large κιονίσκος of Hymettian marble in yard of tram-way near the Dipylon. Circumference at top 1.18 m. From top to

molding 0.10 m. Letters 0.025 m. to 0.03 m. Hellenistic.

ON

Traces of an earlier inscription OY.

ΥΞ

ΣΤΡΑΤΩΙ	Στρατῷ
ΙΣΙΔΩΡΟΥ	Ἰσιδώρου
ΘΗΒΑΙΑ	Θηβαία
ΕΥΜΗΛΟΥ	Εὐμήλου
ΤΟΥΜΗΤΡΟ	τοῦ Μητρο-
ΦΑΝΟΥΜΙΑ	φάνου Μελ-
ΗΣΙΟΥΓΥΝΗ	ησίου γυνή

The form *Στρατῷ* with iota, which certainly belongs to this inscription, instead of the usual *Στρατώ*, the only form given by Pape, op. cit., is important. Kretschmer in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* XXIX, 475 thought such a feminine nominative did not occur at all in Attic inscriptions. But such forms occur in old Corinthian inscriptions and in the grammarians as *Σαπφῷ*, *Λητῷ* explaining the vocative in *οι* (cf. Kühner-Blass, *Ausführliche Grammatik der Gr. Sprache* I, pp. 453-454, and Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur Gr. Inschriftenkunde*, p. 68 f.) Since our inscription is of a late date, we may perhaps assume a non-Attic influence, until other examples in Attic inscriptions come to light.

65. Large *κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble at Kato Liosia. Diameter 0.48 m. From top to molding 0.15 m. Letters 0.045 m. Late Hellenistic.

ΣΩΠΑΤΡΟ	Σώπατρο[ς]
ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑ	Ἀσκληπιά[δου]
ΑΝΑΛΥΣΤΙ	Ἀνα[φ]λύστι[ος]

66. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble at 3 ὁδὸς Ἰσιδώρου. Diameter 0.18 m. From top to molding 0.05 m. Letters 0.025 m. Late Hellenistic.

ΣΩΣΙΑΣ	Σωσίας
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΥΣ	Ἀλεξανδρεὺς

67. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble near the *ζυθοπωλείον Φίξ*, ὁδὸς Σύγγρου. Circumference 0.84 m. Letters 0.017 m. Early Hellenistic.

ΞΤΡΑΤΟΞ	Ξώ]στρατος
ΞΩΞΤΡΑΤΟΥ	Ξωστράτου
ΟΑΘΕΝ	᾽Οαθεν

68. Small *κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble in house of Mr. Glymenopoulos near the National Museum. Height 0.55 m., to rough part 0.39 m., to molding 0.05 m. Diameter 0.17 m. Letters 0.02 m. Hellenistic.

ΤΕΧΝΗ	Τέχνη
ΧΡΗΣΤΗ	χρηστή

Τέχνη does not occur as a proper name in I. G. I-III, but we have it in I. G. XII, 1, 507 and IX, 2, 820 and C. I. G. 7120.

69. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble in the National Museum. Height 0.90 m. Diameter 0.31 m. From top to molding 0.05 m., to rough lower part 0.50 m. Letters from 0.02 m. to 0.025 m. Early Hellenistic.

ΦΑΙΝΑΡΕΤ	Φαιναρέτ[η
ΠΡΟΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ	Προκλείδου
ΑΦΙΔΝΑΙΟ	'Αφιδναίο[υ
ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ	θυγάτηρ
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΥ	'Αριστοκράτου
ΛΑΜΠΤΡΕΩΣ	Λαμπτρέως
ΓΥΝΗ	γυνή

Probably Προκλείδης 'Αφιδναῖος is to be identified as the grandson of Προκλείδης 'Αφιδναῖος who was *τριήραρχος* in 323/2 B. C. (cf. Kirchner, Pros. Att. no. 12198).¹ 'Αριστοκράτης Λαμπτρέυς may belong to the family of the *τριήραρχος* 'Αριστοκράτης Λαμπτρέυς (cf. Kirchner, Pros. Att. no. 1916 f.).

70. *Κιονίσκος* of Hymettian marble at ὁδὸς Πατησίων 27. Circumference 0.68 m. From top to molding 0.06 m. Letters from 0.03 m. to 0.045 m. Early Roman.

ΚΟΙΝΤΙΑ	Κοιντία
ΦΛΑΜΕΝΙΑ	Φλαμενία
ΘΕΥΔΙΟΝ	Θεύδιον

Θεύδιον would be related to *Θευδᾶς*, *Θεύδης*, *Θοδίων* which are given by Fick-Bechtel, op. cit., p. 143. Such neuters as this and "Ἀρχιον, Δώρημα, Μοσχάριον, Πιθανόν above are not necessarily the names of *ἐραῖραι*; cf. Athen. Mitth. XXIII, 1898, p. 419 f., 427, n. 4.

¹ Since this article was in proof, has appeared Sundwall's *Nachträge zur Prosopographia Attica* (Helsingfors, 1910), where pp. 146, 161, the same identification is independently made.

71. *Κιονίσκος* also at *ὁδὸς Πατησίων* 27. Hymettian marble. Height 0.52 m. Circumference 0.50 m. to 0.58 m. Above molding rough round part which was to fit into a labellum (cf. Cic. De Legibus II, 26). Letters 0.02 m. Hellenistic.

ΧΡΥΞΙΟΝ *Χρυσίων*

72. *Lecythus* of Hymettian marble behind the Observatory Hill. Height 1.10 m. Circumference at top 1.19 m. Neck broken off. Letters 0.01 m. Early Hellenistic.

ΝΤΟΞ ντος
ΤΡΕΥΞ *Δαμπ]τρεύς*

73. Oblong slab of Hymettian marble, much broken on all sides. In an open field about half an hour to south of the stadium. Length 0.68 m., height 0.39 m. Letters 0.035 m. to 0.039 m. Fourth century B. C.

ΟΞΑΡΧΕΞΤΡΑΤΟΥΑ *ος Ἀρχεστράτου Ἀ[θηναίος*

In I. G. XII, 1, 62 we have an Athenian sculptor Archestratus but the later date of that inscription excludes any identification.

74. When visiting Kato-Achaia, the probable site of Dyme rather than Olenus (cf. Frazer's Pausanias IV, p. 141; V, p. 618), I took occasion to make a copy and squeezes of a large stone with an inscription in the Achaean dialect, but so corroded that it can hardly be read. The stone is 1.90 m. long, 0.74 m. wide and 0.16 m. thick. It is preserved in a stable near some recent excavations. There are three columns of names extending the entire length of the slab. The half of a double T clamp on the top to the left shows that there was another stone and this may also have had lists of names. With great difficulty after cleaning the stone I was able to make out some of the names in the upper right corner (a), some about the middle of the right column (b), and several at the bottom of the middle column (c). A long and patient study would probably reveal a few more names but I publish what I have in order to call attention to this inscription which is important in view of the fact that few inscriptions are known from Achaia (cf. Collitz, Gr. Dialekt-Ins. nos. 1599-1636, where the names *Θράσων*, *Κλίων*, *Σώσιππος*, and *Ἀφαιστος* also occur, cf. *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1908, p. 97 f.). There must have been about 135 names in each column and after every name was

a numeral, in most cases almost illegible. Paus. VII, 17, 8 is also evidence for the name Sostratus at Dyme, unless we change Sostratus to Polystratus (cf. Frazer, Paus. IV, p. 136 f.; Kaibel, Epigrammata no. 790). From the prescript remain only the letters APXO (= [βουλ] ἀρχο[ν]) so that we cannot tell for what the contributions were. Similar inscriptions are found in I. G. II, 2, 980 f.

(a) ΘΕΟΚΡΙΤΟΞΚΛΕΟΞΕΝΟΥ
 ΜΑΤΗΡΞΕΝΟΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ
 ΑΛΕΞΙΜΑΧΟΞΑΡΧΙΑ ΔΔΔΔ
 ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡΓΛΕΙΞΤΙΑΞ ΔΔΔΔ
 5 ΘΥΓΑΤΡΟΞΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ ΑΛΚΑΔ...
 ΝΙΚΙΑΞΞΩΞΙΡΡΟΥ ΔΔΔΔΓ
 ΔΙΟΓΟΜΡΟΞΔΙΟΓΟΜΡΟΥ —ΔΔΓ
 ΓΥΝΑΝΙΚΑ
 ΛΕΩΝΙΔΑΞΡΙΞΤΙΑ ΔΔΔΔ
 10 ΟΥΙΟΞΙΑΞΤ
 ΛΥΞΙΑΞΞΕΝΟΚΛΕΟΞ ΔΔΔΔ
 ΓΥΝΑ ΔΔ
 ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡΑΡΙΞΤΟΝΙΚΑ
 ΦΙΛΑΓΟΡΑΞΦΙΛΟΚΛΕΟΞ ΔΔΔΓ
 15 ΓΥΝΑΦΙΛΑ ΔΔ
 ΦΙΛΙΓΡΟΞ
 ΓΥΝΑΜΟΞΧΙΟΝ
 ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡΞΩΞΤΡΑΤΑ
 ΞΙΜΙΑΞΘΕΥΔΙΩΝΟΞ ΔΔΔΓ
 20 ΓΥΝΑΞΩΞΤΡΑΤΑ ΔΔ
 ΞΩΞΤΡΑΤΟΞΘΡΑΞΩΝΟΞ
 ΓΥΝΑ

(b) ΤΙΜΟΞΘΕΝΗΣΤΙΜΟΞΘΕΝΕΟΞ
 ΑΞΚΛΑΡΙΑΔΑΞΚΛΕΩΝΟΞ
 ΦΙΝΤΩΝΑΦΑΙΞΤΙΩΝΟΞ
 ΟΙΥΙΟΙΑΡΙΞΤΩΝ ΠΙΞΤΙΑΞ

(c) ΥΙΟΞΚΛΕΟΜΑΧΟΞ ΔΔΔΓ
 ΝΙΚΟΚΡΑΤΕΟΞ
 ΓΥΝΑΦΙΛΑ ΔΔΔΓ
 ΓΑΤΗΡΝΙΚΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΓΔ

5 ΜΑΤΗΡΔΙΟΚΛΕΙΑ Ρ
 ΑΙΞΧΡΙΩΝΑΙΞΧΡΙΩΝΟΣ ΔΔΔΔ
 ΜΑΤΗΡΞΑΤΥΡΑ
 ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΣΕΥΓΕΙΤΟΝΟΣ ΡΔΡ
 ΓΥΝΑΦΙΛΑ Ρ
 10 ΥΙΟΞΘΕΥΓΕΝΗΣ ΔΔΔ
 ΘΕΟΚΡΙΤΟΣΚΛΕΟΞΕΝΟΥΔΔΔΡΠ
 ΜΑΤΗΡΞΕΝΟΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ
 ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΝΙΚΟΚΡΑΤΕΟΣΔΔΔΔΡ
 ΓΥΝΑ ΔΑΜΑΣΞΙΑ ΔΔΔΔΡ
 15 ΘΕΥΓΑΤΗΡΔΙΟΚΛΕΙΑΡΡ

(a) Θεόκριτος Κλεοξένου
 μήτηρ Ξενοκράτεια
 'Αλεξίμαχος 'Αρχία ΔΔΔΔ
 θυγάτηρ Πλειστιάς ΔΔΔΔ
 5 θυγατρὸς θυγάτηρ 'Αλκά Δ——
 Νικίας Σωσίππου ΔΔΔΔΡ
 Διόπομπος Διοπόμπου [ΔΔ]ΔΔΡ
 γυνὰ Νίκα
 Λεωνίδας Πιστία ΔΔΔΔ
 10 ὁ υἱὸς
 Λυσίας Ξενοκλέος ΔΔΔΔ
 γυνὰ ΔΔ
 θυγάτηρ 'Αριστονίκα
 Φιλαγόρας Φιλοκλέος ΔΔΔΡ
 15 γυνὰ Φίλα ΔΔ——
 Φίλιππος
 γυνὰ Μόσχων
 θυγάτηρ Σωστράτα
 Σιμίας Θεοδίωνος ΔΔΔΡ
 20 γυνὰ Σωστράτα ΔΔ——
 Σώστρατος Θράσωνος
 γυνὰ

(b) Τιμοσθένης Τιμοσθένης
 'Ασκληπιάδας Κλίωνος
 Φίντων 'Αφαιστίωνος
 οἱ υἱοὶ 'Αρίστων, Πιστίας

(c)	υἱὸς Κλεόμαχος	
	—— Νικοκράτεος	ΔΔΔ Γ
	γυνὰ Φίλα	ΔΔΔ Γ
	πατὴρ Νικοκράτης	ΓΔ
5	μάτηρ Διόκλεια	Γ
	Αλσχιῶν Αλσχιῶνος	ΔΔΔΔ
	μάτηρ Σατύρα	
	Φιλόξενος Εὐγείτονος	ΓΔ Γ
	γυνὰ Φίλα	Γ
10	υἱὸς Θεογένης	ΔΔΔ
	Θεόκριτος Κλεοξένου	ΔΔΔ Γ ||
	μάτηρ Ξενοκράτεια	
	Θεόδωρος Νικοκράτεος	ΔΔΔΔ Γ
	γυνὰ Δαμασσία	ΔΔΔΔ Γ
15	θυγὰτήρ Διόκλεια	Γ Γ

75. I take this opportunity to publish also a new inscription from Lydia. While I was studying last spring the inscriptions of Sardis which I expect to publish in a sort of Corpus, I took occasion to explore the surrounding country and found on the road from Mermere to Kumguidjak near Hadji Bostanlar (about one hour north-west of Mermere, which is six hours north-west of Sardis) in a field belonging to Mr. Bolatanis several fragments of reddish native marble (called *σωμάκι*). These had accidentally been dug up in April, 1910, and were much broken and widely scattered, but I managed with some trouble to collect six with letters, clean them, and fit them together. Many other pieces from the Heroum lie about, but they are unlettered. The greatest length is 1.31 m. Height 0.36 m. Thickness 0.55 m. Letters 0.035 m.; in last two lines 0.03 m. Original edge preserved to left and on top. From left edge to first four lines 0.49 m., to beginning of sixth line 0.18 m. There was probably another stone above, giving the name of the person who built the monument. (See Photograph, Fig. 5.)

οὐκ ἐξέσται δὲ ἕτερόν τινα[α θεῖναι
 εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ἥρωον ἐκτὸς εἰάν μὴ
 βουληθῶ τεθῆναι τινα. εἰ[δέ τις τολμήσει
 θεῖναι τινα, εἰσοίσει εἰς τ[ὸ ἱερώτατον
 5 ταμεῖον * (= δηνάρια)
 τούτου τὸ ἀντίγραφον ἀπετί[θη εἰς τὸ ἐν Ἱεροκαίσαρεια(?) ἀρχεῖον
 ἀνθυπάτῳ Τε[ρτύλλῳ, μηνὸς . . .

This inscription is of a form very frequent in Asia Minor and especially Lydia (cf. C. I. G. s. Lydia, *passim*; Keil und Von Premerstein, Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien und der südlichen Aiolis, Denkschriften der phil.-hist. Kl., Wien, Bd. LIII, Abh. 2, nos. 10, 23, 24, 102, 117, 118, 139, etc.; Athen. Mitth. XXXV, 1910, p. 177). But in one or two respects the formula here used is different. L. 1, the position of *δε* is due to the usual formula beginning *ἐξίσται δε*. Cf. for misplacement of *δε* Menander, *Ἐπιτίποντες*, l. 64. L. 2, *ἐκτός* is peculiar and *τινα* in l. 3 excludes the restoration of a genitive which occurs so often with *χωρίς*, *πλήν*, and *παρίξ*. So I have restored *ἐκτός ἐὰν μὴ* (cf. *ἐκτός εἰ μὴ* in Lucian Piscator 6; De Hist. Conscribenda 13, 21, 38). L. 3, the only parallel I can find in Lydia to *βουληθῶ* is Keil und Von Premerstein, Bericht, no. 23, *μηδενὶ ἐξίσται κηδευθῆναι ἢ οἷς ἂν οἱ προγεγραμμένοι βουληθῶσιν*. In line 4 we have *εἰσώσει* for the usual *θήσει*, *δώσει*, *ἀποδώσει*, *ἀποτείσει* or *ἔσται ὑπεύθυνος*. Line 6, the restoration *ἐν Ἱεροκαίσαρεια* is very doubtful, but ancient Hierocaesarea was not so very far from the site of this inscription (cf. Keil und Von Premerstein, Bericht, pp. 53, 61). L. 7, the dating of funerary inscriptions in Lydia by the Roman proconsul is very common and in many other cases also we have the dative instead of the genitive, *ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου*, due to the influence of the Latin ablative *consule* (cf. remarks of Keil und Von Premerstein, Bericht, p. 68, no. 144; cf. B. C. H. XI, 1887, pp. 97, 98, and p. 446 where we have a confusion between the genitive and dative in *ἀνθυπάτου Σιλβάρφ*). Unfortunately only the first two letters of the name of the proconsul are preserved, but the third letter seems from the traces on the stone to have been a *ρ*, so that perhaps we have here the same proconsul, Sulpicius Tertullus (consul in 158 A. D., cf. Prosopogr. III, p. 290, n. 736), who appears in another inscription from this same general region (Mermere), cf. Keil und Von Premerstein, Bericht, p. 63, no. 131. In the lists of Chapot, La Province Rom. d'Asie and of Ruggiero, Dizionario Epig. s. v. Asia there is no such name but Tertullus would have been proconsul about 172/3 A. D., a date with which the forms of the letters entirely agree.

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II.—COMPOSITION, NOT SUFFIXATION:

THE COMPARATIVE AND SUPERLATIVE.

1. There can be no question that the double types of comparative and superlative represented by *πρότερος* and Lat. *prior*, by Lat. *intumus* and *ἐκκιστος*, had already become productive, and been allocated to their special functional uses in the proethnic period. Accordingly, when one would examine them in the hope of ascertaining the etymology of the suffixes, he may only hope to attain success in his search by finding linguistic waifs and strays liable to transparent analysis and to precise definition. Here there is ever the danger that the waifs and strays submitted to analysis may turn out to be neologisms rather than archaisms.

The superlative in -tmmos.

2. It is now some years since I analyzed these as originally ordinals, and still earlier fractionals (cf. Whitney, *Skr. Gr.*¹ §488), and I defined *-tmmos* as 'pars'. This analysis still seems to me sound, and I still have no hesitation in defining *Skr. triṅśattamā-s* = Lat. *tri[n]censimus* by 'triginta <partium una> pars' (cf. *Cl. Rev.* 20, 254). We realize from English *forepart* "first <= foremost> in time or place" how Sanskrit *prathamā-s*¹ 'foremost' may, exceptis excipiendis, as genuinely contain the ordinal suffix *-lama-* (cf. *prathama-bhāj-* 'primâ-partie-fruens') as does *triṅśat-tamā-s* 'tricesimus'. The possibility of the spread of *-tmmo-s* 'pars' to use with superlatives is also revealed by the boast of Aeneas, "quorum pars magna fui". In construction, the fractional-ordinal touched the comparative, cf. Plautus, *Cp.* 421, *me hau centesumam | partem laudat quam ipse meritust ut laudetur laudibus*. In every distribution of a group of three we might have three superlative ordinals, a *primus* and an *ultimus*, with an intervening *medioxumus*.

¹ The *th* of *prathamā-*, even though Indo-Iranian, has spread from *catur-thā-s* '4th' as I shall show below. The syncretic explanation from pre-Aryan **pratha-* + *prama-* advanced by Bartholomae in *IF.* 22, 96 seq. scarcely differs from my suggestion in *Cl. Rev.*, l. c., fn. 3. Cf. *πρωμή* 'forepart, prow'.

3. I also explained as archaic waifs and strays Latin *maritumus* and *fnitumus*, *aeditumus* and *legitumus* finding therein the sense of 'cutting' (: τέμνει) and of 'keeping, guarding' (: ραίας 'divider, dispenser; keeper'); and I now find similar belated survivals in Skr. *rayīnlama-s*, a nonce-epithet of Soma in the Rig Veda, which = *rayīñ-lama-s* 'opem-dividens', for as wine maketh the heart strong,¹ so to the Vedic poet Soma maketh rich. Soma is also called characteristically *madhñlama-s*, and this may mean 'joy-dispensing'.² With these Sanskrit forms exhibiting an accusative first member we may compare Homeric ἰθύν-τατα 'rectissime'. This would mean, to start with *ἰθύν-ταμος, 'ἰθύν [οἶμον] τέμνων'; but, if we call in question the prevailing dogma that -ταμος³ yielded to -τατος because of the numeral type of δέκατος, ἰθύντατος, it may have meant 'rectum [tenorem] tentus'.

Non-comparative forms in -teros.

4. Before proceeding to study the comparative type proper we can safely remove from the list several of the exceptional words:

a) Skr. *dhenusṭarī* 'cow losing her milk' is a compound of the *rosmarinus* type = *dhenu[s]ṭarī* 'vaccasterilis' (cf. *starī-s* 'vacca sterilis').

b) Lat. *matertera* 'stepmother' is a similar complex from **matersterā*(*y*) 'mater sterilis', the non-nursing mother. In the group -rst- the reduction to -rt- was proethnic (see § 39).

c) Skr. *aṣṭatarī* 'mula' I explain as the product of (1) **aṣṭā-starī* 'equa sterilis', and (2) a secondary **aṣṭa[s]starā-s* 'mulus'. From the false division of (2) as **aṣṭas-tarā-s* (1) was refashioned to **aṣṭātarī*, whence (3), *aṣṭatarī* 'mula' and (4), *aṣṭa-tarā-s* 'mulus'. This method of ridding *starī-* of its *s-* is not as complicated as the statement would lead one to think, but at least a passing reference to movable *s-* (cf. Skr. *tār-as* 'stellae', *tārā* 'sidus': *stf-bhis* 'stellabus') may be made.

¹ Cf. Horace, c. 3, 21, 18, *virisque et addis cornua pauperi | post te neque iratos trementi | regum apices neque militum arma.*

² The compv. *madhñtaras* is a hapax and probably only a counterterm to *madhñ-lamas*.

³ The confix -ταμος is perhaps retained in ποταμός (? for πο[το]-ταμος), which, among other possibilities, may be interpreted as 'drink-dispensing' ('Trink-bescherend') or as 'water-cut'; or, with unoriginal accent, as 'qui maxime bibit'—of the river as the drinker-up of its confluent, the ocean of the rivers (see addendum, p. 427). Add ἱραμός, orig. = 'qui maxime it'.

d) Homeric *μελάντερον ἦντε* may also be dismissed as not significantly exceptional, even though Schulze (Qu. Ep. 302) would render by 'fast so schwarz wie', for Lang-Leaf-Myers do entire justice to *ἦντε* when they render by "seemeth ever blacker, even as pitch".

5. But certain Homeric compounds remain that seem to me to reveal *-τερος* in a quite definite meaning, to wit:

e) *ἀγρό-τερος*.

In Φ 486 we have *ἀγροτέρας ἐλάφους*, which I am constrained to believe means 'field-faring does' (*-τέρος*: Skr. *tárati* 'crosses, pierces, fares'), especially in view of Hesiod, Sc. 407, *αἰγὸς ὄρεσσινόμου ἢ ἀγροτέρης ἐλάφοιο* = 'capri montivagi vel agri-transeuntis cervae', and here I am reminded of the English bird-name *fieldfare*. Especial mention may be made of Artemis *Ἀγροτέρα* = Diana 'Trift-überschreitende'.¹

f) *ὄρεστερος*.

At κ 212, Butcher and Lang render by "mountain-bred" (of wolves; of a mountain snake, X 93), though "mountain-faring" is etymologically exacter. Both *ὄρεστερος* and *ἀγρότερος*—to which the *δημότερος* of Apollonius Rhodius is a quite artificial counter-term—may be properly regarded as hunting terms, as to which see the collection of Usener (Götternamen, p. 318), who has gathered up a list of German hunting words to exhibit the archaic <and freshly metaphoric> nature of technical words.

6. There remains one Homeric curiosum more, viz:

g) *θεώτεραι* (hapax at ν, 111).

This word qualifies *θύραι* and the pair describe the gates whereby the gods enter. If the form were **θεώτεραι* there would be no doubt that we had before us a *bahuvrīhi* compound meaning 'entered-by-the-gods' (cf. the Greek examples of the *μητρόκτονος* type in Wheeler, Gr. nom. acc., p. 44). For the *e*-vocalism of (*θεώ*)-*τεραι* we may compare *κακοφεργός*, which is not, however, a

¹ I am not unaware of all the much ado about nothing substantial that has been made for a dozen years past touching the definition of *αἶθρο-* by 'Trift'. But the definition of *ἀγρός* by 'chace', which is all that the present situation admits, needs no further proof than the citation of the following lemmata from the Etym. Mag.:

ἀγρός· παρὰ τὴν ἀγρὰν, ἐν ᾗ γίνεται <ἡ ἀγρὰ>.

ἀγρὰ· ἡ θήρα . . . λέγονται δὲ πληθυντικῶς καὶ οἱ τόποι <ἐν οἷς ἡ θήρα γίνεται>.

ἀγρός· ὁ ἐξω πύλεως χώρος.

bahuvrīhi compound. Yet, on the whole, I do not doubt that *θειώτεροι* is to be regarded as a comparative wherein *θειώτερος* does duty for *θειότερος* 'divinior'. In Latin, *fores divinae* would excite no surprise for *fores deorum*.

7. To the best of my knowledge the *e*-vocalism is rare in compounds whose second member is a verbal derivative (nomen agentis in *-o-*). It is not rare, save as composition at all is rare, in Latin, where Plautus has *armi-ger-o-*,¹ *morigero-*, *furcifero-* and *pedisequo-*, cf. *agricola*, which may be for **agriquela*, and post-Plautine *caelicola*, if from **caeliquela*, is matched by Skr. *divt-cara-* (*ca = ke*) 'sky-goer', cf. *dhanva-carā-s* 'desert-faring'. If the *o*-vocalism lived in Latin it is rare. From *busti-raḥo-urbicaḥo-*, in conjunction with the *e*-forms already given, it is safe to say for Latin that the vocalism of the present tense was usually reflected in the nomina agentis in *o-*. In Greek, on the other hand, the *e/o* alternation was cherished—if not greatly exaggerated—as a formative device. But even in the proethnic time the influence of the present of the verb over the noun is not to be gainsaid (cf. Brugmann, Gr.² II. 1, p. 155), so that *-toro-s* 'faring' may even then have yielded its vocalism in favor of **tereti* 'fares' (cf. Lat. *viam terit*). Confusion of the vocalism of the *toro-* type (Skr. *tāra-*) and of the *teres-* type (Skr. *tarās-*) may also be pleaded.

h) *ἡμίτερος*, *ὕμίτερος*.

In these formations, as in Latin *noster* and *vester*, the suffix *-tepos* has no function except to mark contrast. This was no original force of *-tepo-*, but contrast is implicit in *meum* and *tuum* as, to take an example, contrast is implicit in *fore* and *aft*. So it was that the contrast implicit in the stem-part of *πρό-τερος* and *ὕσ-τερος* became enough associated with the suffix *-tepos* to cause the development of *ὕμίτερος* and *ἡμίτερος* at the cost of *ὕμός* and *ἄμός*. See also § 9.

The Comparative confix -tero-

8. It may be easily shown, I think, to all persons not wedded to the algebraic process whereby *-tepo-* is reckoned as the sum of *to-* + *ero* (see Fay, Class. Rev. 20, 255 and fn. 1), how *-tero-* developed into a comparative suffix. Characteristic for Homer

¹ Homeric *ὀπλότεροι* attests, at least, an informal division of troops into *iuniores* and *seniores*, but the name *ὀπλότεροι* may have come by dissimilation from **ὀπλότελοι* = 'armigeri'. Or has *ὀπλότεροι* a sexual significance, cf. § 55, fn., and note Aristophanic *πόσθων* 'puellus'.

is *πρότεροι ἄνθρωποι* for which Capelle-Seiler offer the unconsciously etymological rendering *Vorfahren*; children of a prior marriage are 'fore-going' (*πρότεροι*); *πρότερον ἡμᾶρ* is the 'preceding day'; *πρότερος γενεῇ* is 'precedent in birth'; *πρότεροι πόδες* 'the fore(going) feet'. The contrasting term is *ὑστερος*, used in Homer with *ἐλθών*, *ἔκετο*, *εἶμι*, and in the phrase *γίνει ὑστερος* 'in birth succedent'. Just as characteristically—if not so predominantly—combined with verbs of notion is *pratarām* (adverb only) in the Rig Veda (see Grassmann, *Wtbch.*, s. v. 1). A definition apt for *πρότερος* and *pratarām* is certainly applicable to proethnic **protero-s* 'prae-cedens'.

9. One has but to inspect the Homeric examples for *πρότερος* to see how the idea of comparison—contrast, if one will—lies implicit in the contexts; and our awkward English *the former* (illi) and *the latter* (hi) reveal the semantic adaptability of the suffix *-tero-* for application to pronoun words like Lat. *alter* and *iterum* (: Skr. *tiaras*).

10. An interesting passage for the illustration of the spread of the suffix may be excerpted from the Iliad, ♣ 587 :

πολλὸν γὰρ ἐγὼ γε νεώτερός εἰμι
 σείο ἄναξ Μενέλαε, σὺ δὲ πρότερος καὶ ἄρειων.
 590 κραιπνότερος μὲν γάρ τε νόος, λεπτὴ δέ τε μῆτις,

where *πρότερος*, short for *πρότερος γενεῇ*, reveals the *raison d'être* of *νεώτερος* 'younger', and *κραιπνότερος* (cf. *ἠκύτερος*) suffers the restoration of the sense of 'swift-rushing'. Similarly Skr. *rathī-*, which is a compound of **rat(h)a²-* (? = ə) + *-i-* 'going', forms a 'compound' *rathītara-s* <'as> charioteer-coursing', cf. *rath-ātātārā-s* (proper name) 'wagon-faring'(?), like *patathgā-s* 'wing-going' (= bird), *patam-* being accus. (? instrum.) of a root noun *pat-*, cf. *-πι-ι-* (loc.) in Greek (§ 62, a); also the triple stemmatism of *κλάδος*, *κλαδί*, *κλάδεσιν*.

11. In Sanskrit, *-tara-s* is sometimes ambiguous, and it may stand for *-tolo-s*; e. g., in the so-called comparatives *madīntara-s* and *surabhīntara-s*, both used of Soma, the possible 'bringer' (*-tolos*) of **madi-m* (joy) and of (*su*)-*rabhi-m* (: Latin *rabies*) 'the furor or insania of drink'. For *-tolo-s* cf. Latin *-tulus* in **opitulus*, whence *opitulor* : *opem tulit*.

12. My analysis of *δρῖστερος* and *madhīntaras* presupposes, of course, that they are archaisms and not neologisms (cf. Baudouin de Courtenay, IFA, 26, p. 58, § 21), and for *δρῖστερος*, if I do not

err in its definition, no other supposition is tenable. The same definition of *-tero-* may be realized in Latin *terrestris* (if derived from **tē-res-tro-*), *Nemestrinus* (if from *nemes-tro-*), *palustris* (if from *palūd-tro-*), etc. (see Brugmann, Gr.³ II. 1, 327).

The Superlative in -i-stho-s.

13. There can be no doubt, I repeat, that the suffixes of comparison represented in Greek by the terminations *-tew-* and *-iotos* had started on their course of productivity in the proethnic period. This is shown by pairs like Skr. *ācīyāṁs-* : Lat. *ōciōr*, *ācīṣṭhas* : Gr. *ōkīōtos*. Nevertheless, the functions of the comparative and superlative in Vedic Sanskrit seem more archaic than any functions that linguistic comparisons enable us to restore for the proethnic types. In Sanskrit, I seem to see the individual trees, but looking further back, only the general blurr of a thicket; and I believe Delbrueck's conclusion (ai. Synt., p. 191, cf. also Güntert in IF. 27, 5) to be absolutely sound, viz: that the forms in *-tyas-* and *-iṣṭha-* originally stood in relation to verbal roots—were participials (I do not mean participles)—and acquired adjective function subsequently. Save a few confirmatory relics found elsewhere, it is only on Sanskrit data that this conclusion can be based.

14. The failure sooner to realize that these "suffixes" are an outgrowth from compounds is due, I suppose, to the mistaken resolution of *-i-ṣṭha-s* ("superlative") into *-is-* (in gradation with the *(-y)yā(ñ)s-* of the "comparative") + *-tho-*.

15. To begin with an abrupt statement of the explanation I wish to present, I divide this "suffix" as *-i-ṣṭha-s*, wherein *-i-* is a locative ending belonging to a root-noun, used as an infinitive, and *-stha-s* our familiar compounding member which means 'stands' or, in English, 'standing, steady'.

16. Nobody needs to be told that for the Vedas the name "superlative" is, in the main, a misnomer, as these forms are normally only elatives, spoken of one who possesses a quality in a high degree. We can realize in English how a steady drinker, one regular at his cups, becomes considered a great drinker, one characterized by drinking.

17. Availing myself of Delbrueck's material I now propose to analyze some half-a-dozen examples—e quibus omnia discas. I begin with:

a) *hāni-ṣṭha-s* "am heftigsten schlagend (Vṛtram)" which

I will render by (the dative = loc.) 'neci (in)stans', an epithet of Indra as the habitual, steady slayer of the drouth-demon, Vritra.

b) In the pair *dē-ṣṭha-s* and *dhē-ṣṭha-s* = 'qui saepissime dat' (both governing an accus.) we have locatives, or as Bartholomae would regard them, dative-locatives, of the root-nouns *dā-* and *dhā-*, with the ending of the type found in *χαμ-αλ* 'humi' attached to the verb-roots in the zero grade. These forms are not otherwise attested in RV., and in the later language the type is *j-i-* (see Whitney, Gr.², § 351).

c) As examples of unmistakable *guṇa* in the root part, I cite *cēti-ṣṭha-s* "am hellsten glänzend", *cōdi-ṣṭhas* "aufs stärkste anfeuernd", *vēdi-ṣṭhas* "am besten verschaffend", *śōci-ṣṭha-s* and *śōbhi-ṣṭha-s* 'splendidissimus'.

18. These root-nouns in the locative, what are they? We are apt to call them infinitives, and because in the complexes with *-iyāṇs-* and *-stha-s* they govern the accusative it is well to do so. As fortune would have it, a test for the infinitive value is found in *pārqi-ṣṭha-s* "am besten herausführend, rettend (vom Aoriststamme)", for *pārqi-* seems transparently one of the infin.-impv. formations in *-si* discussed by Bartholomae in IF. 2, 271 sq.; 276. That *pārqi-*¹ is a *guṇa* form, like those mentioned, seems assured by the Av. infin. *darəsōi* 'visum', when confronted with Skr. *ḍṛ-ṣ-ḍ-* (cf. Bartholomae, Gr. Ir. Phil. I, § 258).

19. We have here to reckon with the fact that the Sanskrit root-nouns which we are prone to think generally accented the ending of all the weak cases did not always do so,² noting especially the two infinitival nouns *bhūhe* and *vāhe*, and the pair *jēṣ-i* : *jēṣe* (cf.

¹ Accident has not preserved Skr. **nakṣi* 'necare' as it has preserved *ndkṣi* 'nancisci', but the derivation of Lat. *noxius* from **noksi* + *y-o-s* = *necare* iens seems entirely convincing. For the unusual *o*-vocalism cf. *ὀνόμας/ὀνόμας*. Lat. *anxius* is of similar composition. would also explain Lat. *parrimonia* as 'in-parcendo-manentia', *caerimonia* as 'in colendo manentia', *parc-si-* and *quae-si-* being good aor. infin.-impvs. in *-si-*.—We entirely conform also to Roman social usage when we render *matri-monium* by 'apud matrem <mariti> manentia'. Of clear analysis also is *querimonia* 'in querendo manentia'. In *acrimonia*, *aegrimonia*, etc., *-monia* may convey the note of a lasting condition. I take this occasion also to announce the conjecture that *φepóμevος*, however unclear *φepo-* may be as a "part of speech", means "tragen-bleibend", and Lat. *stāmen* = "stehen-bleibend". [*-monium* = abode estate.]

² See Macdonnell's Vedic Gram., § 584; Whitney,² § 390; Bartholomae in IF, I, 498, fn. 3; Gr. Ir. Phil. I, § 219, 1, 2; 2.

Av. *darəsōi* : Skr. *दृ-१-६*). In Latin *nec-s* and, with deflected vocalism, Greek *ῥόπ-ς*, we have further exhibits of the *guṇa* stage.

20. I take for my next example e) *vāhi-ḡṭha-s* "am besten führend", to exhibit the *vridhhi* stage of the root, such as we find, with deflected vocalism, in the Latin root-noun *vōc-s* 'voice', cf. Av. *nāšā* (loc. plur.) 'necibus'.

21. The weakest grade is attested in f) *nēdi-(ḡṭhas)*, from *na-sd-i*, a compound noun in which *na-* is a preposition meaning something like 'auf' (: O. Bulg. *na* 'an, auf') + a noun *-sdī*, weakest grade of *-sed-* 'sedes', in the locative. Thus *na-sd-* means something like 'an-sitz' or 'by-seat', and the complex means 'prope sedem stans'. Morphologically, *na-zd-i* is entirely comparable with Av. *uḡabdi* (cf. Bartholomae, Wtbch., p. 390). Of equally transparent composition as *nēdi-ḡṭha-s*, and semantically clearer, is Homeric *ἀγχι-στον* 'prope-stans'. The locative value of *ἱψι-* in *ἱψι-στος* (post Homeric) = 'in excelso stans' is indubitable.

22. From the complexes in which noun locatives like **nasdi-* and locative adverbs, like *ἀγχι* and *ἱψι*, figured, we see how the approach to purely adjective function was prepared, but when in Tānd. Br. *vāhi-sṭha-s* "am besten fahrend" is combined with *āḡiḡṭha-s* 'celerrimus' we realize the conditions under which a productive confix *-i-ḡṭhas*, and that with incorrect analysis, was transferred, without due regard for the phonetics of word-joining, to a stem *āḡi-* 'ἀκύν'. But see § 61, fn. 1¹.

23. Here I digress to present a brief statistic suggested by the question as to the formal relation between *ἱψος* (*-es* stem) and *ἱψι*, a locative adverb. I can hardly think that *ἱψι* is a (pre-Greek) haplogy for *ἱψ[εϛ]*, but the relation between *ἱψος* and *ἱψιστος* (? cf. *splendor* to *splendi-dus* 'splendorem reddens'—one of a large number of similar pairs—in which *splendi-* looks like a stem, or a neuter accusative) has an astonishing number of parallels in the early Sanskrit formations. Excluding the three forms *dē-ḡṭha-s*, *dhē-ḡṭha-s* and *yē-ḡṭha-s* (as to which see § 17), Delbrueck's list of comparatives and superlatives from indubitable verb-roots embraces 38 roots, from 21 of which nouns like *tāras-* or adjectives like *tards-* (some in composition only) are

¹ The rule of the Greek grammars that adjectives in *-ρός* make their superlatives in *-ιστος*, cf. Homeric *κύνιστος* : *κύνρός*, might be turned in favor of the composition theory, for *κύν-* is the legitimate composition form for *κύνρός*, cf. *κύν--ἀνεῖπα* (see Brugmann, Gr.³ II, 1, § 37). But see § 23.

also found, and 6 have root-nouns or adjectives (cf. Vedic *túr-*).¹ This may be a mere coincidence, but it may also mean that the formal relation of *ῥψος* : *ῥψι* [cf. *Fétos* : *πέρ-σοι*, Skr. *par-ul*—which, though merely lexical, is of great antiquity ; also *ἐγ-κντί* ‘in cute’ : *κύντος*]² is actually repeated in *ávas-* ‘favor’ : *ávi-ḡḡhas* ‘favere instans’—which amounts to saying that the monosyllabic root-nouns of the type of **av-* (infinitival locative *ávi-*) gave way before the type of *avas-* (datival infinitive **ávas-e*).

24. Outside of Sanskrit (and the Iranian group), the superlative most transparent for its root derivation is Gr. *φείριστος* ‘optimus’ : Av. *bairi-šta-* ‘qui optime servat’. Hirt (Gram. § 353, e) defines *φείριστος* by “der am meisten trägt”, and I judge that he has been brought to a better mind than when (after Bezzenberger, Bei., 2, 191) he compared *φείρερος* with Lith. *gẽras* ‘bonus’ (PBB., 23, 351). One cannot heed the characteristic combination of *φείρερος* in Homer with some word meaning ‘vi’ (instrum.) without realizing its kinship with *φίρω*, especially as used in the locution *φείρειν καὶ ἄγειν* (cf. *φάρ* ‘thief’). The *φείρερος* was an ‘obtainer’, with moral qualities glimpsed through the halo of wealth (cf. *optimus*, and Jupiter optimus maxumus, unless Jupiter was optimus, tamquam ‘opem-dividens’, cf. *rayintama-s*, § 3). Nor should the formation of *φείρερος* directly from a root-adjective *φερ-* occasion any real difficulty, for the formation varies in no essential particular from Vedic *su-kṣ̥tara-s* ‘beneficentior’, cf. *ratna-dhātama-s*, *vṛtra-hāntama-s*. In the Avesta, *bairi-šta-* is the ‘up-bearer, supporter’ or, in approximately exact etymological rendering, ‘ferre instans’.

24 a. In Latin, *lanista* ‘chief-gladiator, trainer of gladiators’ lends itself to analysis as *lani-šta* = ‘lanire instans ; qui maxime lanit’. Here *-šta* seems to be a derivative of the type of *-cola*, unless it is a Latin equivalent of Skr. *-sthā-s* in compounds, cf. Lat. *nauta* : *ναύτης*.

25. As transparent in make-up as the noun and adverb locative types presented by Skr. *nēdi-ḡḡha-s* and Gr. *ἄγχιστον* (see § 21) are OHG. *furisto* “Fürst, der Vorderster”, from **ḡḡri-stho-* ‘im vorne stehend’ and OHG. *ēristo* ‘earliest’, O. Eng. *dereſt*

¹ An examination of the Avesta might reveal more, cf. *hān-/hān-* ‘merens’, though Sanskrit *san-* is lacking.

² The *i* of *ἐγκντί* raises the question whether we have a locative from the stem *κντ-* with *i* (cf. the Greek deictic *i* and Gathic Av. *paithi* : Skr. *patihī*), or have to start with the stem *κντι-*.

'primus', formally identical with Greek $\tilde{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$ 'earliest' (? sc. quasi $\dot{\epsilon}\delta\alpha\nu\acute{o}\nu$). The sense was not 'früh-essen' (- $\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$ from $\delta\tau\acute{o}\nu$: $\dot{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\iota$ 'eats'), pace Brugmann, Gr. Gram.³, p. 252, 6, but merely 'earliest' (? sc. time = 'morning'), as we easily realize from Germ. *Mittag* = dinner; Lat. *vesper* = 'supper' (cf. *Sonnenschein* ad Rud. 181).

26. The superlatives with which we have just dealt, OHG. *furisto* and OE. *árest* are as much ordinals as they are superlatives. For 'alter' or 'secundus' a superlative were out of place, but O. Ir. *tress* and Osc. *trstus* 'testes' warrant an Italo-Celtic—I think a proethnic—start form **tri-stho-s* = '3-stander' (cf. Thurneysen, Hdbch., § 396, Brugmann, Gr.³ II, 1, p. 145). But the problem of the ordinals can be best dealt with in connection with the other numerals, and to them I now turn.

The Ten Digits.

27. I suppose no one could approach his colleagues with a study of the ten digits without feeling apologetic, but it seems to me that I have gained a point of view for their analysis that justifies me in presenting the conclusions that I have reached. This I will try to present in all brevity. Brevity is the more attainable because of my being able to refer to Miss Stewart's very instructive collection of materials in BB., 30, 223 sq.

28. Postulates, Corollaries, Exceptions :

1) Our Indo-European ancestors told off the first ten numerals on their fingers. They counted the little finger of the left hand as 1, on up to the left thumb for 5; the right thumb was 6, and so on to the little finger of the right hand for 10.

2) The names of the fingers preceded the names of the numbers. The numbers, strictly speaking, are digits.

3) In telling off the digits the names were ordinals, originally, as well as, or rather than, cardinals,¹ like the numbers of prisoners, street numbers, etc., nowadays. And so soldiers and other groups of persons are told off, "count out", till now.

4) It follows that the ordinal 'sextus' may be as early as, or earlier than, the cardinal 'sex', say.

5) In the sing-song of telling off the digits, the word *kwe* 'and' was used. It has become firmly attached; e. g., in *quinque* '5',

¹ It is the established doctrine of the modern theory of numbers that, in the development of the numeral concept, the ordinals preceded the cardinals.

as in Lat. *sesqui-* = ' $\frac{1}{2}$ and', and in *reciprocus*, adjectivized from **reque proque* 'backwards and forwards', cf. *susque deque* 'up and down' (Eng. 'to and fro'), and *absque* (= quasi ['on] and-off'), which has survived, though separated from its mate. The prefixed *que-* of the word for 4 arose, to take Sanskrit as typical, by misdivision of *trāyaṣ-catvāraṣ[ca]*,² precisely what happened in Latin with the group IOVIS-VE³IOVIS[VE], as I think (cf. Fay, Am. Jr. Phil., 24, 69.)⁴

6) The name for 1, and perhaps for 2, is not digital.

Excursus on the Roman Notation.

29. The Indo-European ancestors of the Romans certainly counted to a hundred, using words still preserved with little alteration by the Romans. They did not have alphabetic writing. They may have had ideographic numeral signs, and the Romans may have kept these ideograms intact. If the Roman numbers were of digital origin their ideograms may have been digital. One can hardly deny that i, ii, iii, iiii are digital pictographs. This being so plausible, it is hard to deny that V, especially in an early form like ∇ , makes not a bad pictograph for the left thumb as attached to the forefinger; and that this sign may be pre-alphabetic. In Oscan, sometimes, more often in Etruscan, sporadically in Latin even (see Gundermann, *die Zahlzeichen*, p. 28 seq.), the numeral V was written Λ . By the combination of the two we get $X = V$ over Λ .

30. This explanation of V seems to me confirmed by other pictographs. As in V the left stroke in fact represents 4 fingers, so in Hieratic Egyptian IIII (4) has an alternative sign $\text{—} + \text{—}$ (cf. 7, i. e. $\text{—} + \text{—} = 5$). In Syrian, the sign $\rho^4 = 2$, and may represent the elongated left forefinger and thumb, while in Palmyrene the same sign, only right handed, η , stands for 5. But both these numeral systems have the V-sign for 5, only in the position $>$. In Karoṣṭhi, where the numbers 1-3 are identical with the same numbers in Roman notation, the numeral 4 varies between IIII and X, where the X looks like a combination of two pictographs

¹ Precisely similar is Av. *āča parača* "her und fort".

² Cf. the word *ampersand* which arose from the repetition of the alphabet in the "old field" schools of the Southern states. After Z came & and the recitation ran "zed and-per-se-and".

³ Note how in calling game scores we say "four and [four]".

⁴ All these symbols are taken from Gundermann, l. c., pp. 9, 18-19.

(one inverted), for forefinger and thumb (cf. Syrian ρ and Palmyrene $\gamma = 2$), and Nabatean $X = 4$. Syrian $7 = 10$ looks like an inverted pictograph of thumb and forefinger (? to indicate the 2d 5), cf. Arabic 7.

Names of the fingers.

31. We will gain nothing for our purpose by rehearsing the obvious names for the fingers in the Latin (but cf. *auricularis* = little finger), Greek and early Germanic languages, but Greek $\lambda\iota\chi\alpha\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ 'the lick', used for the (right) forefinger, shows the sort of names we should like to find. In Sanskrit, *tarjaṇī* 'minans' (? or possibly 'tergens') and *pradeśinī* 'fore-pointing' are names of the '*index*' (sc. *digitus*). Descriptive names like $\lambda\iota\chi\alpha\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$, *tarjaṇī*, *index* may be chronologically anterior to general names like *digitus*, that is to say, *index* may be semantically older than $\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\text{-}\tau\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ¹ (both contain $d\acute{\alpha}k\hat{-}$ 'pointing' from the root $d\acute{e}(\gamma)\acute{k}$ -, preserved in $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha[\kappa]\text{-}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota$ 'monet', $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\nu\sigma\iota$ 'monstrat', Lat. *digitus* 'digito monstratus').²

32. The Sanskrit name for the ring-finger is *ānāmikā*, understood as the 'nameless', and 'nameless' is said to be a common name in languages of a different stock for the ring-finger. It is curious that *ā-nāmikā* lends itself to interpretation as 'inflexible' (: Skr. *nāmate* 'bows'), or as 'non-rapiens' (: Germ. *nimm!* 'rapit').³

33. Two of the fingers had Sanskrit names in *-sthas*. On the face of it, one is a superlative, *kaṇiṣṭhā*, *kaṇiṣṭhikā* 'little (finger)',

¹ The following curious nursery rhyme may be cited, apropos of the $\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\upsilon\lambda\omicron\iota$ 'Idaioi, priests of Cybele, who were perhaps not different from the Corybantes: "Dance, merry men, dance (bis), | Dance ye merry men, every one, | *Thumbkin* he can dance alone, | Dance, merry men, dance"—repeated in subsequent stanzas with the substitution for *Thumbkin* of *Foreman*, *Middleman*, *Ringman*, *Littleman*. Cf. Sk. *daṣa yu-vatdyas* '10 maids' = fingers.

² Cf. Homeric $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\text{-}\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ and, in Aeschylus, $\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\upsilon\lambda\acute{o}\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$.

³ It can hardly be doubted that Latin *nomen* is cognate with *numerus*, both from the root *nem-/enem-*. The name was doubtless often won, as knights once won their spurs. As in the case of Torquatus, the *nomen* was a recompense, honoris causa meritum. So the Indian braves of this continent often acquired their names. We certainly feel, even now, that the name is one of our most intimate belongings. Things, places, persons still "take their names" (cf. Lat. *nuncupat*) from deeds and events. Cf. the following: All children have nicknames, and we had ours. We got one apiece early, and they stuck to us; but Joan was rich in this matter, for as time went on she earned a second, and then a third, and so on, and we gave them to her (Mark Twain's *Joan of Arc*, Ch. iv).

but what is *aṅguṣṭhā-s* 'thumb'? It may be from *an-*: *ér* or *ává* 'auf' + *-gu-*: Av. 'gav- 'hand' [':*gav-* 'verschaffen'?'] + *-stha-s* = 'in-manu-stans'. Thus *aṅgú-li-s* 'finger' has, in the suffix *-li-*, rather a confix, cognate with *h-nas* 'anschmiegend, anliegend, geduckt'. In view of *éγ-γύ-s* which Liddell and Scott quite unconsciously render by 'at hand', why refuse to interpret Skr. *aṅgu-* by 'on (the) hand'? [Cf. *μεσση-γύ-s* 'mid-(hand)'].

The numeral 2-2d = left ring-finger. (?)

34. If *duo* is really a digit, it has sprung from the name of the left ring-finger. In view of the weakness of that finger *δύω*: *δύη* 'miseria' is a tenable derivation, or the name may be ironical (= euphemistic) and cognate with *δύναται* 'potest'. In that case *δύη*, Skr. *du-iṣ-* 'odisse', Lat. *bellum*, etc., are secondary developments from *du-* '2'.

The numeral 3-3d = left middle finger.

35. The forms *tri-s* (thrice), *tréyes* '3', *tri-stho-s* 3d are all proethnic, though the last is extant only in the Italo-Celtic branch. The digit name hardly started as *tri-s*; i. e., Reibe-finger (*tri-s*: Latin *tri-tus* 'rubbed'). In any sort of amateur massage, it is the middle finger that rubs (? scratches) most, and which, by the natural configuration of the hand, must rub most. But, as I rather think, the midfinger was named from its projecting. Thus *tri-* 'tip' will belong to the root of *τίρ-θρον* 'tip' (= 'point' of a 'borer': *terebra* 'auger'³), Eng. *thrum* (end of a piece of flax), from a base *tr-emo-*. The plural *treyes* '3' replaced *tri-s* 'tip', which then began to do the work of a multiplicative, 'thrice'. The form *tri-sthos* (or *tris[s]thos*?) meant 'tip-stander', and may have been the only name of the finger, possibly = *tr-é-* (loc.) 'on-tip' + *-sthos*, see § 43, on *sextus*: *sex*. When we bring **tri-sthos* 'tip-finger' into connection with Skr. *aṅguṣṭhas* 'thumb' (see § 33), the question arises whether *-stho-s* did not actually

¹ Was this the root of ⁵*gav-* 'cow' as th 'provider'? Cf. the wishing cow in Indic folk-lore.

² Here perhaps *δύ-στρονος* 'miser', Skr. *duḥ-ṣṭhis* 'Verderbniss'.

³ The sense of rubbing (pace Walde, Wtbch., s. v. *termen*) arose when the auger of the proethnic man was relatively blunt. The root *ter-* specifically described the fire-drilling process, where "drilling" and "rubbing" are convertible terms. The sense of 'penetrate' (vb. of motion) is illustrated by Fr. *percer* (: *perfundit*).

connote 'finger'. Then Skr. *kanisthā* 'little finger', compared with O. Bulg. *is-koni* 'ab initio, *konici* 'ende' (further cognates in Fick-Stokes, Wtbch. II⁴, p. 76-77), invites definition as 'end-stander'. I recall the upright or standing position of the fingers when one is telling them off, but 'finger' was at most only a connotation of *-stho-s*. Note Germ. *stand/ständer* 'Fusz der Auerhahnen und Reiher'.

The word for 4-4th = 'fore-finger'.

36. Of the fingers, the fore-finger is notable for its activity and mobility, and if *kwe*]-*twōr-* / *-tur-* was the name of the fore-finger, we can hardly deny the cognation of Skr. *catvār-as* '4' with *caturas* 'celer, sollers' (cf. *cāturya-m* 'sollertia' and, in Epic, 'venustas')¹, even though numeral words—in this case complicated by retention of inorganic *kwe-* (see § 28, 5)—tend to lose all but their numeral significance (see Pott, Etym. Forsch. I, 63). The definition of 'potens' for *-twōr-* / *-tur-* is also justified by Skr. *turi-s* 'potentia, victoria', *τύραννος* 'potentate'.

37. When the count moves to the right hand, the fore-finger is told off as 7-7th. It seems more than a little curious, then, to observe that *turaṅga-s* 'equus' (= celer) is also a name for the figure 7 (? "wegen der sieben Pferde des Sonnengottes").

38. In view of *aṅgulis* 'finger; mentula'² (Böhtlingk und Roth, compare *δάκτυλος*; cf. Latin *digitus impudicus, infamis*); and in view of Skr. *turi* 'weaver's brush, shuttle' (cf. *κερκίς* 'shuttle, peg': *κέρκος* 'tail; mentula'), Vedic *turīṣa* 'mentulae aqua' (sit venia verbis) constitutes an attest of *tur-* 'digitus'. Here note the glosses *verpus*: *δριλος καὶ ὁ μέσος δάκτυλος τῆς χειρός*, and *veretrum* (= mentula): quasi numen ignis quae <cf. *verpha*>

¹ If we will recall that the fullest form of the root of *stare* is *sthāw* we may derive the suffixes *tāti* and *tūti* as found in Latin *tempe[s]tās/tempestās* from compounds in which *-stāti-s* *-stūtis* meant 'state, condition', cf. *uber[s]tas*, e. g. = 'full state, condition' (on *r[s]t*, see § 39). So Skr. *su-ṣhīl-s* 'good' may first have meant 'gutstehend', and *μνη-στύς* (abstract) 'cum muliere stans'—unless *μνη-στεύει* means 'mulierem laudans'. So *μνη-στύς* (abstr.) would mean 'cum mente stans'. Thus, the *-ti-* and *tu* abstracts may also have got their start from *-es-* stems (i. e. *-es-[s]ti-*, etc.), cf. the *-esti-* and *-estu-* stems as treated by Brugmann, Gr. II. 1, p. 439, *δ*, and § 334. Then we shall have to suppose that Lith. *augestis* 'growth' (cf. Lat. *augustus* 'grown') and Latin *tempestas ubertas* testify to the predominance in the parent speech of *es* and *er* stems in these compounds.

² Cf. Lat. *inguen*(?), and the *σῆκον-ῖς* gesture (see Sittl, Die Gebärden, p. 102).

colebatur in urbe Romae. I can but derive from these the identification of finger, phallus and the fire-drill,—which may make us wonder if the phallic worship was a fire worship, too, and if the *urit-* metaphor of the Roman amorists was suggested by the fire-drill (cf. Lexical Skr. *uṣa-s* 'amator': *uṣā* 'ustio').¹

39. In Skr. *catur-thā-s* '4th', we have the continuation of a startform **kwe tur-sthós*, and in Greek *τέταρτος*, Lith. *ketvirtas*, the continuation of **kwe twer-sthós*,² in both of which, probably before the break-up of the parent speech, *rsth* had yielded *-rt(h)-*. Against this loss of *s* no a priori objection should hold (cf. Osthoff's discussion of *παρ[σ]τάδες* in IF. 8, 9, sq., and O. Ir. *tar[s]to-*, ap. Thurneysen, Hdbch., § 178). From the startforms *kwetwer[s]thos*³ and *k̑swek̑s[s]thos* 'sextus', the suffix *-t(h)os* was abstracted, cf. Skr. *pañca-tha-s*: Lat. *quin(c)tus*, *πένπτος*. From the ordinals in *-sthos* (pre-Iranian *-stas*), in *[-s]thos* (pre-Iranian *-θas*), and the ordinals in *-tmos* (see § 2) it came about that Indo-Iranian **pratama-s* acquired an alternate form **prathama-s*. On Skr. *turiya-* '4th' see § 63.

The word for 5-5th = 'thumb' or 'hand'.

40. a) Startform *pen[kw]kwe*, assimilated from **peñg̑ + kwe*. The root-word **peñg̑* (cf. Skr. *yūñj-* 'comes' and see Brugmann, Gr.² II. 1, § 86) may mean 'pangens' (= either thumb or hand 'as

¹ These glosses seem to me to clear up the difficulties as to *verpa/verpus*. The *verpus* was a phallic emblem, *praeputio retracto*, whence Catullus (who may have taken a cue from *φαλλῆς*, one of the Priapids) makes a *Verpus* to balance a *Mentula* (reading 47, 4 *Verpus praeposuit, Priapus ille*). Etymologically, *verpus* will belong to *δρ-παξ* (? *πακ-*: *πάσσαλος* 'peg') 'goad, sapling', at least until a dialect form disproves the assumed *f*.

² For Lat. *quartus* the startform was *k̑w[ɛ]w̑ȓ[s]thos*, cf. *τετρω-κοντα*: *quad-rā-ginta-*, so that the *ar* of *quartus*, from an original long *r*-vowel, furnished the *a* in the whole *quattuor* group.

³ With unoriginal *-sthos*, picked up from *tri-stho-s* and *k̑swek̑s[-s]thos* (see § 41).

⁴ I have long felt that Lat. *pro-pinquos* meant 'vor(der) Hand' (cf. *εγ-γύς*, § 33), and furnished the model for *longinquus* (*-inquos* not = *-apos*, see Fay, Am. Jr. Phil. 28, 413), whence *propē* (with *e* shortened by the iambic law) *propior*, modelled on *longe longior*. The superlative, *proximus*, had earlier replaced lost **neximus*: Osc. *nessimas* 'proximae' whose root was *n̑k-* 'iungere', attested by German *nah* 'juxta'. The nearest relations to Osc. *nessimas* are Lat. *necessitas necessitudo* = 'connexion(s); kindred', *mihi necesse est* = 'constringor' (cf. Fay, TAPA 37, 9 sq.). A parallel root, *nedh-*, in Latin *nodus* 'knot': O. Ir. *nessam* 'proximus'.

the 'grasper'), but has the vowel color of Lat. *pēgit*, Gothic *ga-fēhaba* (cf. Brugmann, Gr.¹ I, 504, c). b) But if an adjective, *peñg* meant 'crassus' (cf. Eng. *thumb*¹ for the sense), and belongs with Lat. *pinguis*² (startform *pñgñ-*, cf. Skr. *pñjñ-lā-m* 'tōmentum', startform **pñgñ-lo-m*), Skr. *paj-rd-s* (startform *pñg-rd-s*) 'crassus', originally 'compactus'. c). Or the startform was *s)pen-kwe* 'spinner' (: Goth. *spinnan.*)³

The numeral 6-6th = right thumb.

41. The complicated startform seems to have been *ksweks-[s]tho-s*,⁴ subsequently *ksweks*, and of these the longer form lends itself to a curiously minute analysis, viz.: *ksw-* = Gr. *ξύ-v*, O. Bulg. *sū-* 'co-'; *eks* = *ēξ*, Lat. *ex* 'out'; *-sthos* = *stans*, the whole = *co-ex-stans*. Could invention have produced a better designation for the second thumb as told off in an enumeration? The identification of Skr. *angusṭhās* in its first part with *ἄγγύ-s* 'at hand' (see § 33) lets us even suppose that the pair *eñgu-sthos* and *ksweks[s]thos* existed proethnically as names for the thumbs.

42. Absolutely the only phonetic difficulty with this analysis lies in the fact that *eghs-sthos/eks-[s]thos*,⁵ instead of *eks-[s]thos*, seems to exhibit the proper guttural for the base of Lokr. *ἐχθός*, Homeric *ἐκτός* (? with aspiration lost in *ἐκτοσθε*), which are morphologically frozen nominatives of the *adversus* type. But assimilation of the second to the first *ks-* in *ksweks[s]tho-s* is no violent assumption, cf. Skr. *ṣāṣ*. Cognate with *eks-[s]thos* 'extans' is

¹ The native explanation of *pollex*: *polleo* <with suffix from *index*> is to be given up because of O. Bulg. *pa-llet*. I explain *pollex* as *por* + *lic-s* (: *λεποί/λεποί* 'tines') = 'fore-prong'. Then *pa-llet* will be a compound, too, cf. O. Pruss. *pa-gapris* 'Bratspiess', Lith. *pa-žastis* 'achselhöhle'. Further cognates, when we reckon with the use of the finger in trading and bidding (cf. Lat. *liceri digito*), in *pollicetur* and (mihi) *licet*.

² I note the curious Latin gloss *pinguis* 'uliginosus', i. e., 'sticky' (? : Skr. *pañka-s* 'uligo').

³ For the *pollex* as a 'spinner' see Catullus 64, 313 and Friedrich's note ad loc.; and cf. Grimm's tale of the Drei Spinnerinnen. The use of the *pollex* of both hands is shown in the picture reproduced in Schreiber's Atlas, pl. LXXV, no. 9.

⁴ Note *ξτόρης* (if original, = 'sechstel'): Lat. *sextus*, with the confix variation *-sthā-s*: *-stho-s*, and cf. § 24 a. The *x-* of Av. *xšvaš* '6' may be inorganic.

⁵ I have written *gh*, following Wackernagel in KZ. 33, 40 (see also Prellwitz, s. v. *ēξ*), whereas Brugmann (Gr. Gram.³, § 79, 5; cf. Kvg., § 598, and Walde, s. v. *ex*) writes *eḡhs-dhos* for the startform of *ἐχθός*. But only *gh* suits the comparison of Lat. *hostis* (see below) with O. Bulg. *gastŭ*.

Lat. *hostis* from *e]ghos-sthis* (see Fay, Mod. Lang. Notes, 22, 39)—a startform that is raised above doubt by the proper explanation of *ἐχθρός* 'inimicus', which is to be derived from *egh[z]-tros*: Lat. *exterus* (cf. also on *terrestris*, § 12). Keil long ago saw (Herm. 25, 601) that *ἐχθρός* was cognate with Lokr. *ἐχθός*, and this cognation is not only "conceptually appealing", but does not "go to wreck on *ἐχθομαι, ἐχθίω, ἐχθιστος*" (pace Wackernagel, l. c., p. 41). Of these, the two last are based on a locative *egh[z]dhi-* 'extra' (cf. §§ 21-22), while *ἐχθομαι*, as *ἀπ-ἐχθάνομαι* shows, is a *θο*-class verb (cf. Brugmann, Gr. Gram.⁸, § 355 and 4), unless we satisfy ourselves with an analogical explanation as follows: *ἄχθος* 'labor, dolor': *ἐχθος* 'odium' :: *ἄχθομαι: ἐχθομαι* (cf. also *αἶθος: αἶθω*). [Cf. Cicero, N. D. 2, 158, *canum odium in externos*.]

43. The form *ksweks* was of analogical origin. The previous number, *penḡw-kwe*, under the influence of *ksweks[s]thos*, developed a form *penkw(e)[s]thos*, in Skr. *pañca-tha-s* and Latin *quinctus*: *πίμπτος*,—whence *ksweks*, shortened to the rhythmical balance of *penḡ*, which is to assume that the form *penḡ* was in existence, without the attached *-kwe*. The influence of 7th and 10th was also felt (see § 54).

The numeral 7-7th = right fore-finger.

44. The startform *sept-m* I define roughly as 'toucher', or perhaps as 'binder'. It is derived from a base rather nearly attested by *ἀπρε-ται* 'tangit, tastet', less immediately by Lat. *sapit* 'tastes'. For a somewhat detailed study of the ultimate root *sēp-/sāp-* see Fay, Am. Jr. Phil. 27, 306-309.¹ Perhaps *sept-m*, like *λεχάρος* 'fore-finger' (from 'licking'), meant 'taster'.

45. Allusion has been made already (§ 38, fn.) to the use of a finger in obscene gesture, and any small street urchin to-day is apt to know a simple gesture, far less subtle than the *σῦκος*-gesture of the Greeks, in which the fore-finger of the right hand, acting with the other hand, gesticulates more crudely what the Greeks managed with either thumb and the adjacent fingers. Actual obscene connotations of the root of 4-4th have already been pointed out. So I think that *sept-m* 7-7th may be admitted as a cognate of Latin *sōpio*² 'mentula' (on which see

¹ Av. *hap-* (Bthl. Col. 1764) 'holds' attests an applicable development of meaning.

² With *sōpio* cf. for the stem Skr. *nīpāpīn-* 'salax'; for the sense, the name of the Greek God—if he was Greek, Πρίανος (= "Prae-Sōpio"), with

Friedrich, ad Catull. 37, 9), cf. Skr. *sāpa-s*, same meaning, and *δπλον* (also generalized to 'tool, implement'), and perhaps Lat. *pēnis*, etc., with a euphemistic inversion (? tabu) of *sep-* to *pes-*. One guesses that the primary sense may have been something like 'borer'.¹ In Homer, *δπλα* are the weapons of offense, the bolt of Zeus (Batr.), but also the hammer-tongs-anvil of the smith. At Δ 483 ἀμφ' .. ἔπον = 'darted round'; and at Η 316 ἀμφὶ θ' ἔπον is what they did to the sacrificial ox after flaying it, and before dividing it up. What the modern butcher does, after getting the sides of his slaughtered ox flayed in such a way that the carcass appears to lie on a rug of its own skin, is to truss or gambrel the carcass, i. e. hoist it up on a gambrel or stiff rod that has been inserted under the ham-strings to hold the hindquarters apart, and the one verb 'to gambrel' does duty for both hoisting and trussing. So I conclude that ἀμφί-επον meant 'they gambrelled' <and hung up by the two hind-quarters>. In the Celtic languages **sa[p]īros* (cf. Fick-Stokes, Wtbch. II⁴, p. 288) 'artifex' is used of the joiner and stone-quarrier, and if one has ever observed any quarrying, he will know the use of wooden pegs in breaking off the stone. All of this justifies the more precise definition of the root *sēp-* by 'to use pegs', cf. Lat. *sēpes* 'stockade' (made of sticks or pegs).²

46. After this demonstration of meaning for the root *sēp-*, I think we may feel some confidence in defining 7-7th as peg-finger. But I would really start with *sep-tymos* = 'peg-most, awl-most'—or 'dig-most', applied to the nail perhaps, which

vocalism as in Lat. *pro-sāpia* 'progenies'—the "fruit of the loins", Skr. *sapitvdm* 'Gemeinschaft'. For the signification, cf. OHG. *fasel* 'progenies': MHG. *visel* 'sopio'.

¹ The sex metaphor has never been lost to sight in giving names to all these tools [as well as to darts, swords, etc.], e. g., in 'male' and 'female' screw-threads.

² I present in very brief abstract the scheme of the article in Liddell and Scott, to exhibit the clarity brought into the definitions of *ἀπτω* by considering them in the light of peg-finger. I. 1, Od. 21, 408, pegs a string to a lyre; Od. 11, 228, pegged (= fastened on or with a peg) a noose to a beam; [2, to wrestle = clinch with], II a) seize with the hands (fingers = pegs) or teeth (cf. Eng. peg-tooth); b) strike with spears (= longer pegs); [2] generalized in Attic = incipere;] 3) attack, cf. Aristoph. Lys. 365, ἀψαι μόνον τῷ δακτύλῳ = pete (tange) solum digito; [4] general = touch, i. e. affect; [5] grasp with the senses; 6) have intercourse with a woman (cf. *sopio*); [7] acquire; B. I. 'to kindle a fire' <by use of the boring peg, that is>.

was more and more of a tool, the nearer we approach man before tools. For the sense of 'nail' cf. ὀπλή¹ δρυε κτήνους, ἄλλοι ἐπὶ ποδῶν ἀνθρώπου¹ ἢ χηλή. On the analogical origin of *sept-m* see § 54.

The numeral 8-8th = right middle finger.

47. I assume *ok-dw-oyos* = 'tip-2-goes' (cf. colloquial *go* = 'time, turn' in playing a game) as the startform for Gr. ὄγδοος, and the startform for ὀκτώ was **okd(w)ōw*, with the first *w* lost by dissimilation. The startform with surds, *okēō(w)*, resulted from a proethnic assimilation, in point of voicelessness, between *gd* and the *pt* of *sept-m*. The inter-association of 6 and 7 needs no further attest than a reference to El. ὀπτά, Arm. *ut* (see Brugmann, Gr.¹ II, 2, § 12).

48. For *ok*- 'tip' cf. Umbr. *oc-rem* 'montem', Lat. *medi-ocris* 'mid-height'.

49. The Latin numeral *octāvus* is due to *prāvos* (startform *pṛwo-s* = Skr. *pūrva-s*) which, lost in the sense of 'prior', has survived in the sense of 'froward'. It had beside it **prāmos*, which survives in *prāndium* (out of *pramom ediom*). Note the corresponding pair *primus* and *privus* : *prius*.

The numeral 9-9th = right ringfinger.

50. The startform *newenos*, whence Latin *nonus*, = 'nicht-gewinnend' (cf. on Skr. *ānāmikā*, § 32). The name was derived from the relative inflexibility and weakness of the finger in question. The startform *newn*—also *enwn*, the result of alliteration with *okēō(w)*—is analogical with *dekēm* '10' (see 54).

The numeral 10 means 'end'.

51. I follow Miss Stewart in treating the startform *de-km(t)*- as a compound, and essentially for its definition, '<zu> ende'. In *de*- I see the preposition found in Greek -δε 'zu', and phonetically the clearest survival of the root of *-kēm-* is found in *κεμάς* 'pricket', a young deer named from his budding tines or horns. The right little finger, as the last of the series, was also a 'tip', an

¹ I take this occasion to add to my explanation of *άνθρωπος* from *άντρο* + *ώπος*: Lat. *sēpe* 'hedge, enclosure' (cf. Am. Jr. Phil. 27, 212), the following entry in Hesychius which sheds light on the vocalism of *sēpe*, viz.: *ὀπλίας*. (lege δ-) *Δοκροὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς συνελαύνοντες ἀριθμοῦσι τὰ πρόβατα καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα*; cf. *praesēpe* 'fold, pen'. The so-called Treasury of Atræus illustrates the high development of cave-dwelling among the Greeks.

'end'. Gothic *hindumists* (cf. *supremus* 'topmost' and 'last') 'hindmost' attests a "superlative" *hem-timmo*.

52. Out of composition, note Skr. *śām-* (indeclinable) = (summum) bonum (cf. *τέλος*), comparing for the relation of meaning *λοιστός* 'ultimus', but *λίον* 'melius' (res melior). Thus *hem-* seems to mean 'finis; summa pars; optima pars'.

53. I suppose *-km(t)*, with weak grade due to its post tonic position, to have been a verbal noun = quasi 'cessans' ('quod extat'), parallel with *hmtō-m* 'cessatum, finitum', which was used for the then ultimate number *hmtō-m* 'hundred'. It was not vowel gradation, but the omission of the now useless *de* 'to', that produced **triyā hmt-a(-ə)* = 'three ends' (i. e. end fingers).¹

54. And now a brief indication of the levelling that took place in the startforms. The interplay of 7-7th, *septimmus* (*sep-tmos > seb-dmos*) 'dig-most', or rather 'bore-cutting', (cf. my analysis of *κίρτομος* as 'snip-cutting, shear-cutting' in Cl. Rev. 20, 65, which was prior to Prellwitz, Wtbch.) with *dekēm* 'zu-end(e)' (= 10) produced *dēkēmmos* 'zu-ende-meist' and contrariwise *septim*. The same levelling in *newnnos*: *nēwv*. Cf. also the clipping of *hswēks(s)thos* to *hswēks* on the analogy of *peñg* (§ 43). The *δέκατος* type is earlier than the *decimus* type, having arisen by adjectivization of *dekēmt*, which I suspect ought to be written *dekēmt* (pace Baudouin de Courtenay, IF. 25, 77, sq.),² to account for the samdhi loss of final *t*. By misdivision of *dekēmt-to-s* the *τρί-τος* type arose. The type **(de)kēm(t)-sthos* seems also attested by **τριακαστός* whence, with assimilated vowel, *τριακοστός*.

The Comparatives in -iyōs-

55. As Skr. *yāj-i-ṣṭha-s* meant 'sacrificare (in)stans', so *yāj-iyāñ-s-* meant 'sacrificare-iens', and *neātyāñ-s-*, *ἀρχτῶν* meant 'in-sedem-iens' and 'prope-iens', cf. Lat. *pri-(y)or* 'prae-iens'. The comparative value may have originated in a word like *prior*, cf. *superior* 'super-iens', etc. The locatives, locativals and infinitives stood before the comparative suffix in all the

¹ It is due to Miss Stewart to remark that her fn. 3 on p. 243 might be thus expanded, viz.: to interpret *newndekm* 9-10, as the clausula of the digital singsong 'nowontoend', i. e. *new* 'now', *ne* (: *tv*) 'on', *de* 'to', *km* 'end' subsequently divided as *nēwv dekē*.

² So I have tacitly assumed (see § 39) that there was enough consonancy left in *t* to produce *-ḡt-* from *-ḡst-*.

grades proper for such adverbials and locativals. The weakest of all forms of prior member is supplied by a word like Skr. *pānyas-* 'mirabilior' wherein a suffixless infinitive *pan-* (cf. the noun locative *ran* 'in proelio', RV.) 'mirari', combined with *-yas-*, has developed the sense of 'coming <for others> to admire', i. e. 'coming to an admiring'.¹ However, *pānīyas-* and *pānya-* are equally frequent. So the stem *sānyas-* 'senior' in its 3 Rīg-Veda uses is always contrasted with *navya-*² (not *navyas-*), which again seems to show the original indifference as between the suffixes *yo-* and *yos-* (*yes*).

56. In Sanskrit *pūruva-* and *pūruya-* 'prior' there is no trace of a comparative suffix, properly speaking. I account for these words, so accounting for that fact, as follows: (1) by setting up an abverbial base '*pūru-*'³ 'im vorne' [cf. for the *u* Gr. *προεύ-ε* 'pro-credit, prae-credit', *πρύ-τατις* 'prae-tendens' (= pro-poser, cf. Lat. *consules referunt*), Thess. *πρὸν-τος* (Brugmann, Gr.² II. 2, p. 52), Goth. *frāuja-* 'herr'], adjectivized in Skr. *pūru-a-s* by an *o-* suffix (cf. on Lat. *prāvos*, §49), but compounded in *pūru-yā-s* 'prior' with *-yo-s* 'iens'.

57. With this interpretation of *pūru-yā-s* as 'prae-iens', it will be profitable to recall that Streitberg (Urg. Gram., p. 106) derives Goth. *frāuja* from *proū-ien-* "Herr, eig. der Vordere, eine Komparativbildung". A comparative formation it is not, but it is a compound that, by virtue of its intrinsic meaning, became an ordinal, suitable for use in a dual comparison or contrast; and if we wish to justify the use of a word meaning 'going' to indicate the ordinal relation, let us but cite from Macbeth, "stand not upon the order of your going". It happens, too, that the startform *prou-yen-* is amply vindicated in

¹ In Am. Jr. Phil. 15, 221, I illustrated the shift of voice in the infinitive as due merely to the indefiniteness of its subject. So in the last rendering, the noun 'admiring' gets its subject from the context.

² As noted above, apropos of *ἀπλότεροι* (§7 fn.) I suppose that the *seniores* were a division of the population, the middle-aged, men of family and position, patriarchs, to whom the property of the tribe, as unto this day, chiefly belonged: cf. Skr. *sān-i-gha-s* 'am meisten gewinnend'. This unites *sānyas-* with the root *san-* 'to win', as Osthoff did (see ap. Walde, s. v. *senex*), but with a different semantic development. Nor did the Romans ever altogether confound *senior* with *maior natu*. In Fr. *sire, sieur*, Ital. *signor*, 'senior' has retained a sense it doubtless never altogether lost.

³? With *u* a deictic particle (cf. Brugmann, Gr.² II. 2, § 185, 2).

Greek, most clearly in the word ὑπερῶν, an epithet of the sun as the 'over-goer', a formation nearly related with Lat. *superior*.

58. We now have before us the pair from which we most easily approach the analysis of the comparative confix. In *ὑπερῶν* (cf. Ἀμφῶν; Ἀμφίος) we have a combination of the locative *ὑπερ* (cf. Skr. *upāri*) 'supra, super' + a participial *ῥyen-*, or possibly *-yen-*, if we allow that proethnic locativals in *-i-* had the same anceps quantity as Avestan locatives. In *superior* we have the same *s-uperi* + a participial *ῥyes-* 'going', of the type of Skr. *tarás-* 'speeding', *ψευδής* 'lying, a liar'. The interaction of the type represented in *superior* (*-ῥyes-*) and the type represented in *ὑπερῶν* (*-ῥyen-*) resulted in the syncretic confix that we find in Sanskrit *-ῥyāñ-s* and, in reversed order, in Lith. *(-y)ēs-n-i-*.

59. So the interaction of the *-es-* and *-en-* stems represented in Skr. by *ῥbhvas- ῥikvas* on the one hand, and by *ῥbhvan- ῥikvan* on the other (cf. also *ῥbhū* and *ῥbhva-*), is responsible for the neuter plurals in *-āñsi* and, particularly in view of the fact that *ῥbhvas-* and *ῥikvas-* (cf. also *ῥikud-*) both mean 'gnarus, sciens, sollers', for the perf. ptc. active in *-vāñs-*, cf. *ἰδῶν*: *ἰδῶς*.

60. In the Gothic comparatives in *-iz-an-* we have the blending of *y-es-* (so divided because *y* is the root-part and *-es-* the stem-part) and *y-en-* into *yes-en-* (cf. Lat. *itineris*)—subsequently reduced under accentual conditions to the weak grade *-is-en*.

61. Morphologically, to use Sanskrit by way of illustrating the primitive conditions, *rājati* 'regit': *rājān-* 'regens, rex' justifies *ῥyate*: **ῥyān-*, *ῥyati*: **ῥyān-*; and *āyate* 'it': *āyas-* (infin. *āyas-e* 'ire') justifies *ῥyate*: **ῥyas*, *ῥyati*: **ῥyas-*. Similarly, *dhāti* 'facit': *-dhas-* quasi 'factio' justifies *yāti* 'it': **-yas-* quasi 'itio'. In Avestan, though only *-yas-* not *-ῥyas-* seems attested for comparatives, we have the "suffix" *-ayas-* in the three words *āsy-ayā* 'ocior',¹ *tāš-ayā* 'fortior, pinguior', irregular for *tāšyā* (superlative *tančī-šta-*),² *masayā* μάσσων.³

¹ Note how, without any assumption of analogy (see § 22), *ocior* may be explained as *ōk(w) + ῥyōs-* 'swift-going'.

² This irregular form *tāšy-ayas-* is a waif, morphologically precious, for it retains in the comp. the locative infinitive form found in *tančī-šta-* (*tančī-* = 'ad compactionem'): Skr. *tandhī* 'coagulates' (on *ῥy-/čī-*, see Bthl., Gr. Ir. Phil. I, § 7).

³ Av. *masy-* from *mači-* has the vocalism of *μάκ-ρός*, but is a locative (see § 23) in *-i-* to an *es-* stem (cf. *μάκος*). Note Lat. *maci-lentus* and *macies* ('lean' from 'long').

62. For the compounding of the stem- *īyen-/yen-* with locatives, Homer furnishes some very clear examples.

a) *ἰθυπτεῖων* 'in straight-flight-going' (of a lance), *ἰθυπτῖ* (?-τ) being morphologically identical with the *nedi- upabdi* type (see § 21).

b) *κυλλο-ποδίων* 'on lame-foot-going' (of Hermes).

c) *Ἰορτών* (later to emerge, but more archaic, *Ἰορτῶν*) = *mānciens*, from a locative *ō[w]s-rr-i* (stem cognate with *auro-ra*, perhaps; more certainly with Skr. *usrd-s* 'mānius' *αβριον* 'morgen'; the *ō-* vocalism justifiable by *εἰεῖ* 'urit'). Orion was the huntsman, starting forth at dawn (cf. Grattius, Cyn. 1, 223), but also, as the lover of Aurora, the 'goer to dawn', the 'Aurora-Begeher'.¹ On *Ἰορτών*, see § 57.

d) In Latin, *laniōn-* 'butcher' may be looked on as a quasi comparative to *lanista* (§ 24 a). The word, though late to appear, is legal, and its antiquity is proved by the derivative *laniēna* 'butcher-shop' (Fay, AJP., 28, 415).

e) The form *σκορπίων* emerges rather late in Greek as the name of the constellation, and may be due solely to the influence of *Ἰορτών*, *Ἰορτῶν*, but its suffixal relation with *σκορπίος* reminds us of *lanio*: *lanius*. We may explain *σκορπ-ι-* as a locative, cognate with Lat. *corpus*, Av. *kəhrp-* (: a root *sker-p-*), and we may etymologically render *σκορπίος/σκορπίων* by 'in corpore (= ventre) iens'.

The Sanskrit ordinals in -iya-.

63. After what was said of Skr. *pūrvyā-s* 'prior' (§ 56), the derivation of the *-iya-* of *turiya-* '4th' from *-īyo-* 'going' is a mere corollary. I take *turiya-s*, from its doubly reduced vocalism (*kwtur* in Av. *ā-xtūrim* 'quater': *tūirya-s* 'quartus'), to be quite an early form in its origin. Perhaps [*kwtur-i* + *-īyo-* was combined at a time when it was felt to mean 'at <the telling off of> the fore-finger going'. But whether this analysis be too minute or not, I explain *turiya-s* as meaning 4-4th-goer, and as the source of **tri-tiya-s* 'tertius', i. e. **tri-to-s* '3d', influenced by

¹ The following data, extracted from Kuentzle's article on Orion in Roscher's Lexikon, meet their explanation by popular etymology—"disease of language", in short. (1) For a brief period of the year the constellation Orion precedes the dawn—is thus the 'dawn-comer'. (2) Being blinded, Orion restored his sight by going to meet the sun—again a 'dawn-comer'. (3) Orion, the 'dawn-comer', is carried off by Hemera, the day.

the ending of *kṛ]turīyo-s*.—The type of *Quin[c]tus*: may be later than of *Quinctius* (see § 64).

64. The word *newyo-s* 'new' is, like Skr. *pūrvyā-s*, a compound, and might have meant 'now-coming'—of a fresh arrival. Then it was not formed on *nēwos*, but may well be prior to it, as *pūrvyā-s* may be prior to *pūrva-s* (§ 56). On the other hand, as we have in Sanskrit both of the confixes *-ga-* and *-gama-* from the root *gam*, so we may admit beside *ne-wīnos* 'nicht-winnend' a *newo-*, designating an unproductive member of the community, in opposition to the "seniores" (see § 55, fn.).

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Addendum to p. 405, fn. 3: For the interpretation of *ποταμός* as a "superlative" cf. Aesch. Pers. 487: *Σπερχειὸς ἄρδει πεδίων εὐμενεὶ ποτῶ*.

Addendum to § 5: Gr. *παλαί-τερος* is formed directly on the adverb *πάλα*, as *πρό-τερος* on *πρό*, but *μεσαι-τερος* clearly admits of analysis as 'in-the-middle-faring', and *μεσαι-τατος* as 'in-the-middle-stretched' (see on *ἰθύν-τατος*, § 3). Homeric *παλαί-φατος* and *μεσαι-πόλιος* seem quite unlikely to have exerted any special analogical influence on these "comparatives". Further note *σχολαί-τερος* 'at-leisure-faring', which contains in its prius a locatival of *σχολή* (: Lat. *segnis*, *ἰσχανάω* and *ἰσχομαι* 'moror', cf. *σχέδην* and see Fay, IF., 26, 37, fn. 3). Homeric *γεραι-τερος* similarly contains in its prius a locatival to Skr. *jarā* (stem *jarāy-*, cf. *jari-mān-*) 'senectus'. For *jarā*, it is mere assumption to assert secondary development from *jard-*.—The corresponding adjectives in *-aios* are compounds of locativals + *yo-s* 'going', e. g. *σχολαίος* 'at-leisure-going' (cf. *Müssigang*).

III.—THE TERMINATION *-κός*, AS USED BY ARISTOPHANES FOR COMIC EFFECT.¹

After the Persian wars Athens abandoned her former isolation and sought a wider acquaintance with the outside world, having been roused to vigorous thought and action by her encounter with the Mede. This contact with foreigners, her intercourse later with the other members of the Delian Confederacy, and in particular her widely extended commercial relations enlarged her intellectual horizon and quickened her intellectual life. The result was the so-called "New Culture" of the latter half of the fifth century. Of the influences from without the most potent for the stimulation of thought was the Ionic and Italic philosophy that was imported from across the seas. Moreover, Anaxagoras, Parmenides, and Zeno visited Athens in person, and left the impress of their doctrines upon the city. Following close upon these theorists and speculative philosophers came the sophists, the practical teachers of education, Protagoras, Prodicus, Hippias, Gorgias, and others, who in response to a demand of the times for a higher mental culture than that given in the schools professed to furnish practical instruction of a kind that would fit men for every sphere of life, but especially for public life. Because of the sovereign power of speech in the law-courts, senate, and popular assembly, and the supreme value of the gift of eloquence as a means to success, this training consisted largely in teaching the art of public speaking. With ultimate triumph as an inducement, the higher education became a craze, particularly among the young men of means who flocked to the new teachers: witness the youthful company gathered around the sophists at the house of Callias in Plato's *Protagoras*, and the eagerness of the high-born Hippocrates to meet Protagoras, as

¹ There is one monograph on the subject of *-κός*, viz. *Das Suffix κός (κός, ακός, υκός) im Griechischen. Ein Beitrag zur Wortbildungslehre.* Von Dr. Jos. Budenz. (Göttingen, 1858), but being a study in morphology it has contributed little to the present paper, which is a continuation of the author's *Comic Terminations in Aristophanes and the Comic Fragments. Part I: Diminutives, Character Names, Patronymics.* (Baltimore, Murphy, 1902).

shown by his early morning visit to Socrates whom he aroused from sleep before daylight and begged for an introduction to the great sophist.

The "New Culture" brought with it an increasing use of derivative adjectives in -κός (usually -ι-κός). In the early literature such words are rare: Homeric *παρθενική* occurs also in Hesiod, two of the Homeric Hymns, Alcman, Pindar, and Bacchylides, and besides this the only other words, exclusive of derivatives from proper names, are *ὀρφανικός* (Homer), *βαρβαρικός* (Simonides), *μουσικός* (Pindar), and *παιδικός* (Bacchylides).¹ They become more numerous in Aeschylus (12 examples). When the influence of the philosophers and sophists began to be felt in Athens, just those writers who were most affected by them in other respects show relatively the largest use of -κός formations. Compare, for example, Sophocles and Euripides who died the same year: the one, orthodox in religion, of a calm, tranquil mind that was apparently undisturbed by the problems of philosophy; the other, not bound by tradition but deeply imbued with the scepticism and rationalism of the times. Now, while Sophocles uses only 8 adjectives in -κός, Euripides has 24.² Take for further comparison the history of Herodotus with its quaint stories and "running" style, and the critical work of the philosophic Thucydides which shows in its periods the influence of the rhetoric of his day. Though separated by only two decades, Herodotus employs 13 and Thucydides 38 words in -κός. Again, Isocrates the most illustrious of the disciples of Gorgias has 55 such forms, while Isaeus whose ornamental figures of language are few uses only 7 forms in -κός, and three of these are in one of the latest of his speeches, the seventh, which is noteworthy as having something of the epideictic style and embellishment of Isocrates.³ Three others occur in short fragments (fr. XLVI) of only two or three words found in Pollux, so that there is left but one word in -κός in the remaining eleven extant orations of Isaeus, not counting the seventh.

¹ The MSS. give also *κασωρικός* Hippon. 68 and *σκυβαλικός* Timocr. 1, 6.

² This count covers the fragments too. Derivatives from proper names are not included in any of these statistics. The difference in bulk of the two authors must be kept in mind, but the exact effect of this difference is indeterminate. No account is here taken of the number of times the same word recurs, that is, the sum total of all the occurrences in each author.

³ Cf. Blass, *Att. Bereds.* II 499, 513 sq., 555.

Philosophy is the peculiar sphere of these adjectives in *-κός* and their adverbs. Plato has 347 of them in the dialogues accepted by Christ (391 according to Ast's lexicon), and Aristotle between six and seven hundred. The extant fragments of the early philosophers and sophists do not justify us in attributing the sudden prominence in literature of this class of words to the example set by some one individual of commanding influence.¹ It is due rather to the increased intellectual activity of the age and the consequent need of additional means for the expression of thought. The speculations of the philosophers and the growing tendency toward logical analysis demanded a more extended vocabulary.² The suffix *-κός* was among the available material which the language already possessed within itself, and, though before used comparatively little, it had great possibilities of productiveness, as its popularity in philosophic discourses and its free use in postclassic times prove.³ Plato and Xenophon have in common 27 words in *-κός* that do not occur in the extant literature before their time so far as the Thesaurus shows, and Plato alone uses about 200 more that are not found in any earlier writer. In Campbell's list of 56 words from the Sophistes and 78 from the Politicus that are not used again by Plato, 44 in each group are words in *-κός*, and of this number 41 in each dialogue⁴ are not found in the previous literature.

¹ Parmenides, Zeno, Anaxagoras, and Diogenes of Apollonia, all of whom came to Athens, have none of these words in their fragments. Protagoras, Prodicus, and Gorgias have one or two each, and Democritus, Philolaus, and Archytas from six to nine each. The Hippocratean tract on the art of medicine, entitled *περὶ τέχνης*, which Gomperz ascribes to Protagoras, has nothing more than the word *ἱγρική*. The only passage in which there is a suggestion of the heaping up of *-κός* forms is Philolaus fr. 11 (Diels), one sentence of which is *γνωμικὰ γὰρ ἂν φύσις ἂν τῷ ἀρεθμῷ καὶ ἡγεμονικὰ καὶ διδασκαλικά τῷ ἀπορουμένῳ παντὸς καὶ ἀγνωσμένου παντί*.

² A long list of derivative and compound words which may be assumed to have come into use shortly before Plato's time from the fact that they occur in Plato and no earlier writer, is given in Jowett and Campbell's Republic of Plato II 263-279, where Campbell remarks, "This effervescence of language is naturally correlated to the stir and eager alacrity of thought which the sophists set in motion and to which Socrates himself contributed."

³ Budenz, on p. 7, estimates the total number of *-κός* forms in Greek to be about 2000. This number apparently includes derivatives from proper names also.

⁴ Many of them are used to designate various *τέχναι*, since an effort is made to arrive at definitions of the sophist and statesman by the process of division and subdivision.

Though the entire literature is not preserved for comparison, these facts nevertheless show that the language was very materially enriched in this respect by the incoming of philosophic thought, and that the sudden and extensive use of the termination -κός is directly traceable to the Greek philosophers and sophists as a class.

Croiset characterizes Xenophon as "a perfect specimen of the καλὸς ἀγαθός, of sound, well-balanced mind, judicious, not over enthusiastic, obedient to reason, thoughtful of good order and harmony, and as highly educated as was possible for a well-bred Athenian in the time of the sophists and Socrates".¹ It is interesting to note the effect that the "New Culture" produced on this typical Athenian of the early part of the fourth century, as regards his use of words in -κός. He employs an unusually large number of them, about 136; he has one-half of this number, i. e. 68, in the *Memorabilia*, his most important work dealing with matters of philosophy, 36 in the *Oeconomicus*, and 40 in the *Cyropaedia*,² both of the latter numbers including, of course, some words already counted. Sauppe's *Lexilogus* shows that 48 words in -κός, or 35 per cent. of the author's complete list of such words, occur only once in Xenophon, and that 9 of these are found seldom, if ever, in other authors—figures which indicate that he sometimes went out of his way to use them. And not only has he many, and often unusual, words in -κός in his works, especially in those that relate to Socrates, but he occasionally crowds several into one passage, as, for example, *Mem.* I, 1, 7:

καὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας οἴκους τε καὶ πόλεις καλῶς οἰκῆσειν μαντικῆς ἔφη προσδεῖσθαι· τεκτονικὸν μὲν γὰρ ἢ χυλκευτικὸν ἢ γεωργικὸν [ἢ ἀνθρώπων ἀρχικόν] ἢ τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων ἑξεταστικὸν ἢ λογιστικὸν ἢ οἰκονομικὸν ἢ στρατηγικὸν γενέσθαι, πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα μαθήματα καὶ ἀνθρώπου γνώμη αἰρετὰ ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι.

and *Mem.* III, 1, 6:

Ἄλλὰ μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, τοῦτό γε πολλοστὸν μέρος ἐστὶ στρατηγίας· καὶ γὰρ παρασκευαστικὸν τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν στρατηγὸν εἶναι χρὴ καὶ ποριστικὸν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ μηχανικὸν καὶ ἐργαστικὸν καὶ

¹ *Abr. Hist. of Gr. Lit.*, p. 313, Eng. trans. Cf. *Id.*, *Xenophon, son caractère et son talent*, p. 8 et suiv., 251.

² In der *Cyropädie* führt er mit Vorliebe geistreiche Gespräche ein, u. s. w. Blass, *Att. Bereds.* II 476.

ἐπιμελῇ καὶ καρτερικὸν καὶ ἀγχίνουον καὶ φιλόφρονά τε καὶ ὤμόν, καὶ ἀπλοῦν τε καὶ ἐπίβουλον, καὶ φυλακτικὸν τε καὶ κλέπτην, καὶ προετικὸν καὶ ἄρπαγα, καὶ φιλόδωρον καὶ πλεονέκτην, καὶ ἀσφαλῆ καὶ ἐπιθετικόν, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ φύσει καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ δεῖ τὸν εὖ στρατηγήσοντα ἔχειν.

See also I, 2, 5; IV, 3, 1; Oec. XII, 19; Hipparch. IV, 12; V, 2, 5, 12-15; and Isocr. II, 24; IX, 46 (paromoiosis).

This influence of the philosophers and sophists in fostering a wide use of forms in -κός, which is so strikingly shown in Xenophon's writings, manifested itself much earlier among the rich Athenian youths of the last quarter of the fifth century who followed and imitated the new teachers. Like words in -ιστ in English, the -κός formations had a learned sound, and, moreover, gave the young men an opportunity to display their newly acquired culture. Hence these forms came to be very much in vogue in fashionable society, and were then affected by a wider circle of people. Aristophanes ridiculed the practice by crowding eight remarkable adjectives in -κός into four consecutive verses in the *Knights* (1378-81):

ΔΗΜΟΣ. τὰ μεῖράκια ταυτὶ λέγω, τὰν τῷ μύρῳ,
ἀ τοιαυτὴ στωμύλλεται καθήμενα'
σοφός γ' ὁ Φαίαξ, δεξιῶς τ' οὐκ ἀπέθανεν.
συνερτικὸς γάρ ἐστι καὶ περαντικὸς
καὶ γνωμοτυπικὸς καὶ σαφὴς καὶ κρουστικὸς
καταληπτικὸς τ' ἄριστα τοῦ θορυβητικοῦ.

ΑΛΛΑΝΤΟΠΩΔΗΣ. οὐκ οὐν καταδακτυλικὸς σὺ τοῦ λαλητικοῦ;

These sentences were written nearly half a century earlier than the passages from the *Memorabilia* quoted above, at a time when Sophocles was writing his greatest plays, Herodotus had probably just passed away, and Plato was only three years old, and consequently the effect of piling up so many forms in -κός at this early date was much more telling. Previously in the *Banqueters*, which contained a criticism of the new kind of education furnished by the sophists and hence was similar in this respect to the *Clouds*, Aristophanes (fr. 198) had held up to ridicule other newly coined words used by a follower of the new teachers, and had assigned each of the innovations to its proper source, viz. σορέλλη to Lysistratus, καταπλιγήσει to the orators, ἀποβύσεται (conj.) to Alcibiades, and καλοκάγαθεῖν to Thrasymachus or one of his sort. Note further that Strepsiades in conversation with the

Clouds longs to be *εὐρησιεπής* (447), that the *ἄδικος λόγος* says that he will shoot the *δίκαιος λόγος* dead with *ῥηματίοισιν καινοῖς* (943, cf. Plat. Theaet. 180 A), and that Cratinus (fr. 226) jokes about the *ἀργυροκοπιστήρας λόγων* in his Trophonius.

Another factor enters into Aristophanes' caricature (Eq. 1378-81) of the philosophers and sophists and their imitators for their excessive use of the termination -κός. It is that he applies most of these adjectives to persons, whereas they are restricted almost entirely to inanimate objects in the previous literature that has survived, and used but rarely, if at all, of persons, before the incoming of the new teachers.¹ The Homeric use of *παρθενική* and *ὀρφανικός* differs in meaning from the later usage (cf. Monro, Hom. Gram., p. 110), and cannot be counted. Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Herodotus have no example,² while Euripides and Thucydides, who through the influence of the philosophers and sophists employed a comparatively large number of -κός words, show the same influence in that they have some instances of this personal use. Barring *πᾶσαι παρθενικαί* Electr. 174, a Homeric reminiscence, and *ξενικούς* *ικτῆρας* Cycl. 370 (cf. *ξενικῶν* 366) where the text has been variously emended, the only examples in Euripides occur in the case of the word *μουσικός*, viz. *μουσικώτεροι λέγειν* Hipp. 989 and *τὸν μουσικώτατον Ἀμφίωνα* fr. 224. Thucydides has two examples in speeches, *πολεμικοί* I, 84, 3, and *θεῶν τῶν ξυμμαχικῶν* III, 58, 1, and two other words, *πατρικός ξένος* VIII, 6, 3, and *ναυτικοί* I, 18, 2; 93, 3; VII, 21, 3. Over against these exceptions, the two authors combined furnish more than 300 examples of the non-personal use of -κός derivatives from appellatives. Thucydides, however, wrote his history after the appearance of the Knights (424 B. C.), and the Antiope to which Nauck assigns Eur. fr. 224 came out probably ten or fifteen years later than this date (cf. schol. Ar. Ran. 53), and so there remains but one case, the Hippolytus passage of 428 B. C., which antedates the Knights. In striking contrast to this paucity of examples of the personal use in the previous literature stands the fact that in those passages in which there is the most conscious use of -κός forms in imitation of the new teachers, that is to say, those passages above quoted and referred to where these words

¹ Passages in which adjectives in -κός modify such collective nouns as *γένος*, *λαός*, *στράτευμα*, κ. τ. λ. are not regarded as examples of the personal use.

² Derivatives from proper names, which are discussed later in a separate chapter, are not here included.

are crowded together in a small compass, viz. Xen. Mem. I, 1, 7; 2, 5; III, 1, 6; IV, 3, 1; Oec. XII, 19; etc., it is the personal use that is found almost without exception, as if this too were a part of the innovation of the philosophers and sophists. And this *is* a part of Aristophanes' caricature in Eq. 1378-81. Besides, the Knights, Clouds, and Wasps, comedies which more than any of the others attack the sophists and the new fashions of the day, together have 19 instances of the personal use of *-κός* words out of the 28 in the eleven plays, and the ratio of the number of instances of this personal use in any play to the total number of occurrences of *-κός* forms in that play is higher for these three comedies than for the others.¹ About one-half of the comic words in *-κός* that are mentioned in this paper are applied to persons.

We pass now to the Clouds, the play which attacks the sophists in the person of Socrates whom Aristophanes took as the representative of the class. When at the suggestion of the chorus (476) Socrates proceeds to give Strepsiades his first lessons and asks him whether he has a good memory (*ἡ μνημονικὸς εἶ*), the comic poet makes Socrates employ a form in *-κός* in conformity with his character as a sophist;² but the rustic in reply uses *μνήμων* (484). In 414 the chorus too had encouraged him to be *μνήμων*. Strepsiades is soon admitted to the thinking-shop. After some efforts to teach him meters, rhythms, and genders, Socrates bids him lie down, wrap himself up, and discover some device for cheating, *νοῦς ἀποστερητικός* (728), the *-κός* form being appropriate to the sophist. But when in reply Strepsiades longs to find such a device, he calls it *γνώμη ἀποστερητρὶς* 'a robber notion', not daring as yet in his uneducated condition to use the *-κός* form that his master had employed, but going to the extreme of personifying *γνώμη* by the use of the feminine suffix of agency in order to avoid the *-κός* form that belongs to the learned. Later, however, when he has thought out a means of cheating, he calls it in delight *γνώμην ἀποστερητικὴν* (747): the budding sophist ventures to employ a *-κός* form. But in a short time he proves to be a hopeless case and is dismissed by Socrates. He has, nevertheless, learned to swear 'by Mist' (814) and 'by Air'

¹ The Birds too has a high ratio, but may be neglected because of the smallness of the number (2) of instances in it of the personal use.

² See also Cratin. 154 together with Bergk Comm. 182.

(667), he knows that Vortex reigns in place of Zeus, and he has imbibed the Protagorean doctrine of gender. Hence, when his son swears by Olympian Zeus (817), he reproves him for his folly and tells him that his notions are antiquated (*φρονεῖς ἀρχαῖκά*), thus using *ἀρχαῖκός* in place of the usual *ἀρχαῖος*,¹ whereas later on (1469) in a similar expression (*ἀρχαῖος εἶ*) and under similar circumstances his son Phidippides uses *ἀρχαῖος*, not *ἀρχαῖκός*, for though he had been in training he had not followed the sophists willingly, and does not use a single *-κός* form in the whole play. Yielding reluctantly to his father's demand, Phidippides goes to the thinking-shop in his stead and witnesses the contest between the *δίκαιος λόγος* and the *ἄδικος λόγος*; and now on his return, after having been fully instructed by the latter, he is greeted by his glad father with the words² (1172-73):

νῦν μὲν γ' ἰδεῖν εἰ πρῶτον ἐξαρηνητικός
κἀντιλογικός,

words well adapted to start him out on his new sophistic life. It is again the would-be sophist Strepsiades, proud of his knowledge of gender, who uses *εὐηθικῶς*³ (1258) in place of *εὐήθως* when the money-lender Pasion calls the kneading-trough *κάρδοςπος* instead of *καρδόπη*, the form of the word which the feminine gender seems to Strepsiades to warrant.

The *Κόννος* of Amipsias was produced at the same time (423 B. C.) as the *Clouds*, winning the second prize over it. The chorus is composed of *φροντισταί*, and Socrates is introduced in his *τρίβων* either as an actor or as one of the chorus. As he enters, his fellow-*φροντισταί* salute him and call him *καρτερικός*⁴ (fr. 9) instead of *καρτερός*. Note also *κομπευρικῶς* in Ar. Eq. 18, a fling at the subtleties of Euripides.

Cooks were kitchen-philosophers, grandiloquent and pompous; hence *νησιωτικὰ ξενύδρια* Menand. 462, *δειπηνητικός* Anaxip. 1, 36,

¹ Cf. 915, 984, 1357, Vesp. 1336, Pl. 323, Eupol. 139. See also *ἀρχαῖκός* in Antiph. 44.

² With *ἐξαρηνητικός*, a *ἅπαρ εἰρ.*, compare *ἐξάρνος* Nub. 1230, Pl. 241. *ἀντιλογικός* is common in Plato.

³ Cf. *εὐηθικῶς* in the saucy dialogue of Eccl. 520 sq. *εὐήθης* occurs in fr. 671. *εὐηθικός* is found in Plat. Rep. 343 C; 529 B; Charm. 175 D; Hipp. Mai. 301 D.

⁴ *καρτερικός* occurs also in Xen. Mem. I, 2, 1 (applied to Socrates), III, 1, 6 (where adj. in *-κός* are crowded together; see above pp. 431, 432), Hippocr. *περὶ εὐσχ.* 3 (similar crowding), Isocr. VIII 109.

κριτικός, χλευαστικός, προσκαυστικός Posidip. 1, 'Ομηρικός Strato 1, 30 (l. Dobr.).

Aristophanes, to whom the innovations of his time seem to forbode danger for the state, employs the *-κός* forms, among other means, to poke fun at the advocates of the new order of things. Just as it is the sophists in the *Clouds*, so it is fashionable society in the *Wasps*, that he ridicules in this way. The scene of 143 lines (1122-1264) in which Bdelycleon prepares his father for the dinner-party contains about one-third of all the words in *-κός* in the play, and the *Wasps* has a larger number of these words than any other play of Aristophanes, both absolutely and in comparison with the number of lines in the play. The 400 lines following the parabasis, which deal with the conversion of the old dicast into a man of fashion, contain just twice as many forms in *-κός* as the 1000 lines preceding it, which satirize the mania of the Athenians, especially the older citizens, for attending the law-courts.

The scene in the *Wasps* in which Bdelycleon, the type of the fashionable young Athenian of the day, gets his old-fashioned father ready for the banquet, is the counterpart of the situation in the *Clouds* wherein Strepsiades forces his son to attend the school of the sophist, and one is not surprised therefore to find that in this scene of preparation Bdelycleon uses all of the words in *-κός* that occur, with one inconsiderable exception. This exception is *νεανικώτατον* in 1205, where the poet purposely makes Philocleon repeat Bdelycleon's word *νεανικώτατον* (1204), because he is to employ it in a different sense ('youngest') from that in which his son first used it ('most daring'). On the other hand, just a few lines before this, a striking contrast is made between Bdelycleon's *ἀνδρικώτατον* and Philocleon's *ἀνδρειότατον* in two successive lines (1199, 1200), the one word taking up and repeating the thought of the other. Turning to the other words in *-κός* in this scene, one notes first the comic adverb *τριβωνικῶς* (1132) from *τρίβων* 'skilled' (cf. 1429, Nub. 869, 870), with a further reference to *τρίβων* 'an old cloak'. Later on, Bdelycleon urges his father to be *ξυμποτικός καὶ ξυνουσιαστικός* (1209) at the dinner-party, the very kind of new-fangled talk that his father is likely to hear in the fashionable company into which he is going. He instructs him further (1212) to throw himself down carelessly on the dinner-couch in an easy posture as an athlete would (*γυμνα-*

στικῶς), and to tell some witticism of Aesop or a joke from Sybaris (1260):

Δισωπικὸν γέλοισιν ἢ Συβαριτικόν.

With the last passage compare Philocleon's *Δισώπου τι γέλοισιν* in 566, the expressions *οἱ Δισώπειοι λόγοι* in Aristot. Rhet. II 20, 2, and *Δισώπειοι μῦθοι* in Hermog. Progygn. init., Theon Progygn. 3, and in the scholium on Av. 471, and especially a fragment of Aristophanes' Banqueters (fr. 216) in which a father while reprimanding his son for adopting the innovations of the sophists is careful to avoid all -κός words, and so uses *Συβαριτῶδες εὐωχίας* (cf. Theocr. V 146; Dio Cass. LVII, 18, 5) and even goes so far as to say *Λάκαιναι* [κύλικες] instead of *Λακωνικαὶ κύλικες* (cf. Phryn. 341 Lob.).

On his return from the banquet Xanthias (or Sosias) is so much affected by contact with these Athenians of rank and fashion and by his master's conversion to the new views of the times that he employs some of the stylish -κός forms, *νεαρικῶς* (1307, cf. 1362), the ridiculous *νουβυστικῶς* (1294), used later by the younger Cratinus (fr. 7) with reference to the philosophers and sophists, and the long superlative *παροινικώτατος* (1300) in place of the corresponding form of *παροίνιος*.¹ The chorus too has been affected, and in the same way: the second parabasis (1265-91) which, as Zielinski, Müller-Strübing and others think, should exchange places with the canticum 1450-1473, contains two other remarkable superlatives of -κός formations, *χειροτεχνικώτατος* 1276 and *θυμοσοφικώτατος*² 1280, that are applied to the sons of Automenes and especially to the dissolute and bestial Aripkrades.

φωνάριον ᾠδικὸν καὶ καμπτικόν Ar. fr. 644 "was probably written in derision of some fashionable, foppish advocate of the new order of things". Comic Termin., p. 26.

As the opposition of the new and old culture, of the new and old fashions, is not primarily the subject of any of the other plays, the remaining instances of the comic use of forms in -κός are more scattered and the circumstances that call them forth more varied. When the new ways are brought in contact with the

¹ Cf. *παροίνιος* Ach. 981; Anacreont. 2, 8; Athen. 629 E; Luc. Salt. 34, Laps. 2; Plut. Dem. 4; Schol. Ar. Vesp. 20, 1239, 1240; and *πάροις* Pratin. 1, 8; Lys. IV 8; Antiphan. 146.

² Cf. *θυμοσοφός* Nub. 877; Schol. Vesp. 1280.

old, when one who is up-to-date, progressive, or on the road to fortune, or at least to better things, confronts another who clings to the past, when innovations are made, clever tricks performed, or smartish things done,—it is chiefly under these circumstances that *-κός* forms are employed to reflect the new spirit of the times. They are used either by the character himself who represents the new fads and fashions, or by others with direct reference to him.

In the latter part of the *Acharnians* where a contrast is made between the joys of peace and the miseries of war in the parallel and antithetic commands of Dicaeopolis the inventor of a new kind of peace (cf. 972) and Lamachus the advocate of war (620) as of old, Dicaeopolis who models his injunctions on the form of expression used by Lamachus answers the old soldier's words *χειμέρια τὰ πράγματα* (1141) with *συμποτικά τὰ πράγματα* (1142, cf. *μανικά πράγματα* Vesp. 1496). Previously (1080) he had ridiculed Lamachus with a long, pompous *-κός* form *πολεμολαμαχαϊκόν* coined for the purpose. Still earlier (1015-6) the chorus in calling attention to the happiness and good fortune that Dicaeopolis enjoyed in his newly made peace had employed two adverbs *μαγειρικῶς* and the comically formed *δειπνητικῶς* to describe his skillful and dainty preparations for the feast. In the same way the chorus in the *Peace* used *εὐδαιμονικῶς*¹ (856, cf. *πράττειν εὐδαιμόνως* Pl. 802) in speaking of the success of another innovator Trygaeus, who had drawn up Peace out of the pit and brought down Plenty from heaven to be his bride, and the chorus in the *Ecclesiazousae* designated Blepyrus as a *εὐδαιμονικὸν ἄνθρωπον* (1134) in view of the good things in store for him.

The Sausage-seller in the *Knights* is an upstart and one of the latest products of the times. Hence the chorus tells him to strike the Paphlagonian *ἀνδρικῶς*² (451) and *ἀνδρικώτατα* (453), and then the *Knights* salute their newly found chieftain with *ὦ γεννικώτατον κρέας* (457) which, like *ὦ δεξιώτατον κρέας* (421), also addressed to the Sausage-seller, is a humorous combination of words decidedly unsuited to each other. Besides, *γεννικός* takes the place of the usual word *γενναῖος*, and the sophistic suffix *-κός* makes still more striking the contrast with the grossly material word *κρέας*. Again

¹ Metrical convenience may be urged as an explanation of the use of *εὐδαιμονικῶς* instead of *εὐδαιμόνως*.

² "ἀνδρικὸς is a less serious word than ἀνδρείος". Neil on Eq. 81.

in 611, upon his return from the Senate after his triumph, he is greeted by the chorus with the words:

ὁ φίλτατ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ νεανικώτατε.

The slave Demosthenes uses *μαγειρικός* 216, 376, *δημαγωγικός* 217, and *ἀνδρικῶς* 379 with reference to him. When, on the other hand, Demosthenes makes the brilliant suggestion that he grease his neck with lard in order that he may slip out of the clutches of Cleon's calumnies, he in turn recognizes the cleverness of the trick and declares that it is worthy of a wrestling-master, *εὖ καὶ παιδοστριβικῶς* 492, just as Euelpides in Av. 362:

ὁ σοφώτατ', εὖ γ' ἀνηῦρες αὐτὸ καὶ στρατηγικῶς,

commends the wisdom and inventiveness of Peithetaerus for improvising armor out of kitchen-utensils; and just as Peithetaerus later (1511) shows his delight at Prometheus' ingenious and subtle device of hiding himself from Zeus under a parasol, by the words:

εὖ γ' ἐπενόησας αὐτὸ καὶ προμηθικῶς.

Adopting the form of expression, *εὖ καὶ* followed by another adverb, that is familiar in the conversational language of Plato,¹ Aristophanes in these three passages substitutes for the second adverb, which elsewhere is a word in common use, a long one with the sophistic termination -κῶς, thereby giving a pretentious and quasi-scientific close to a familiar formula.

In the *Lysistrata* and *Ecclesiazousae* women are the innovators. They are ridiculed as *θωπικαί* Lys. 1037, *τὸ σκυτοτομικὸν πλῆθος* Eccl. 432 (cf. Pl. 787), *πρᾶγμα νομβυστικόν* 441, and *ἱππικώτατον χρήμα* Lys. 677, neuter noun and suffix -κός both expressing something of contempt. It is fitting too that *Lysistrata*, the arch-innovator, should use *ἀνθαδικός* 1116, a *ἀπαξ εἰρημένον* in the extant literature, instead of the usual word *αὐθάδης*.

Chremylus has turned his back on the past (cf. Pl. 323) and is on the road to fortune (783, 802 sq.), now that Plutus has sight and comes to dwell with him. Hence the crowd of old men who

¹ *εὖ καὶ καλῶς* Rep. 503 D, Legg. 876 C, Lach. 188 A, Conv. 184 A, Hipp. Mai. 304 AC; *εὖ καὶ γενναίως* Theaet. 146 C, 151 E, Gorg. 521 A; *εὖ καὶ ἀνδρείως* Charm. 160 E, Theaet. 157 D, Legg. 648 C, 855 A. Cf. *εὖ καὶ ἐπισταμένως* in the epic poets; *εὖ καξίως* Eur. Hec. 990; *εὖ κἀνδρείως* Plat. Com. 109, Ar. Th. 656; *εὖ κἀνδρικῶς* Eq. 379, Vesp. 153, 450.

immediately swarm about him and make a show of their friendship as soon as his good fortune becomes known, he calls *δχλος πρεσβυτικός* (787, cf. *πρεσβυτῶν δχλος* Vesp. 540). The Youth has likewise been made wealthy through the recovery of Plutus' sight (968, 1004), and in consequence spurns his former love; when he sees the multitude of wrinkles in the face of his *ἀρχαίας φίλης* (cf. 1082-3), he exclaims (1050):

ὦ Ποντοπόσειδον καὶ θεοὶ πρεσβυτικοί.

In a few instances there is a deliberate change from the usual termination of a word to the fashionable -*κός* for the comic effect, when no special reason for the employment of such a sophistic form appears in the context and surrounding circumstances.

ὠρικός for *ὠραίος*, translated "beautisome" by Professor Gildersleeve, occurs first in Crates 40:

πάνυ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὠρικότατα
τὰ τιτθί' ὥσπερ μῆλον ἢ μιμαίκυλα,

then in the merry phallic song Ach. 263 sq.,¹ where the scholiast reports that Aristophanes had previously used *ὠρικὸν μειράκιον καὶ κόρη* in the Banqueters (fr. 235), and finally in Pl. 963, used of the wrinkled old woman who is dressed in girlish costume like a coquette and affects to be young.

βαδιστικός Ran. 128 'walkist' for *βαδιστής*. Cf. Poll. III 92; Bekk. An. 55, 20.

ποτικός Alcae. Com. 9. No context to show the tone of the passage. Cf. *πότης* and *πότις*.

εἰρηνικός in Ran. 715 has a different meaning from *εἰρηναῖος* in Eq. 805. The former denotes character, 'a man of peace', 'a peace man', the latter a state or condition, 'at peace'. There is therefore no comic purpose here. It is this characterizing force of formations in -*κός* that makes them so well adapted for use as adverbs.

ἀνδρικός is found in the early plays only (Ach. to Pax); 18¹ out of the 21 occurrences of *ἀνδρείος* are in the later plays (Av. to Pl.). *ἀνδρικός* is used as an adverb in three-fourths of its occurrences, viz. Eq. 81, 82, 379, 451, 453, 599, Vesp. 153, 450, Pac. 478, 498, 515, 1307; where *ἀνδρείως* occurs (Pac. 732, Th. 656, Ran. 372),

¹ Cf. *ὠραίος* in Ach. 1148, Ran. 291, 514.

² The rest are Nub. 1052 (person), Vesp. 1200 (cf. supra p. 436), and Pac. 732 (adv.).

the anapaestic verse excludes ἀνδρικῶς. ἀνδρικός, on the other hand, suits iambic and trochaic rhythms, and to these it is confined with one exception, Ach. 696.

ἀνδρικός occurs twice (1077, 1090) in the epirrhema of the parabasis of the Wasps which precedes the scene of preparation for the banquet referred to above, and serves to prepare us for the fashionable use of the -κός termination in this scene (cf. especially ἀνδρικώτατον 1199 over against ἀνδρειώτατον 1200), but an additional reason for its use here was the opportunity it afforded to play on the double meaning, 'manlike' (applied to the wasps) and 'manly', 'brave'. Compare the play on ἀνθρήνια ('Ἀθήνας) 1080 and θυμὸν (θύμον) 1082. Elsewhere ἀνδρείος is the word that Aristophanes always employs in the case of persons (about a dozen examples).

A certain amount of incongruity results from attaching the suffix -κός, which belonged originally to the high sphere of scientific thought and philosophic inquiry, to words that stand on a much lower level, that is, words that denote the common things of daily life, colloquial words, and comic coinages. Such forms were put together by Aristophanes in consequence of the free and no doubt indiscriminate use of the suffix that was made by the fashionables of the time and men of the Phaeax type who affected words with this termination because of their learned sound. To ridicule the practice, Aristophanes both multiplied -κός forms and added the suffix to words that were not suited to receive it. Although it is true that when -κός forms once began to pour into the language the suffix was added to a variety of words without much restraint or discrimination, yet the incongruity of some of the comic poet's formations remains and is felt in proportion as one keeps in mind the high sphere to which the suffix properly belongs.

νουβυστικός Vesp. 1294, Eccl. 441, Cratin. jun. 7. βύω 'cram', 'stuff', 'plug', 'bung', and its compounds are found chiefly in the comic poets and Lucian, and belong to a low sphere. νουβυστικός = 'crammed full of sense'. In Eccl. 441 Praxagora is quoted as saying that woman is a πρᾶγμα νουβυστικόν.

βαδιστικός Ran. 128. βαδίζω 'trudge' is "almost confined to comedy and prose" (Liddell and Scott).

ἀριστητικός Eupol. 130 (ἀριστᾶν), δειπνητικός Ar. Ach. 1016, Anaxip. 1, 36 (δειπνεῖν), μελλοδειπνικός Eccl. 1153, μαγειρικός Ach. 1015, Eq. 216, 376, Pac. 1017, fr. 138, λαρυγγικός Pherecr. 32

(λάρυγξ for φάρυγξ 'gullet'), and τριβωνικῶς Ar. Vesp. 1132 (in so far as it refers to τρίβων 'an old cloak'), all deal with domestic matters.

ἐριοπωλικῶς Ran. 1386 (ἐριοπώλης), καπηλικῶς Pl. 1063 (κάπηλος), δημιουργικῶς Pac. 429 (δημιουργός), ἀνδραποδιστικῶς Eupol. 396 (ἀνδραποδιστής), σκυτοτομικός Ar. Eccl. 432 (σκυτοτόμος). As those engaged in trade were not highly esteemed, the words to which the -κός termination is here added do not stand on a high level.

Such comic coinages as πολεμολαμαχαϊκός and κομφευρικῶς are ill-adapted to have the serious suffix -κός.

Adjectives in -κός Derived from Proper Names.

These in the main denote things rather than persons. There are a dozen exceptions in the extant literature before Aristophanes. This number does not include the Persian word Δροπικοί (Hdt. I 125) nor the Italic Ὀμβρικοί (I 94; IV 49), nor the neuter ἀνδράποδα Ὑκαρικὰ (Thuc. VII, 13, 2), since no other adjective with a neuter form was available; nor does it embrace a long list of adjj. in -κός modifying such collective nouns as γένος, ἔθνος, λέως, στράτευμα, or used in the neuter with the article in the sense of a collective. The exceptions follow: Ζεῦ Πελασγική Hom. Il. XVI 233—"no approach here to the later meaning of the suffix" (Monro); ἀνάκτων Τρωικῶν [Eur.] Rhes. 738—a Homeric reminiscence; κοιράνοισι Πυθικοῖς Eur. Ion. 1219, μάντεσιν Πυθικοῖς Andr. 1103—the epithet Πύθιος belongs to Apollo, cf. Aesch. Ag. 509, Cho. 1030; Λιβυστικαῖς γυναιξίν¹ Aesch. Suppl. 279, τόνδ' Ἀχαϊκὸν λάτρην Eur. Tro. 707—cf. Dittenberger, Hermes XLII 31 sq., 161 sq.; Ἀττικὰς θεραπαίνας Hdt. III 134—Ἀττική is the correct form of the feminine of Ἀθηναῖος, cf. Eustath. on Hom. Il., p. 84, 12, and Hermes XLII 10 sq.; τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλληνικῶν τυράννων Hdt. III 125, τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν Περσικῶν IX 102—cf. Hermes XLII 20; Ἑλληνικοὶ θεοὶ Hdt. IV 108—"Greek-like" rather than 'Greek', i. e. 'having the attributes and qualities of the Greek gods' without being distinctly and wholly Greek; ² Ἀττικός Solon 2 (Bergk)—used in place of Ἀθηναῖος for the sake of the sneer; and Ἀττικοὶ Alcae. 32 expresses perhaps the same contempt, but the text is uncertain.

¹ Cf. Λιβύσσης γυναικός Pind. P. IX 182.

² Cf. θεοὶ οἱ Ἑλλήνιοι Hdt. V 49 and 92 fin., Ζεὺς Ἑλλήνιος Hdt. IX 7, Ar. Eq. 1253, πατήρ Ἑλλάνιος Pind. N. V 10, and Ἀθηνᾶ Ἑλληνία Aristot. Mirab. Ausc. 108.

The exceptional character of these examples is still further emphasized by the fact that there are nearly 600 instances in the tragic poets, Herodotus, and Thucydides in which derivatives in *-κός* from proper names are *not* applied to persons.

In contrast to these 12 cases of the personal use in the whole literature before Aristophanes stand 19 examples in his eleven extant plays alone. This is because the characterizing force of the suffix was well-suited to the liveliness of the language of daily life, and consequently the *sermo familiaris* made a large use of such words just as it did of character names.¹ Character names in *-αξ*, gen. *-ακος*, e. g. *Ῥόδαξ* (= *Ῥόδιος*, Bekk. Anecd. 856, 33), *πλούταξ*, *θαλάμαξ*, κ. τ. λ., and short names in *-ιχος*² approach them closely in the form of the ending. Though *-κός* is not found as a diminutive suffix in Greek, it does have this force frequently in Sanskrit, Persian, and some other Indo-European languages.³ Greek proper names with this suffix signified men who had the characteristics of a people or a community, and when substituted in familiar speech for the usual name of a people were not far removed from character names, being used chiefly for the purpose of ridicule. The scholiast on Ar. Pac. 215 says that the effect of using *Λακωνικοί* for *Λάκωνες* is *ὑποκορισμός*, and in a previous note on *Ἀττικωνικοί* he implies that the contempt (cf. *ἐνυβρίζοντες*) arises from cheapening (*εὐτελίζοντες*) them by applying to them this modified form of their name. The change was made, of course, for fun (cf. *παίζει*), and *Ἀττικωνικοί* was then comically formed to resemble *Λακωνικοί*. The half-starved Spartans captured on Sphacteria are likewise called *Λακωνικοί* in Nub. 186, and so also the Spartans mentioned in Lys. 628 who can be trusted no more than a gaping wolf. There is a spirit of pleasantry in the use of the word in Lys. 1226 and Eccl. 356. In a tone of superiority, mingled with a little of the natural antipathy of Athenian for Spartan, the triumphant Lysistrata orders the "Laconics" (1115) to be brought forward, and if she hesitates to use this form in direct address (cf. 1122, 1137), such deference and respect is not manifested toward the Acharnians (324) and the Megarian (830) by the similarly triumphant Dicaeopolis who has successfully negotiated a private treaty of peace. In pleading with the Acharnians for a hearing he

¹ Cf. Comic Termin., p. 32 sq. ² Cf. Fick, Personennamen, S. XLII.

³ Cf. Schwabe, De Demin. Graec. et Lat., p. 44 sq.

descends within the space of three verses from the epic grandeur of the patronymic *Ἀχαρνηῖδαι* to the familiarity of the colloquial *Ἀχαρνηκοί* (324). The latter title the Acharnians quote in a tone of resentment in 329. Amphitheus had used it in 180—'some Acharnian fellows'. Compare 'that Acharnian chap Telemachus' in Timocles 7, cf. 16. 'What! a Megarite!' cries Dicaeopolis (750), when the starved Megarian first comes to his market, and later, after rescuing him from the Informer, he says, 'Cheer up, old boy' (830).

Ἀττικὸς is used in a familiar, colloquial way in the following passages: Pherecr. 145 (with contempt, cf. *ὁ κατάρτος*), Ar. Vesp. 1076 (with self-laudation), Strattis 28, and Machon 1. In Diphil. 17 and Menand. 462, up-to-date cooks who boast of their discrimination in the kinds of food they offer to guests from various localities call Athenians *Ἀττικοί*, the Arcadian *Ἀρκαδικός* (cf. *Ἀρκάς*), and the Ionian *Ἴωνικός* (cf. *Ἴωνες*, and *Ἴων* Dionys. Hal. Rhet. XI 5, Theocr. XVI 57).

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IV.—THE SĀMĀKHYA TERM, LĪṆGA.

The native commentaries to the formal treatises on the *Sāṃkhya* philosophy, in their treatment of the term *līṅga*, are almost invariably of one opinion, explaining this word by what in our English vocabulary, approaches very nearly to the idea of mergent, subject to absorption or the like. This is not the common, nor original meaning, and at first glance, appears to be an ingenious construction, put upon the term, to harmonize with the views obtaining amongst the masters of the school. Garbe, in his *Sāṃkhya Philosophie*, pp. 265–266, has already voiced the opinion that the scholiasts are at fault in this assumption, remarking: “Dieses Wort bedeutet nicht, wie die einheimische Erklärung sagt, das [bei der Befreiung der Seele in die Urmaterie] aufgehende (*layam gacchaḥ*), sondern das charakteristische Merkmal, d. h., dasjenige, was Wesen und Charakter des Individuums bestimmt”. But these two significations of “mergent” and of “characteristic mark” (charakteristische Merkmal) do not differ so materially from one another, as at first seems the case, and as Wilson has already observed in his comment to *Kārikā* 10 (The *Sāṃkhya Kārikā*, p. 43). His remark reads: “‘mergent’ *līṅga*; that which merges into, or is lost or resolved into its primary elements, as subsequently explained”. (*Gāuḍapāda* to *Kārikā* 10). “Intellect and the rest are the *ṅgas*, signs, marks or characteristic circumstances of nature; and when they lose their individuality, or discrete existence, they may be said to have been absorbed by, or to have fused or merged into, their original source. Although, therefore, the application of *līṅga* as an attributive in this sense is technical, the import is not so widely different from that of the substantive as might at first be imagined”.

Nowhere in the Vedas proper does the word *līṅga* occur; it is first met with in the *Upaniṣads* and there, as in the later classical literature is used solely with the meaning of mark, sign or characteristic. In this sense it is said to be derived, together with the cognate words, *lakṣa* and *lakṣaṇa*, from the root *√lag*,

"to adhere", "to stick to".¹ The *Vaiṣeṣika Sūtras* employ this term to express the notion of proof or evidence, whilst the *Nyāya* school still further specializes it, making it equivalent to the "*vyāpya*" or the invariable mark, which proves the existence of anything in an object. Thus in the logical proposition: "There is smoke, because there is fire", smoke is the *līṅga*, the *vyāpya*, and the process of inference, resulting from this is called a "*līṅga-parāmarṣa*", the groping about for the constant predicate, or seeking for the characteristic mark. So underlying both of these two uses of *līṅga*, as generally throughout the literature, we have constantly before us the original idea of "mark" or "sign".

That the *Sāṃkhya* teachers, recognized and made use of this term with the specialized signification of the logical school, we have abundant traces, but their definitions, as Wilson has already pointed out² are not always in strict conformity with those of the logicians. *Sāṃkhya Kārikā* 5, reads: "*trividham anumānam ākhyātam; tal līṅgalīṅgipūrvakam*".

"Inference is explained to be of three kinds; it is preceded by (a perception of) the constant predicate, or by the possessor of a constant predicate".

This, *Gauḍapāda* explains in the following words:

"*kih ca 'tal līṅgalīṅgipūrvakam' iti. tad anumānam līṅga-pūrvakam, yatra līṅgena līṅgī anumīyate, yathā danḍena yatih; līṅgipūrvakam ca, yatra līṅginā līṅgam anumīyate, yathā dṛṣṭvā yatim, asyedaṁ tridanḍam iti*".

"Moreover it is stated that it (i. e. inference) is preceded by (a perception of) the constant predicate or by the possessor of a

¹In passing, it may well be mentioned here, that the *Dhātupāṭha*, of *Pāṇini*, alludes to a verbal root $\sqrt{\text{liṅg}}$, "to paint", "to variegate", which, however, does not appear to have been met with in any manuscript, in its simple form. It is found in many texts of the classical literature, with the prepositional prefix "ā", as signifying "to clasp", "to embrace", and forms its present system, as "*ālīṅgati*" or "*ālīṅgayati*", and its passive participle, "*ālīṅgita*". It is noteworthy, that a form "*ullīṅgita*", with the meaning of 'made manifest by marks or characteristics', occurs in the *Kirātārjunīya* of *Bhāravi* (XIV 2), this form being apparently the passive participle of a verbal root $\text{ul}\sqrt{\text{liṅg}}$, forming its present in "*aya*". If the simple root should not prove a mere fiction of the grammarians, it would be possible to connect *līṅga* with it, in the sense of "that which paints", "variegates" and thus "characterizes". [Certainly the verbal forms are denominal from *līṅga*. Bloomf.]

²The *Sāṃkhya Kārikā*, p. 23.

constant predicate. Inference, preceded by (a perception of) the constant predicate is that, in which the possessor of a constant predicate is inferred through (that) constant predicate, as an ascetic, by his staff; and (inference) preceded by (a perception of) the possessor of a constant predicate (is that), in which a constant predicate is inferred from the possessor of (such) constant predicate; to wit, (on) seeing an ascetic [the *līṅgin*], this (constant predicate, [*līṅga*]) of him is the triple staff".

It is not, however, in passages such as these, in which *līṅga* is employed in its common sense, that we look for the more specialized *Sāṃkhya* form of the word, although there is no doubt that the above-mentioned signification of "mergent", derives from, or is intimately connected with, this primary meaning. Excepting *Kārikā* 5, within the body of the *Sāṃkhya Kārikās*, "*līṅga*" occurs seven other times, namely in *Kārikās* 10, 20, 40, 41, 42, 52 and 55, and in the *Sāṃkhya Sūtras*, it is to be met with eight times (*Sūtras* I 124, 136; III 9, 16; V 21, 61, 106 and VI 69).

Now the *Sāṃkhya* system of philosophy, in conjunction with that of the *Vedānta*, in its doctrine of the metempsychosis, or transmigration of the soul into various gross bodies, assumed the investment of this soul with an inner or subtle body, inasmuch as the dispositions or *bhāvas*, those intellectual forces, which determine the entrance into the gross body of god, man or beast, do not affect soul itself, but rather the intellectual organ, the *buddhi*, the first evolvent of *prakṛti*, or the material substratum of all visible objects. As Professor Morton W. Easton remarks:¹

"As, at ordinary death, the soul is freed, for a time, from a gross body, and as soul once altogether free, can never be enchained again, there must be some other body than gross body.

"Furthermore—you may remember—the corpse, at ordinary death, contains all that belongs to gross body. None of our mental and intellectual powers belong to it, and soul although indeed it knows, is characterized by none of them".

This subtle body, which serves as the investment of soul in its constant round of re-birth, the *Sāṃkhya* masters call by the name of "*śukṣma-śarīra*", "*tanmātrika-śarīra*", "*ātivāhika-*

¹The Body in the *Sāṃkhya*, read before the Modern Language Union, 1899.

ṣarīra” and “*līṅga-ṣarīra*”. It is composed of the three inner instruments or organs, to wit, the *buddhi*, or intellect, the *aḥmākāra*, or organ of subjectivity and the *manas*, or mind, plus the ten external organs of sight, hearing, taste, touch and smell, and speech, grasp, locomotion, excretion and generation, together with the five *tan-mātrās*, the subtle or rudimentary elements of color, sound, taste, touch and smell, and hence its designation as the “*sūkṣma*”, subtle, or “*tan-mātrika*”, rudimentary body.

That the elder *Sāṃkhya* authorities, such as *Iṣvara-Kṛṣṇa* and *Gāuḍapāda* distinguished between the “*līṅga-ṣarīra*” and a “*līṅga*” proper, seems to result from an examination of the former’s *Kārikās* and the comment of the latter and Professor Wilson already made mention of this fact, in his edition of these two works (*The Sāṃkhya Kārikā*, pp. 129, 132-5). The *līṅga*, as is intimated in the concluding sentence of the commentary to *Kārikā* 40 is composed merely of the inner organ with the ten sensory organs, whilst the “*līṅga-ṣarīra*” is this “*līṅga*”, invested with the five *tan-mātrās*, which form a sort of sheath or covering, to carry it, together with the *puruṣa* or soul, into successive rounds of re-birth.

Let us consider more in detail those passages in the *Sāṃkhya Kārikās*, in their connection with the comment of *Gāuḍapāda*, which appear to set forth this original theory of the school. In the commentary to *Kārikā* 39, we read:

“*sūkṣmās tanmātrāṇi, yatsaṃgrahitaṃ tan-mātrikaṃ sūkṣma-ṣarīram mahadādilingaṃ sadā tiṣṭhati saṃsarati ca*”.

“The subtle (ones)” [mentioned in the *Kārikā*] “are the *tan-mātrās*”, [the rudimentary elements] “contained” [*saṃgrahita*] “in which, the *līṅga*, consisting of the intellect” [*mahat*] “and the following” (principles) “ever rests and enters upon its rounds of re-birth”.

Further on in this comment, wherever our scholiast wishes to denote the subtle body, made up of the thirteen organs and the five *tan-mātrās*, he invariably employs the term *sūkṣmaṣarīra*” and never *līṅga*.

The succeeding *Kārikā* (40), reads as follows:

“*pūrvotpannam, asaṅgaṃ, niyataṃ, mahadādisūkṣmapar-
yantaṃ,
saṃsarati, nirupabhogaṃ; bhāvāir adbhāvitaṃ līṅgaṃ*”.

“(Being) pre-arisen, unattached, invariable, beginning with

intellect" [*mahat*] "and ending in the subtle" (principles) "it enters upon the rounds of re-birth, (else) unenjoying; affected by the dispositions is the *līṅga*".

In thus separating this verse into two distinct parts, I am influenced by what appears to be its explanation in the comment and this is also followed by Wilson (*Sān. Kār.*, p. 128). This gloss here reads:

"*bhāvāir adhivāsitaṃ; purastād bhāvān dharmādin vakṣvāmas; tāir adhivāsitaṃ, uparañjitaṃ, līṅgaṃ iti. pralayakāle, mahadāsūkṣmaparyantaṃ karaṇopetaṃ pradhāne liyate, asatṣa-rayuktaṃ sad, āsargakālaṃ atra vartate, prakṛtimohabandhanabaddhaṃ sat, saṃsaraṇādikriyāsu asamarthaṃ iti; punaḥ sargakāle saṃsarati; tasmāl līṅgaṃ sūkṣmaṃ. kīṃprayojanena trayodaśavidhaṃ karaṇaṃ saṃsaratīty ? evaṃ codite saty āha*".

"Affected with the dispositions; further on" (*Kārikās* 43, 44 and 45) "we shall explain the dispositions (to be) right conduct" [*dharma*] "and so on; affected" [lit. perfumed] " (or) influenced by them is the *līṅga*. At the time of absorption, endowed with" [*upeta*] "the organs, possessing the intellect" [*mahat*] "up to the *tan-mātras* as a limit", (the *līṅga*) "is absorbed in the originant" [*pradhāna*]; being non-implicated in a round of re-birth, here it abides up till the time of creation; being bound in the bond of the stupefaction of the substratum" [*prakṛti*] (it is) "incapable of actions of" (entering upon) "rounds of re-birth and the like; again at the time of creation, it enters upon a round of re-birth; therefore the subtle" [*sūkṣma*] "is the mergent"¹ [*līṅga*]. "If it is said: 'With what aim does the thirteenfold organ transmigrate?' he goes on to say" [*Kārikā* 41].

Here there is undoubted evidence that *Gauḍapāda*, at least, regarded the *līṅga*, of the *Kārikā*, as separate and distinct from the "*līṅga-ṣarira*" or rather "*sūkṣma-ṣarira*",² in its consistency. He apparently applies to it the name of the thirteenfold organ or instrument and states that it is "endowed with the organs, or instruments", "possessing the intellect [*mahat*] up to the *tan-mātras* as a limit". Had this commentator been desirous of including in the description of the *līṅga*, the five subtle *tan-mātras*, he would most likely have employed, instead of the

¹ See below.

² "*Līṅga-ṣarira*" does not occur but once in either the *Kārikā* or the commentary. Namely, in the comment to *Kārikā* 55.

term "*mahadāsūkṣmaparyantam*", the term used above, in the *Kārikā*, "*mahadādisūkṣmaparyantam*". Naturally, a lacuna in the original manuscript may be urged against this statement, or the fact, that the prepositional prefix "ā" may also be used to signify "up to" and "including in it", the word following, but coupled with *Gāuḍapāda*'s characterization of the *līṅga* as the thirteenfold instrument and the term "*karaṇopetam*", the weight of evidence is in favor of a difference between "*linga*" and "*sūkṣma-ṣarīra*". Moreover, the word "*sūkṣma*", not "*sūkṣma-ṣarīra*" is the gloss, applied to "*līṅga*" in our commentary.

The next *Kārikā* (41), which is continuative of the thought, here mentioned, reads :

"*citraṁ yathācraṇam ṛte, sthāṇvādibhyo yathā vinā chāyā ;
tadavad, vināvīṣeṣāir¹ na tiṣṭhati nirācraṇam līṅgam*".

"Just as a painting without dependence ; as a shadow without a post and the like, similarly, without the unspecific" (objects of sense) [the *tanmātras*, see *Kārikā* 38], "the *līṅga*, being devoid of dependence, does not exist".

To this, *Gāuḍapāda* says, in part :

"*vināvīṣeṣāir, avīṣeṣāis tanmātrāir vinā na tiṣṭhati. Atha viṣeṣabhūtāny ucyante ; ṣarīram pañcabhūtamayaṁ ; vāiṣeṣiṇā ṣarīreṇa vinā kva,² līṅgasthānaṁ ceti kva ? ekadeham ujjhati tad evānyam ācraṇayati nirācraṇam, ācraṇarahitaṁ līṅgaṁ, trayodaśavidhaṁ karaṇam ity arthaḥ*".

"Without the unspecific" (objects of sense) "(that is), without the unspecific *tanmātras*, it does not exist"; [or cannot stand]; "Next, the specific gross elements are declared (when it is said) the body is in possession of the five gross elements; and where is the place of the *līṅga*, without this specific body. Where? The *līṅga*, the thirteenfold organ, without, devoid of, dependence, deserts one body" [to wit, the gross] "(and) depends upon just this other (one)" [the subtle, consisting of the *tanmātras*].

What is clearer than this? Our comment distinctly glosses "*līṅga*" by the term "thirteenfold organ", and asserts, in concord with two later commentators, the assumption of the five

¹ The *Sāṁkhya Tattva Kāumudī* and the *Sāṁkhya Candrikā*, both read "*viṣeṣāir*", but interpret similarly to *Gāuḍapāda*.

² The reading of the text in the *Benares Sanskrit Series*. Wilson's text has "ka".

subtle *tanmātras* by *līṅga*. Professor Garbe in his translation of the *Sāṃkhya Tattva Kāumudī* to this *Kārikā* (p. 85) renders :

“Das Wort *līṅga* ‘innere Körper’ ist [hier] von *līṅgay* ‘zur Erkenntniss bringen’ abzuleiten und bezeichnet [in unsrer *Kārikā* lediglich] das Urtheils—und anderen Organe”.

But this passage in the *Kārikā* is not an isolated example of this use. *Kārikā* 42, the next passage to be considered, runs :

“*puruṣārthahetukam idaṁ nimittanāimittikaprasaṅgena, prakṛter vibhūtyayogān, naṭavad vyavatiṣṭhate līṅgam*”.

“Occasioned by the purpose of the soul” [*puruṣa*] “this *līṅga* appears differently, like an actor, due to the application of the omnipotence of the substratum” [*prakṛti*] “through the union of cause and effect”.

Gāuḍapāda notes :

“*līṅgaṁ sūkṣmāḥ¹ paramāṇubhis tanmātrair upacitaṁ ṣaṭ-
raṁ trayodaśavidhakaraṇopetaṁ mānuṣadevatiryagyonīṣu vyava-
tiṣṭhate*”.

“The *līṅga*, as a body, covered by the subtle, very minute particles, the *tan-mātras*, endowed with the thirteenfold organ, appears differently in divine, human and animal wombs”.

Here, we find the *līṅga*, explained as “covered” (*upacita*) by the five *tan-mātras*, and endowed with the thirteenfold organ, but not as, composed of the *tan-mātras*.

A passage, in which *līṅga* seems to be equivalent to “*līṅga-ṣarīra*” at first glance is in the comment to *Kārikā* 51, which reads :

“*līṅgaṁ ca tanmātrasargaṣ caturdaśabhūtaparyanta uktaḥ*”.

“And” [continuing a previous thought] “the *līṅga*, the *tan-mātra*-creation, declared to end in the fourteen creatures”.

In this use of “*tan-mātra-sarga*” as a gloss to “*līṅga*”, I am inclined to see rather the idea of “a creation with the *tanmātras*”, and the same applies to the word, when found in the comment to the next *Kārikā* (52) and to the expression “*līṅga-sarga*” found in *Kārikā* 54, Comment.

Kārikā 55, reads as follows :

“*tatra jarāmaraṇakṛtāṁ duḥkham prāpnoti cetanaḥ puruṣaḥ, līṅgasyāviniṣṭhitas ; tasmād duḥkham svabhāvena*”.

¹ The reading of the text is “*sūkṣmāḥ*”, which is undoubtedly an error. “*Sūkṣmāḥ*” and “*sūkṣma*” are possible readings, but better would be “*sūkṣmam*”.

"In these" [previously mentioned forms of existence] "the intelligent *puruṣa*" [soul] "experiences pain, occasioned by old age and death, until the cessation of the *līṅga*; hence pain (arises) through the nature of creation".

Gāuḍapāda comments:

"*līṅgasyāviniṣṭtler; yat tan mahadādi līṅgaṣartreṇāviṣya, tatra vyaktibhavati; tad, yāvan nivartate saṁsāraṣarīram iti saṅkṣepeṇa, triṣu sthāneṣu puruṣo jarāmaraṇakṛtān duḥkham prāpnoti, līṅgasyāviniṣṭtler, līṅgasya viniṣṭtliḥ yāvat*".

"Until the cessation of the *līṅga*: having entered with a *līṅga* body" [*līṅga-ṣarīra*] "into that which consists of the intellect" [*mahat*] "and the like, there" [in the forms of existence] (the *puruṣa*) "becomes individualized. That is (to say) briefly, until the body, which enters upon rounds of re-birth" [*saṁsāra-ṣarīra*] "ceases, in the three places, the soul experiences pain caused by old age and death, until the cessation of the *līṅga*".

Here, in the only passage in which *Gāuḍapāda* employs the term "*līṅga-ṣarīra*", a clear distinction is intended.

That even the later commentators to the *Kārikās* accepted this theory of a distinction between the "*līṅga*" and the "*līṅga-ṣarīra*" appears from the following citations.

Sāṁkhya Candrikā to *Kārikā* 41:

"*viṣeṣāir atisūkṣmaṣarīrāir vinā līṅgaṁ nirāṣrayaṁ na tiṣṭhati, kiṁ tu sūkṣmaṣarīrāṣṛīlāṁ tiṣṭhati*".

"Without the specific, exceedingly subtle bodies, the *līṅga*, devoid of dependence, does not exist; but it exists dependent on a subtle body".

Sāṁkhya Tattva Kāumudī to *Kārikā* 41:

"*vinā viṣeṣāir iti sūkṣmaṣarīrāir ity arthaḥ*".

"Without the specific, means without specific bodies" [viz. the *līṅga* does not exist], and see also above, the quotation from the *Sāṁkhya Tattva Kāumudī* to *Kārikā* 41.

It seems probable, furthermore, that *Vijñāna Bhikṣu* was influenced by this original theory in his assumption of a third corporeal frame, into which the subtle body entered in its entrance upon a round of re-birth. The earlier distinction between the "*līṅga*" and the "*sūkṣma*-" or "*līṅga-ṣarīra*" had been lost with the course of time. Still a dim remembrance of this former doctrine of the school must have lingered in the minds of its authorities, and thus these were impelled to invent a

widely divergent and wholly new conception, in the form of this third bodily frame.

There is but one passage in the *Sāmkhya Sūtras*, where the term *līnga* occurs, which merits our attention. It is *Sūtra* III 9, where we read :

“*saptadaśāikam līngam*”.

“The seventeen, as one, are the *līnga*”.

By the commentators, however, *līnga* is here glossed either by “*līnga-śarīra*” or by “*sūkṣma-śarīra*”, and the fact that the *Sāmkhya Sūtras* belong to a much later period and that they are in some measure influenced by the teachings of the *Vedānta*, in which system no such distinction is made as in the earlier *Sāmkhya*, leads to the conclusion that here we have the confusion of two previously different terms.

Two interesting *Sūtras* are III 11 and 12. The former reads:

“*tadadhiṣṭhānācraḥ dehe tadvadāt tadvādah*”.

“To the (gross) body, which depends upon the receptacle of this, is applied this” [term, body] “since it is applied to that” [subtle body].

The second runs:

“*na svātantryāt tad ṛte chāyāvac citravac ca*”.

“Not independently, without this” (does it exist) “just like a shadow, and like a painting”.

The first of these two is that *Sūtra*, on the basis of which, *Vijñāna Bhikṣu* builds up his system of a third frame; the second corresponds in sense to *Kārikā* 41, but the commentators have evidently overlooked this connection and given a varying elucidation (cf. Ballantyne, *The Sāmkhya Aphorisms of Kapila*, pp. 232-3). Assuming, however, that in these two aphorisms, there remain traces of the original theory, their signification is clear. In the first, the statement is made that just as the term body is applied to the subtle body, so also is it applied to the gross body, which is dependent upon this subtle body, namely, the receptacle of the *līnga*. In the second it is declared that this *līnga*, like a painting or a shadow, cannot exist independently, without the support of the subtle body, and in the intervals between two births, it assumes the subtle body consisting of the five *tan-mātras*.

The *līnga* generally throughout the *Sāmkhya* treatises, when not used in its ordinary sense of constant predicate, signifies this

thirteenfold organ or instrument, which together with the soul and covered by the *tan-mātras*, enters upon various rounds of re-birth in the gross bodies of gods, men or beasts. That this is the case in the passages toward the end of the *Kārikās*, has already been pointed out above. Besides its occurrence within the verses themselves, we find it employed in this sense in *Gāuḍapāda's* Commentary to *Kārikās* 41, 51 and 54. In its ordinary sense of characteristic, we have an instance in the comment to *Kārikā* 30, and most probably in *Sāṃkhya Sūtras* V 21 and 61. Where *līṅga* occurs in the comments to *Kārikās* 9, 14, 15, 16 and 17, and *Sūtras* I 136, there is no reason to assume a difference of meaning from that of the thirteenfold organ, and a similar remark may be made as regards the word "*alīṅga*",—viz., that which is not the *līṅga*, to wit, the *prakṛti*, or substratum,—in the comment to *Kārikā* 22. Indeed, from that which I shall point out in the following remarks, there is reason to accept this specialized signification.

In *Gāuḍapāda's* Commentary to *Kārikā* 6, we read :

"*pradhānapuruṣāv atīndriyāu sāmānyato dṛṣṭenānumānena sādhyete, yasmān mahadādilingaṁ triguṇam; yasyedaṁ triguṇaṁ kāryaṁ, tat pradhānam iti; yataḥ cācetanam cetanam ivābhāti, ato 'nyo 'dhiṣṭhātā puruṣa iti*".

"The originant" [*pradhāna*] "and the soul" [*puruṣa*], super-sensuous (objects), are proven by inductive inference, since there is a *līṅga*, consisting of *mahat* [intellect] "and so on, possessing the three *guṇas*" [constituents]; "the originant is that, of which this is the effect, possessing the three *guṇas*" [constituents] "and since the unintelligent appears as (it were) intelligent, hence (there is) another, a superintendent, the soul" [the *puruṣa*].

It is useless to occupy ourselves here with the first portion of this comment; the existence of an originant may indeed be proven either from the *līṅga*, as consisting of the thirteenfold instrument, or, of a "*linga-(caṭra)*", consisting of this, plus the fine or subtle elements, the *tan-mātras*, or, in fact, from a "*līṅga*", taken in the general sense of characteristic mark. The second part, however, refers to the proofs for the existence of the soul, or *puruṣa*, and is drawn from the statement made in *Kārikā* 20 :

"*tasmād tatsaṃyogād, acetanam cetanāvad ivā līṅgam*".

"Therefore, from the union with this", [the soul, mentioned in

the preceding *Kārikā* 19] “the unintelligent *līṅga* (is) as (it were) possessing intelligence”.

Gāuḍapāda’s gloss here reads :

“*iha, puruṣaḥ cetanākṛt, tena cetanāvabhāsaṁ yuktam mahadādilīṅgaṁ cetanāvad iva bhavati*”, and “*mahadādilīṅgaṁ tasya saṁyogāt puruṣasaṁyogāt cetanāvad iva bhavati; tasmād guṇā adhyavasāyaṁ kurvanti, na puruṣaḥ*”.

“Here” [in this world], “(it is) *puruṣa*” [the soul] “(which) possesses intelligence; implicated with this, the *līṅga*, consisting of *mahat*” [the intellect] “and so on, having the appearance of intelligence, is, as (it were) possessing intelligence” and “the *līṅga*, consisting of *mahat*” [the intellect] “and so on, from the union of this (that is), the union of *puruṣa*, is as (it were) possessing intelligence; hence (it is) the *guṇas*” [constituents], “(which) perform a certain ascertainment” [*adhyavasāya*], “not *puruṣa*” [the soul].

Now, neither the five *mahābhūtas*, or gross elements, nor yet the five *tan-mātras*, or servile elements, are ever regarded, as having any function, which would give them the appearance of intelligence; the *buddhi* (*mahat*) or intellect performs the function of certain ascertainment (*Kārikā* 23), but in its performance of this function it is assisted by the two remaining inner organs, and one, or more of the external sensory organs (*Kārikā* 30), and in this functioning, it has the appearance of intelligence, because of its union with soul. In consequence, I am of the opinion that the *līṅga* here mentioned is not a characteristic mark, consisting of the twenty-three products of *prakṛti*, or the substratum (*Kārikās* 3 and 22), as Wilson renders it (The *Sāṁkhya Kārikā*, pp. 74-75), nor yet the “*līṅga-śarīra*”, consisting of the thirteenfold instrument, plus the *tan-mātras* (cf. Garbe, Mondschein der *Sāṁkhya* Wahrheit, p. 66), but simply the “*līṅga*”, the transmigrating thirteenfold instrument. A similar remark applies to the passage, occurring in the *Sāṁkhya Sūtras* (V 61): “*nādvāitam ātmano līṅgāt tadbhedapratīteḥ*”.

“(There is) no non-duality of the soul” [*ātman*] (and matter), “since the difference of these (two) is recognized from the *līṅga*”.

In regard to the employment of the word “*līṅga*” with the signification of thirteenfold organ or instrument, there now remain

two passages for consideration, to wit, *Kārikā* 10, with its comment and *Sāṃkhya Sūtras* I 124. The former reads :

“*hetumad, anityam, avyāpi, sakriyam, anekam, ācṛitaṃ, līṅgam,*

sāvayavam, paratantram vyaktam ; viparitam avyaktam”.

“Possessing a cause, non-eternal, non-pervading, migratory multiform, integrally dependent, *līṅga*, and functionally, dependent is the non-manifest. The non-manifest is the reverse”.

Sāṃkhya Sūtra I 124 is identical with the first half-verse of this *Kārikā* and I have already expressed my opinion, in my article “I Metri delle *Sāṃkhya Kārikās*”, published in “Studi Italiani di Filologia Indo-Iranica”, that, for metrical reasons, I am inclined to regard this as representing an earlier original, from which the *Kārikās* also derived their materials. If such should prove the case, *līṅga* would most likely form the subject of the phrase and the preceding words predicates. The attributes “*hetumat*”, possessing, a cause, “*anitya*”, non-eternal, “*avyāpin*”, non-pervading, “*aneka*”, multiform, “*ācṛita*” might equally apply to the manifest universe, made up of the twenty-three evolutions of *prakṛti*, the substratum, or of the *līṅga*, as representing the thirteenfold instrument, but why “*sakriya*” should refer to the “*vyakta*”, as a whole, I cannot see. *Gāuḍa-pāda*, in fact says :

“*sakriyam ; saṃsārakāle saṃsarati ; trayodaśavidhena karāṇena saṃyuktaṃ, sūkṣmaṃ śariram ācṛitya saṃsarati ; tasmāt sakriyam*”.

“Migratory : at the periods of rounds of re-birth, it transmigrates ; furnished with” [or, composed of (?)] “the thirteenfold instrument, depending upon a subtle body, it transmigrates ; therefore it is migratory”.

Surely this can mean nothing more than the *līṅga*, which, to repeat, is made up of the thirteenfold organ, and dependent on, or assuming, a subtle body, namely, the “*līṅga-śarira*”. A similar treatment of this attribute is found in the comment to the *Sūtras* (cf. Ballantyne, *The Sāṃkhya Aphorisms*, p. 146), but the *Sāṃkhya Tattva Kāumudī* seeks to explain this more in consonance with the *Kārikā* (cf. Garbe, *Mondschein der Sāṃkhya Wahrheit*, pp. 49-50).

We now come to a treatment of the signification of the word “*līṅga*”, with which this paper opened, and in this connection,

permit me to quote the two passages from the commentary of *Gāuḍapāda*, bearing on this subject, the first in his gloss to "līṅga" in *Kārikā* 10, above-mentioned, the second to the succeeding verse (11).

a. "līṅgaṁ, layayuktaṁ; layakāle pañca mahābhūtāni tan-mātreṣu liyante, tāny ekādaśendriyāṇi sahaśaṁkāre, sa ca buddhāu, sā ca pradhāne layaṁ yatīti".

"līṅga (means) implicated in absorption; at the time of absorption, the five gross elements are absorbed in the subtle elements, these together with the eleven sensory organs" [*indriya*] in the organ of subjectivity" [*ahaṁkāra*], and this in the intellect, and this goes to absorption in the originant" [*pradhāna*].

b. "līṅgaṁ vyaktam, alīṅgaṁ pradhānaṁ, tathā ca pumān apy alīṅgaḥ. na kva cil liyata iti".

"The manifest is līṅga, the originant is not, and so also the soul" [*pumān*] "is not". (For "it is said) nowhere is it absorbed".

In the first of these two passages under discussion, the treatment of "līṅga" by *Gāuḍapāda* seems to contradict the conception of "līṅga", at least here, as signifying the thirteenfold instrument and to construe it as equivalent to the entire manifest creation of the substratum, *prakṛti*. Yet, it occurs to me that here, our author, as Vacaspati Miśra, in his explanation of "sakriyā" given above, has simply erred in his effort to harmonize what really was an inharmonious sentence, as far as the philosophy goes; in other words, he seeks to construe "līṅga", originally intended as a substantive form and subject, as an adjective form and predicate of the noun "vyaktam", and this thought he carries over into the following *Kārikā*, in consequence, reading: "pumān apy alīṅgaḥ". Leaving this aside, however, the fact remains that here the commentator illustrates "līṅga" by the term "layayukta", "implicated in absorption", in other words, renders it by "mergent", "dissoluble", and he is not alone in his explanation of the word, as such. Vacaspati Miśra, in his notes to *Kārikā* 40, says:

"līṅgaṁ layaṁ gacchatīti līṅgaṁ, hetumattvena cāsya līṅgatvam iti bhāvaḥ".

"The līṅga is so-called, (since) it goes to absorption; and this condition of its being līṅga, (is) due to its condition of possessing a cause"; [the substratum, *prakṛti*]; "(this is) the meaning".

Aniruddha in his commentary to *Sāṃkhya Sūtras* VI 69, explains similarly (cf. Garbe, *Sāṃkhya Philosophie*, p. 269), and *Vijñāna Bhikṣu* in the *Sāṃkhya Pravacana Bhāṣya* admits both this meaning and that of characteristic mark. The *Sāṃkhya Candrikā*, at best a very late composition, alone takes "*līṅga*", as always signifying characteristic mark.

"*līṅgaṃ līṅgayati, jñāpayati*". "*līṅga* (is that which characterizes, makes known" (*Candrikā* to *Kārikā* 10).

"*līṅganāj, jñāpanāl līṅgam*". "*līṅga* is from characterizing, making known" (*Candrikā* to *Kārikā* 40).

Thus we see that all the earlier authorities are in agreement in their acceptance of this meaning. These masters of the school, nearer in point of time than we are, cannot be ignored in a treatment of such a word as "*līṅga*", and indeed as has been said before, there is not such a radical disagreement between these two senses, as at first seems apparent. The *līṅga* was the characteristic mark through which the *prakṛti*, the substratum of the universe—as well as the *puruṣa* or soul, but secondarily—was demonstrated, just as anything, according to the *Nyāya* logicians, is demonstrated by a *līṅga*, or characteristic mark. But through the very fact of its being that which denoted, pointed out, or characterized this substratum, a transfer of meaning took place and the *Sāṃkhya* teachers adopted a term formerly used in this more general sense, to express a philosophical conception, for which their actual vocabulary was deficient. The *līṅga* was that which issued forth from *prakṛti*, at the time of creation, when the equilibrium of the *guṇas*, constituting *prakṛti*, had been destroyed, but at the period of absorption, it re-entered or merged into *prakṛti*, becoming a part and parcel of this latter and existing as such till a new creation began. "To use a comparison", says Professor Morton W. Easton,¹ "which would have had the force of logic to the Hindoo mind, I might take from a mass of molten metal enough to make a tool to stir the mass with. On finishing the operation, I might merge the tool into the molten mass again". Thus, then, being a part of the substratum of the visible universe, and merging into it at stated periods, the *līṅga* characterized it as a mark. But why should this *līṅga* merge into the *prakṛti*? Because it is affected by the dispositions of right conduct, and the like (*Kārikā* 40), and being

¹ Article on the Body in the *Sāṃkhya*, see above, p. 7.

still affected by these dispositions, at the end of a world-period, it cannot withdraw itself from the soul, or *puruṣa* and leave this free and isolated. It must expiate, so to speak, or make neutral this disposition in another round of re-birth or several, and thus merges into *prakṛti*, until the beginning of a new creation may permit of its entrance, into another subtle body and then a gross body. Moreover, were it not covered by the fine elements, as a subtle body, during the period between two births in gross bodies, it, being devoid of a support, would vanish, merge into the all-present *prakṛti*, as at the end of a world-period (*Kārikā* 41). From all this it results that the *līnga* is both the characteristic mark, or that which points out the *prakṛti* and also that which merges into, or vanishes in *prakṛti*.

That there may be some erotic connection with this meaning in the designation of the male organs of generation by the term *līnga*, is possible, but such a relation I must let rest for the moment. In this paper, I have sought to show merely the special *Sāṃkhya* use of the word. That this school appreciated and employed *līnga* in the ordinary sense, is undoubted, but on the other hand, I feel, that at least in the earlier *Sāṃkhya* treatises, there is to be seen a purely specialized and technical meaning, to wit, the signification of the "thirteenfold instrument, the mergent".

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

Since the conclusion of the present article, I have had the opportunity of studying the Chinese version of the *Sāṃkhya Kārikās*, with its commentary, by Paramārtha, translated by Dr. M. J. Takakusu, in the "Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient, Janv., Juin, and Oct., Dec., 1904". On p. 1027, in his translation of *Kārikā* 41, I find:

"Comme il n'y a pas de peinture; comme il n'y a pas d'ombre sans un poteau ou autre chose de semblable; ainsi, sans un corps composé des cinq éléments subtils, les treize (substances grossières) n'auraient pas de support".

In this case, we actually have the Sanskrit "*līnga*" occurring in the Chinese version, as "the thirteenfold instrument"; as well as in the Chinese commentary, to *Kārikās* 40, 41 and 42.

ELLWOOD AUSTIN WELDEN.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. Edited by
Sir JAMES A. H. MURRAY, Dr. HENRY BRADLEY and Dr.
W. A. CRAIGIE. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1908,
1909, 1910.

Three years have again elapsed since our last notice of the Oxford English Dictionary. Twelve quarterly Parts have again been received, which may be briefly enumerated, in order to keep up the alphabetical connection. January 1, 1908, came Volume VII, Polygenous—Premious, Dr. Murray; April, 1908, Volume VI, Monopoly—Movement, Dr. Bradley; July 1, 1908, Volume VIII, Reserve—Ribaldously, Dr. Craigie; October 1, 1908, Volume VI, Movement—Myz, Dr. Bradley; January 1, 1909, Volume VII, Premisal—Prophesier, Dr. Murray; April 1, 1909, Volume VIII, Ribaldric—Romanite, Dr. Craigie; July 1, 1909, Volume VIII, S—Sauce, Dr. Bradley; October 1, 1909, Volume VII, Prophesy—Pyxis, Dr. Murray; January 1, 1910, Volume VIII, Romanity—Roundness, Dr. Craigie; April 1, 1910, Volume VIII, Round-Nosed—Ryze, Dr. Craigie; July 1, 1910, Volume VIII, Sauce-Alone—Scouring, Dr. Bradley; and October 1, 1910, Volume IX, T—Tealt, Dr. Murray. It will thus be seen that in the last three years the letters M, P, and R, have been completed, the letter S advanced, and the letter T begun. These Parts complete Volumes VI and VII, advance considerably Volume VIII, and begin Volume IX. It may, therefore, be possible to complete the Dictionary in ten volumes, as proposed, for the letters—N, O, and Q, have already been completed, and after S and T, W is the only lengthy letter remaining.

The character of the work and the method of treatment of the several words is familiar to all readers of these notices in the American Journal of Philology. The Prefatory Notes to each Part continue to give comparisons with other leading Dictionaries from which we may see the increase in number of Words recorded, and especially in the number of illustrative quotations. The "grandfather's tale",—as Dr. Murray calls it,—that associated the *Potato* with Sir Walter Raleigh is exploded, and we learn from the MS Journals of the Royal Society, 1663 and 1693, that they first recommended the potato for cultivation in England "in time of scarcity", and the second connected it with the name of Sir Walter Raleigh, who had been dead for seventy-five years; also, that the Sweet Potato (*Batata*) was the common potato,

and the Irish were "bastard potatoes", not indigenous to Ireland, however much cultivated there later, so as to cause a famine when the crop failed in our day. We are told that "its native region is unknown, but it appears to have been seen by the Spaniards first in the West Indies *c.* 1500". This statement applies to the sweet potato; and the name "Virginia Potatoes" is a misnomer, if by that was meant its original habitat.

The word *Pottle* deserves a brief notice. It dates from the 14th century, *O. F. potel*, and was first used for liquids, being equal to a half-gallon, but it was also used "for corn and other dry goods". The writer first heard it used in his youth, some fifty years ago, by an old gentleman in reference to seeding wheat. He stated that the proper quantity of seed to use in sowing wheat was a bushel and a "*pottel*" to the acre. Dr. Murray says that the measure is "now abolished", though he gives a quotation from Hazlitt, 1869, "Who'd keep a cow, when he may have a *pottle* of milk for a penny?" This Part increases the Romance element in our vocabulary by reason of the many words beginning with the prefixes *post-* and *pre-*. The last word Premious is characterized as *rare*, and references are given for its use, 1855 in Clarke, and 1864 in Webster, but this writer has never met with the word.

Considering the largely increased use of *Motor-cars*, it deserves notice that the earliest examples of the word are from the English newspapers in 1895, one of which says that "The chief reason why *motor-cars* have not been more generally adopted in America lies in the roughness of the roads" (*Westminster Gazette*, 10 Sept.), and another (*Daily Chronicle*, 29 Oct.) is looking for a name for the vehicle: "A name has not been found for horse-less carriages. The latest suggestion we have had is '*motor-car*'". The *Daily News*, Feb. 5, 1896, speaks of the "Motor-Car Club", but in the preceding column, under *Motor*, short for *motor-car*, we find also the words "automobilism" and "Automobile Club", but these are too long for practical use, so they are cut down to "Auto". It would be well to keep *Motor-man* for these vehicles instead of limiting it to the street-cars, and taking up the French *chauffeur*, anglicised as "*shofer*", a horrid word. Any new invention necessarily adds to the vocabulary, but we should follow the analogy of the language.

To glance for a moment from lexicography to orthoepy. I desire to compare the pronunciations of *Morning* and *Mourning*, both of which words occur in this Part. It may be, perhaps, remembered by my older contemporaries that some years ago I reviewed in this Journal Storm's *Englische Philologie* (A. J. P., Vol. II, No. 8, December, 1881). I remarked: "Many pronunciations of particular words are given, which, to my knowledge, are never heard here, and others pronounced antiquated which are in daily use. Both Walker and Smart retain the dis-

inction universal in this country, between *mourning* and *morn-ing*, while Ellis and Sweet say that Englishmen pronounce the first as the second, *māðning*. Sweet says: I certainly make no distinction between *mourning* and *morning*. Scotchmen do, as also archaic speakers in London, but it is certainly extinct in the younger generation. It is impossible for one American to speak for the whole country, as we have provincial variations and alternative pronunciations even among educated persons, but I think this will be news to most Americans". It is not yet thirty years since this was written, and yet I find Dr. Bradley giving the preference to the American's English over the Englishman's English, and I am glad to find him sustaining my contention, for in the orthoepical Key *morning* is pronounced mɔɪning and *mourning* mōɔɪning. [The Key to pronunciation is omitted in this Part. It is given in nearly all the Parts, as in the following Part, but the difference of pronunciation can be distinguished without it.] The question here is between Ellis and Sweet on the one hand, and Murray and Bradley on the other, with whom this American agrees.

The Romance portion of the vocabulary is still further increased in the next Part by the words with the prefixes *Re-* and *Retro-*. Here also we find both *Rhyme* and *Rhythm*, the former being but a "graphic variant of RIME sb.¹, which arose through etymological association with the ultimate source, L. *rhythmus*, and became common early in the 17th c." "*Rhime* was a frequent spelling till late in the 18th c. and was affected by some writers in the 19th c., but *rhyme* is the prevailing literary form". I may add to this, however, by remarking that the present tendency is to go back to the oldest English and use *rime* for *rhyme*, dropping the *h*, which is reserved for *rhythm*, it being more directly derived from the Latin *rhythmus*, and found in the variant forms: "6-7 *rhithme*, *riithme*, 6-7, 9 *rythme*, 7 *rhythme*, *riithm*, 7-9, *rythm*, 8 *rhithm*, 7 *rhythm*". It too is described as "a graphic variant of RIME sb.¹, assimilated to L. *rhythmus*, Roman F. *rhythmē*, in 16-17th c. *riithme*. The rime-words *time*, *crime* (see quots. 1646, 1651, 1677) attest the pronunciation (rɔim). Cf. the spelling *ri'me* in B. Jonson, *Volpone*, Prol., the apostrophe representing the omitted *th*". The spelling *rime* has the advantage of tracing this word to the Old English, whereas the spelling *rhythm* traces this to the Latin, ultimately to the Greek, original. *Rhythm* as a verb is marked *rare*, but an example is noted from Wharton's Works, 1650-66. Under *rhythmus* we find as the oldest quotation one of 1531, from Elyot's Governour, who speaks of "metres & harmonies, called *rythmi* in greke". De Quincey (1840) speaks of "The sonorous *rhythmus*, and the grand intonation of the Greek Iambics", which at least sounds better to my ear than the English *rhythm*.

The last Part of M concludes Volume VI, which contains the letters L, M, and N, the letters L and N having been previously

published. The short Preface to Vol. VI, and separate Prefaces to the letters L and M follow the text. There are recorded in this volume of main and subordinate words, special and obvious combinations, a total of 48,813 words in these three letters, and the aggregate numbers for the first six volumes contain 210,780. If the last four volumes average proportionately, we shall have over 350,000 words of all kinds in this Dictionary.

Among words that deserve special attention are *Mr.* and *Mrs.*, entered as main words, *much*, *multi-* as a prefix, *mumble-the-peg*, characterized as "now U. S." (I pity English boys if this well-known game has now become obsolete in England. It shows only that Americans are more tenacious of old customs than Englishmen), *music*, *musk*, *musket*, *must*, verb, *mutton*, *mystery*, from *mysterium*, and from *ministerium*—but lack of space forbids further citations.

The Part for January 1, 1909, is a Treble Section. In it the Romance portion of the vocabulary is still further increased by words with the prefixes *Pre-* and *Pro-*. Here the reader may inform himself on *Pre-Raphaelism* and *Pre-Raphaelitism*, which, however, do not date back further than Rossetti (1853) and Ruskin (1851), judging from the quotations given; these are, therefore, quite modern words. Rossetti informs the editor (1907) that he writes *Praeraphaelite* and *Praeraphaelitism*, but the editor prefers *Pre-*, as does Ruskin also. The mythical *Prestor John* is interestingly defined with references to Col. Yule's article in *Encycl. Brit.* XIX, and quotations from King Alisaundre, before 1400 on. The juggler's phrase *Presto* goes back to Ben Jonson, before 1600. *Pretty* (O. E. *praetig*, from 11th century), originally crafty, tricky, has changed its meaning considerably, and for the better, as it would once have been no compliment to speak of "a pretty girl". The earliest quotation for "a pretty penny" is from Steele, *Spectator*, 1712, so it has been in use for at least two hundred years. *Prevent*, with its three columns of definitions, deserves study. Much of interest that invites comment must be passed over, lest this article extend to unwarrantable proportions.

The Part for April 1, 1909, is a double Section, and the editor says: "The Romanic element, while still large and important, does not preponderate over the native English, and many even of the Romanic words have become so English in form and use that their foreign origin is not obvious at first sight". The form *Riband*, for which also *riban* is found, supplies examples from 14th-19th century, and with it *Ribbon*, now the more common form, should be compared, it being a later form of *riban*, *riband*. "In the 16th-18th century the French form *Ruban* was also frequent".

Rich, adj., adv., and sb., fills four columns, and it appears also as an obsolete verb. A half-column more includes the obsolete noun (O. E. *rice* kingdom), which was common until the 15th

century; then comes *riches*, a variant of the obsolete *richesse*, directly from the French. The editor says: "The conversion into the plural form may have been assisted by Latin *divitiae*". We find the form *richesses* as late as 1677, used during the 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries also.

Rid, verb, is of Old Norse origin, from the 13th century, and fills more than two columns. *Ride* is common Teutonic, and its obsolete preterite *rid*, from the old preterite plural, is preserved in the ancient pun on "Orpheus and Eurydice (you-rid-I-see)." The verb fills between seven and eight columns, but the common expression *ride and tie* does not date back farther than Fielding, 1742. I suspect that earlier examples might be found. *Rig*, vb., in the sense of hoax, is marked "*slang* or *colloq.*", but this use does not date back a hundred years, if we can rely upon the quotations for the earliest use. *Right*, in its various senses, fills twenty columns, and among the meanings of the noun we find, "With reference to drinking, in phr. *to do* (one *right*), with examples from Shakspeare, 2 Henry IV, v, iii, 76, and Chapman, All Fools, 'Fill's a fresh *pottle*, by this light, Sir Knight, You shall do right'", evidently used in drinking healths, but it is marked with the dagger (†) as obsolete. *Rime* (see above) and *rime* (O. E. *hrim*, frost) fill four columns in their different senses; *Ring*, noun and verb, fills sixteen columns; and the noun and verb *Rise*, thirteen, the last sense of the verb being "33. *colloq.* to raise or grow; to rear, bring up", with example from Martin Chuzzlewit, 1844, "Where was you *rose*?" Barring the bad grammar, any Virginian might rightly say, Where were you raised? and it would be reckoned merely *dialectic*. The M. E. *ro* (Old Norse, tho' we find once an O. E. *row*) was in use from 1200 to 1500, but seems to have died out with the Towneley and Chester Plays.

Road fills six columns, and *Roar*, with derivations, five. *Roanoke*, "from the Powhatan or Virginian dialect of Algonkin", is defined as "an inferior kind of wampum made and used by the natives of Virginia". Examples are given from Capt. Smith's Virginia, 1624, Beverly's History of Virginia, 1722, et al., and the name is still preserved in a river, a county, and a city in Virginia. *Rock*, with its derivatives and compounds, *Rod*, *Rogation*, *Roger de Coverley*, "an English country-dance and tune", *Rogue*, *Roland*, *Roll*, twelve columns in its various senses. *Roman*, and *Romance*, deserve perusal, but lack of space forbids further comment.

The double Section for July 1, 1909, begins another letter, S, in which the remarks on the voiceless (surd) *s*- and the voiced (sonant) *z*-sounds deserve attention, as well as on the phonetic combinations *sy* and *zy*. Among noticeable articles are those on *Sabbath*, *sack*, in its different meanings as noun and verb, *sacrament*, and its derivatives, the obsolete *sacre* as verb, *sacred*, adj. and subs., *sacrifice*, subs. and verb, with derivatives, *sad*, *saddle*, *safe*, and its compounds, *sag*, *saga*, O. N., but from 1709 on as

an independent word in English, *sage*, *sail*, *sain*, "now *arch.* and *dial.*", from Baeda, 900 on, *saint*, *sake*, *sale*, *Salic*, *sallow*, *sally*, *Sally Lunn*, mentioned in 1827, by Hone (Every-day Book, II, 1561), who defines it: "The bun, called the Sally Lunn, originated with a young woman of that name in Bath, about thirty years ago", previously found in the Gentleman's Magazine, LXVIII, 1798; and *salt*, with its ten columns, with which this notice of half of this Part, S—Sauce, must conclude.

The Part for October 1, 1909, Prophecy—Pyxis, is a treble section of over two hundred pages, concluding P and completing Vol. VII. It contains more than 5000 words, of which "the words of native origin are very few". They are principally from Old French, Latin and Greek, and many begin with *Pseudo-* and *Pyro-*.

It deserves attention that such a would-be stylish phrase—not to say stylistic—as the misused "psychological moment" is of very recent origin (see the etymological note). The editor, Sir James Murray, says that "The French expression arose in Paris in December, 1870, during the Siege, and was first used by the German Journal *Kreuz Zeitung*; its misuse was due to a mistake in gender, not made by the Journal itself, which said *das psychologische moment*, and this was mistaken for *der psychologische moment*. "Thus attributed to German pedantry, the nonsensical *moment psychologique* was ridiculed by the Parisians, and became a jocular phrase or 'tag' for 'the fitting or proper moment'; and with this connotation it has passed, equally nonsensically, into English journalese", and, I would add, into rhetorical English. Having originated in a blunder, it might well be dropped.

The word *Protestant* is defined as "in pl. the designation of those who joined in the protest at Spire in 1529"; i. e., those who dissented from the decision of the Diet of Spire (1529), "which reaffirmed the edict of the Diet of Worms against the Reformation", so it designated "the adherents of the Reformed doctrines and worship in Germany". "The name was generally taken in Germany by the Lutherans; while the Swiss and French called themselves *Reformed*". The earliest literary example is from 1539. "In the 17th c. Protestant was generally accepted and used by members of the Established Church"; i. e., of England. "In more recent times the name has been dis-favored or disowned by many Anglicans"; hence the agitation by some to reject the word from the official title of the "Protestant Episcopal Church" in this country, "descended from and in communion with the Church of England", altho' it has been in use for 130 years.

Space fails to comment on the word *Puritan*, and others, especially the word *Put*, with its *thirty* columns. The editor says: "The article on *Put*, indeed, is next to that on *Go*, the longest as yet in the Dictionary; and the ramifications of sense and use in the simple verb have made its arrangement a work of

enormous difficulty". It is traced from a "late O. E. *putian*" (or? *pūtian*) 11th century. "For the earlier history evidence is wanting, but the various forms appear to be parallel formations from a stem *pūt-*, *pot*". *Put* and its phrases form a volume in itself, with 54 separate idiomatic, proverbial, and other phrases. The Preface to Vol. VII closes this Part.

The next Part for January 1, 1910, consists of but a single Section of sixty-four pages, Romanity—Roundness, forming a part of Volume VIII, none of the articles being long. *Rood*, cross, O. E. *rōd*, *Roof*, O. E. *hrōf*, and *Rough*, O. E. *rūh*, are among the longest native words, and *Round*, French, among those of foreign origin. While the phrase *rough-and-ready* is recorded, we miss its most common application in this country, *Old-Rough-and-Ready*, as a nickname of Gen. Taylor during the Mexican war, which an American editor would not have failed to note. *Rough-house* has also escaped notice. *Round-Robin*, "originally used by sailors, and frequently referred to as a nautical term", has had its origin long since lost sight of. *Round Table* still preserves its connection with King Arthur, the earliest mention of it having been found in Wace's *Roman de Brut*, 1155.

Rout, *route*, *rove*, *row* will be found of interest; so also the common adjective *royal*, to which over six columns are given. *Rub* and *rubber* follow, and in the sense of "overshoes" the latter is marked "U. S." *Rubber*, in the sense of "a rubber at whist", is pronounced as "of obscure origin; there is no evident connection with the preceding". *Rubric* goes back to 1375, and takes its name from being "written or printed in red". *Rude* fills over four columns: *Rue*, O. E. *hréowan*, sb. and vb., reaches back to O. E. times. *Ruff*, in the sense of "trump" antedates 1600. *Rule*, M. E. *riwle*, as in the *Ancren Riwle*, reaches the 13th century, and the development of the leading senses took place in Latin *regula*. *Run*, as noun, fills six columns, as verb, and, including phrases, twenty-five columns, or eighty-two collocations. If we include *Runner* and *running*, we may add over a dozen more. This Part completes the letter R, and contains the Preface to Q and R.

The Part for July 1, 1910, continues the letter S, including words "for the most part of Romanic origin", altho' we have some common words of native Teutonic origin, as *saw* (O. E. **sagu*), the cutting tool, and *saw* (O. E. *sagu*), a saying, as in Shakspeare, A. Y. L., "full of wise *saws*"; also *seax*, knife, which dates back to the *Beowulf*, from which the name *Saxon* is thought to have been derived, "often used for Modern English speech, of Saxon or Anglo-Saxon origin"; [no fault is found here with the use of the term *Anglo-Saxon*, which some of our purists condemn;] *say*, with its derivatives, fills a dozen columns, perhaps the longest of our native words in this Part. The term *Sallywag*, *scallawag* (under various spellings), so common in Reconstruc-

tion times, is marked *slang* or *colloq.* (orig. *U. S.*), and [Origin obscure], but the correct origin is most probably given in the following quotation: "1868, *Daily News*, 18 Sept., Wade Hampton explained the origin of the term . . . by saying that 'scalawag' was the name applied by drovers to lean and ill-favored kine". Attention is directed to the etymological note on *scientific*, "the true history of which has not hitherto been given in any English dictionary".

The Part for October 1, 1910, the last one published, begins the letter T, so we are gradually advancing to the end. Our remarks on this Part must be very brief. We find *taffy*¹ given as the earlier form of *toffee*, but *taffy* is more common here; its metaphorical use as flattery, is marked "*U. S. slang*"; *taffy*² is "an ascribed Welsh pronunciation of Davy", as early as 1700, which the familiar nursery rime preserves; *take*, of O. N. origin, occupies nearly 40 columns, "making the longest article as yet in the Dictionary"; "its sense-history is itself an instructive chapter in Sematology"; "the determination and classification of the senses of *take* has been a long and difficult business"; and some *fifty* languages are given as sources. Besides *take*, *table*, *tail*¹, *tally*, *tea*, *teach*, fill a large portion of this Part; *teach* and its derivatives fill a half-dozen columns. As showing what brand-new words are included, we find *taxicab*, "short for *taximeter cab*, and itself shortened to *taxi*", altho' its use dates back only to 1907, and the only examples given are found in the English newspapers,—but "so far for to-day",—as my old professor used to say.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen, ihre Grundgedanken und Wirkungen von R. REITZENSTEIN. Leipzig und Berlin, Teubner, 1910. Pp. 222.

The volume under notice, described on the title-page as a "Vortrag gehalten in dem wissenschaftlichen Predigerverein für Elsass-Lothringen den 11. November 1909", contains much more than one is thus led to expect. The address itself occupies the first sixty pages, a trifle more than a quarter of the total, the remainder being devoted to Excursus and Notes, together with Addenda and Indices.

Professor Reitzenstein here takes up in summary form a subject which has engaged his thought for years, particularly in the volumes 'Poimandres' (1904) and 'Hellenistische Wundererzählungen' (1906), and like others who have pursued the study of the tantalising age of Hellenism, it is difficult for him to leave it. The fascination of the theme is undeniable, particularly for those who unite to a love of things Greek an interest and

ence in matters Biblical and oriental. It is fortunate that the extension of classical studies into these fields is guided by such scholars as Franz Cumont, Paul Wendland, and Richard Reitzenstein.

Our author lays great stress (p. 2 f.) on oriental influence as the specific characteristic of all that is 'Hellenistic' in religion, though there is, of course, always a more or less significant admixture of Greek thought or language. This fact provokes the question whether we possess a knowledge, or even a means of knowledge, sufficiently assured to warrant this view, taken not as a thesis to be defended, but as a basis for argument. Not the least of the many titles which Hellenistic religion has to the interest of thinking men, it seems to the writer, is that there was a real *praeeparatio evangelica*, not indeed miraculous, but still to us, with our limitations of knowledge, mysterious. That there was a singular convergence of religious thought, taking the form of the rise of secondary worships growing out of older religious systems of Persia, Phrygia, Egypt, Greece and, lastly, Palestine, having the common characteristics of proselytizing, seeking to be universal instead of national, and appealing directly to the individual soul,—this is a fact of extraordinary interest, although it baffles explanation except by hypothesis. Undoubtedly the hypothesis of a common origin in the orient, stimulated perhaps by some such extraordinary movement as that culminating in the Hebrew Prophets, is not wholly improbable; but a careful study of the history of religious thought, e. g., in Greece, shows that in the main the development of those aspects which later fix the physiognomy of the Hellenistic age was steady and not such as to call for the assumption of foreign influence. The enthusiastic reception of the Bacchic cult in Italy, no less than the welcome extended to Greek ideas in Egypt and to Isis in Greece, shows that everywhere there had been this indigenous *praeeparatio*. We ought therefore, as it seems, to study the religious movement of the age without too strong a preconception as to the source of this or that, contenting ourselves for the present at least with the ascertainment of facts where they are obtainable.

This caution is particularly desirable in a case like that of Paul's relation to a Gnosticism before the Gnostics. There is undoubtedly a most fascinating problem here, but it cannot be solved by deriving Paul's inspiration from a non-existent literature, the sometime existence of which must be inferred from a body of magical Hermetic writings subsequent in date to Paul. A somewhat similar case is that in which our author speaks of the custom of recognizing the teacher as the 'spiritual father' (p. 27) of the disciple. In regard to a practice which is known to have existed in the medical schools in the fifth century, and must have obtained in all corporations, designated by patronymics, in which the apprentice displaced the son when the caste yielded to the guild, it is surely not *necessary* to seek

light from the orient, although of course oriental parallels are abundant.

Professor Reitzenstein is well aware of the difficulty of deciding where one is dealing with phenomena strictly pertaining to religious Mysteries and where with that which is only remotely connected with them. There is perhaps no one aspect of the whole subject more suggestive than the obvious fact that the same words may be felt as a true description of a veritable experience, even an experience primarily physical, or merely as a metaphor applicable to states of mind or emotions. In other words, the Mysteries (first, perhaps, individual, then in part organized into a stated service with its appropriate ritual open to all communicants) lead insensibly to Mysticism; and he must needs be a seer who would in every case distinguish even the degree of reality which the supposed experience had to the thought of the narrator. In the magical literature, upon which one author so largely draws, there is the added difficulty that for us of to-day, at least, it seems to possess but little reality.

Yet it would be a serious fault in the reviewer if he should leave the impression on the reader that tangible results are not to be had from this brilliant book. If we are farther than we are perhaps willing to admit from a state of knowledge that would enable us to trace the several doctrines of Paul to their sources, the ministers who were privileged to hear this address of Professor Reitzenstein must have felt that they could henceforth read the great Apostle's words very much as if they had been his contemporaries. Surely that is great gain; and the vitality of the picture of the times presented is due to the contagious enthusiasm of the author, whose style has on this occasion profited by the requirements of oral delivery.

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REPORTS.

REVUE DE PHILOGIE, XXXII (1908, 1 and 2).

Pp. 5-23. Louis Havet, Notes on Plautus (Continuation. See A. J. P. XXX, pp. 465-473). Epid. 9; 15; 24 and 26; 29 and 31, 44, 57, 65; 47, 48 and 50; 61; 67-68; 75-76, 177; 90; 126; 130-131; 136; 140; 204; 279; 361; 364-365; 477; 531; 585-586; 624; 625; 668; 679 (and Trin. 979); 714.

Pp. 24-25. Georges Nicole, Note on the Parabasis of the Knights. Nicole defends the reading *στρώματα* (Eq. 605) against the reading *βρώματα* advocated by Paul Girard and supported by the Ravennas.

Pp. 26-28. D. Serruys, Notes on a comparatively unknown Manuscript of Plutarch's Lives. The manuscript in question, the existence of which seems to have been unknown to Konrat Ziegler, *Die Ueberlieferungsgeschichte der vergleichenden Lebensbeschreibungen Plutarchs*, Leipzig, 1907, is a carefully written 11th century Athos parchment manuscript, which, in the catalogue of Chrysostomos, bears the number 324. It comprises 128 leaves, about half of which are more or less mutilated as the result of moisture. There are indications that our manuscript, which contains only ten of the Lives, originally formed part of a larger codex, which embraced all of the Lives. In the course of a recent visit to Athos undertaken for some other scientific purpose, Serruys had an opportunity to inspect MS No. 324, and as a result of a rather rapid survey of the Lives of Alexander and Caesar, he has reached the conclusion that our MS is the best representative of the class of Plutarch MSS to which the V^b and the M of Sintenis belong, and he expresses the hope that at some early date one of the younger monks may undertake the task of collating it.

Pp. 28-29. C. E. Ruelle, Proposed Corrections in the Anonymus of Bellermand. On p. 20, the term *προκρουσμός* with its proper notation, and on p. 25, the definition of *προκρουσμός*, are omitted, whilst at the same places the notation (re-mi-re, mi-fa-mi), and the definition of *ἐκκρουσμός* (*ἐκκρουσμός δὲ ἐστὶν ὅταν τοῦ αὐτοῦ φθόγγου δις λαμβανομένου, μέσος παραλαμβάνηται ὁ ξύτερος φθόγγος*), are those that properly belong to *προκρουσμός*. Ruelle proposes to make the proper additions and corrections.

Pp. 30-35. Salomon Reinach, *Divina Philippica*. The source of the remarkable eulogy of Pompey at the opening of the

seventh book of Lucan's *Pharsalia* must be sought in Cicero's Second Philippic. Verses 40-44, in particular, which are somewhat obscure when taken by themselves, become perfectly clear when viewed in the light of the 26th section of the Second Philippic. To this view it might possibly be objected that as Lucan seems to have followed Livy in his historical narrative, it may have been Livy and not Cicero, from whom he caught his enthusiasm for Pompey. But Livy was too sane an historian to have indulged in such extravagances of expression as did Lucan. Furthermore, Cicero's Second Philippic had become a classic almost from the day of its publication, and it influenced Livy as it influenced Juvenal and others. Lastly, the parallelism of language in Lucan and in the Second Philippic, especially in the passages above cited, is so striking that it is impossible to believe that the sentiments in question are derived from any other source than Cicero.

Pp. 36-46. E. Cavaignac, *The Changes in the Rating of the Solonian Property Classes*. Boeckh inferred from [Dem.] 43, 54 that the rating of the *zeugites* was based upon a minimum income of 150 measures. This figure does not agree with that given by Aristotle and by Pollux, who assign a minimum income of 200 measures to that class. Cavaignac explains this apparent contradiction by the hypothesis that the number 150 represented the rating of the *zeugites* till the adoption in about 590 B. C. of the Euboico-Attic instead of the Aeginetan standard of weights and measures, and that the number 200 is simply due to the evaluation of the old schedule in terms of the new. Accepting 500, 300, and 150 as the original figures for the minimum incomes of the *pentacosiomedimni*, the knights, and the *zeugites* respectively, these figures would, under the new standard, become 666. 66, 400, and 200. The reason why Aristotle, *Pol.* 7, records the change in the rating of only the *zeugite* class, is stated to be that in the latter half of the fifth century, the date of most of the Aristotelian sources, accurate information with regard to the rating of the first two classes was not available. Cavaignac further believes that by about 480 B. C. another increase in the rating of the upper two classes had taken place. Pollux (8, 130) makes the statement that the *pentacosiomedimni*, with an income of 500 dr., paid one talent into the public treasury, the knights, with an income of 300 dr., half a talent, the *zeugites*, with an income of 200 dr., ten minae, and the *thetes* nothing. On the basis of this information Boeckh evolved his brilliant theory of a graduated capitalization of incomes for purposes of assessment. He maintained that, to ascertain the amount of the taxable capital in any given case, the annual income was first multiplied by 12, and then, if the owner of the property belonged to the highest class, he was assessed for the entire amount of the sum so obtained; if he belonged to the second class, he was assessed for five-sixths of that amount; and, if he belonged to the third

class, he was taxed on only five-ninths of his estate. But Cavaignac accepts neither this nor any other theory of graduated capitalization. He believes that Pollux confused two different schedules, an earlier one based on incomes, and a later one based on capitalization. At 18%, which Cavaignac considers to have been the prevailing rate of interest at Athens at the period in question, Pollux's ten minae would in round numbers represent the capitalization of 200 dr., his half talent would in like manner correspond to an income of 600 dr., and his talent would correspond to an income of 1200 dr. There would thus be shown a rise in the rating of the upper two classes without a corresponding increase in the assessment of the third class. As the causes of this change, Cavaignac ventures to assign the depreciation of the purchasing power of silver and the institution of the liturgies, and he thinks that, in consequence of the continued operation of these causes, there were still further changes, so much so that there is every reason to believe that the ratings of 6000, 3000, and 1000 dr. of the schedule of 480 B. C. were in 427 represented by a capital of 20000, 10000, and 3333. 33 dr. respectively. Notwithstanding all these changes, the traditional names of pentacosimedimni, knights, zeugites, and thetes had been maintained during all this time, but successive *ελοφορᾱι*, beginning in 428/7, gradually broke down this classification, and, as a result of the general reassessment in 378/7, the Solonian property classes, which had so long survived the economic conditions that had called them into being, definitively ceased to exist.

Pp. 47-58. Félix Gaffiot, The Alleged Use of *Si* Interrogative in Latin. Grammarians have been in the habit of recording a so-called use of interrogative *si* and in support of this use have been adducing passages from Plautus, Terence, Cicero, Virgil, Horace, and Livy. In 1904 Gaffiot published a dissertation in which he claimed that, aside from three *quasi*-examples in Livy, there was but one genuine example of interrogative *si* in all Latin literature. This example occurs in Propertius and is pronounced a Hellenism by the author, whilst the three apparent examples in Livy are regarded as bold extensions of the construction *scrutari si*. Many scholars have accepted Gaffiot's conclusions, but there are some grammarians who, though admitting that the list of examples of interrogative *si* must be considerably curtailed, yet believe that there is a certain residue of passages in which *si* can justly lay claim to an interrogative force. Unfortunately for their contention, these grammarians do not agree among themselves, and it is this lack of agreement that has led Gaffiot to treat the question once more in these pages. The author concludes his discussion with the following words: "We French, since the days of Riemann and thanks to his instruction, have learned to admit the conditional force of *si* after *expectare*, *conari*, etc. According to my opinion, one

should go still further and admit this force everywhere; in other words, I am of the opinion that there is no interrogative *si* in Latin."

Pp. 59-63. Félix Gaffiot, The Error of the Subjunctive of Repetition—An Addition to Causal *Cum*. The doctrine that in iterative sentences with *cum* the subjunctive after *cum* is abnormal and is used to emphasize the idea of iteration, is rejected as false by Gaffiot. In conformity with the general law formulated by him in his treatise entitled *Le Subjonctif de subordination en latin* (Paris, Klincksieck, 1906), the author claims that in these *cum* clauses the use of the subjunctive is optional, the indicative being used when *cum* expresses a temporal relation pure and simple, the subjunctive, when *cum* has a causal connotation. The operation of this principle is exemplified by a number of subjunctive examples, which are discussed in detail.

P. 63. René Pichon, Critical Note on Tacitus. In *Dial.*, 16, read *iam* for the MS *fama*.

Pp. 64-65. René Pichon, Virgil's Judgment of Horace. Bayard had proposed a new interpretation of Horace Sat. I, x, 44, according to which *molle* and *facetum* are not substantives but adjectives, agreeing with *epos*, which here means not epic poetry but hexameter verse. Pichon advances a couple of additional arguments in favor of this interpretation.

Pp. 65-67. René Pichon, Critical Notes on Livy. *Exsuperabiles* 21, 30, 7; *inclinaret animos* 22, 58, 7; *stupere* 24, 25, 8; *neque eleuo* 28, 42, 6; *ut tot in Italia populi ad se deficerent* 28, 44, 4; *omnibus* 29, 27, 2.

Pp. 68-72. P. Mazon, Notes on Menander. Critical notes on *Epitrep.* 1-3; 138-140; 145-153; 156-158; 226-228; *Sam.* 15; 55; 68-71; 82-86; 97-105; 136; 159; 160; 176 sqq.; 288 sq.

Pp. 73-76. L. Bodin, Notes on Menander's *Epitrepontes*. The first part of this paper shows that the Auge and the Alope of Euripides, by a sort of *contaminatio*, furnished the starting-point of the *Epitrepontes* and provided Menander with the theme of one of the prettiest scenes of that play. It would thus appear that Menander made use of Euripides in the same manner in which his own works were later used by Terence. The second part of Bodin's paper consists of critical notes on the *Epitrepontes*, the verses considered being 44, 48, 53, 57-58, 85 sqq., 106, 304, 419-423, and 454-458.

Pp. 77-93. Book Notices.

Pp. 95-128. Jean Psichari, Sophocles and Hippocrates apropos of the *Philoctetes* of Lemnos. Psichari complains that in the study of the history of Greek medicine from Homer to Hippocrates not enough attention has been accorded to Sophocles. Only a few of the most obvious and general facts relating

to this author have been pointed out, whereas the most important and the most specific points have been left unnoticed. It is the purpose of this paper to elucidate several passages of Sophocles' *Philoctetes* and to emphasize certain points of contact between Sophocles and Hippocrates. The most important passages considered are verses 782-784:

ἀλλὰ δέδοικ', ὦ παῖ, μή μ' ἀτελὲς εὐχή
στάζει γὰρ αὖ μοι φοίνιον τόδ' ἐκ βυθοῦ
κηκίον αἷμα, καί τι προσδοκῶ νέον.

and verses 823-825:

ἰδρῶς γέ τοι νῦν πᾶν καταστάζει δέμας,
μέλαινά τ' ἄκρον τις παρέρρωγεν ποδὸς
αἱμορραγῆς φλέψ.

The commentators do not seem to have noticed the special medical significance of the words *στάζειν* and *αἱμορραγεῖν*. Psichari adduces a number of passages from Hippocrates and the Hippocratic corpus to show that these two words are sharply differentiated, *στάζειν* being used only of the slow issuance of blood by drops, and *αἱμορραγεῖν* being the term applied to profuse bleeding. The author further shows that according to Hippocratic theory a slight bleeding of the nose in certain diseases was regarded as a very unfavorable symptom, whereas profuse bleeding was looked upon as a sure token of a speedy recovery. (Cf., e. g., *Epid. I*, 9, *Littr. II*, 652-4: οὐδ' ἡμορράγησεν ἐκ βινῶν οὐδενί, ἀλλὰ σμικρὰ ἔσταξεν ἑκταῖοι ἀπέθνησκον.) While it is true that in most of these passages regard is had principally to the bleeding of the nose, yet the term *αἱμορραγεῖν* is used also in the case of a *ἔλκος*, which is precisely the expression that *Philoctetes* applies to his own wound (v. 650). It is perfectly natural then that after the use of the word *στάζειν* in verse 784 the patient should be represented at his worst: the exclamations of pain are multiplied, *Philoctetes* cannot speak without sobbing, and the agony becomes so great that he even invokes death; but when the hemorrhage ensues, as indicated by the words *παρέρρωγεν* . . . *αἱμορραγῆς φλέψ*, there is a general amelioration and the patient goes to sleep.

But the foregoing are not the only points of contact between Sophocles and Hippocrates. The perspiration that covers *Philoctetes'* body at the moment of sinking (823), and the exhortation to leave the patient undisturbed so that he may fall off into a sleep (825 sq.), may be paralleled by almost identical language in Hippocrates; and there are three other details, not, to be sure, sufficiently noted by the commentators, that might serve as a practical illustration of a Hippocratean clinic. While the drops of blood are still oozing out of the wound and the evil is still in the stage of aggravation, *Philoctetes* suffers an impairment of vision, apparently not being able to see *Neoptolemus*, although the latter is present (805); difficulty of speech sets in (814), and the head sinks back (822). These same three symptoms, σκοτώ-

σις, *ἀφωρίη*, and *καρηβαρίη*, are mentioned in the Hippocratean corpus in a passage describing the consequences of a stoppage of the proper circulation of the blood. Psichari attempts also to illustrate verses 827-831 by the help of medical literature, and though he does not feel so sure of his results in this case, he has presented some valuable observations.

In view of the above it is impossible to deny the points of contact between Sophocles and Hippocrates. The question is whether Hippocrates could have exerted any influence upon Sophocles or not. Dr. Ch. Daremberg, the author of a number of important articles on the subject of Greek medicine, answers this question in the negative. But when one considers that the Philoctetes was presented in 409, and that Hippocrates was born in either 460 or 470, and was therefore 51 or 61 years of age at the time of the production of the Philoctetes, one cannot deny that at that period of his life Sophocles may have had a close acquaintance with the writings of Hippocrates. A similar influence seems to have been exerted by Hippocrates upon Euripides at the time of the production of the Orestes, brought out in 408, for Harries and Nestle have both pointed out correspondences between the Orestes and the Hippocratic corpus. But whether Sophocles was acquainted with the writings of Hippocrates or not, it is certain that he was no stranger to medical lore, and it is high time that his claims were recognized, especially since there has been a tendency to underrate Sophocles in this respect in comparison with Euripides.

Pp. 129-136. A. Bouché-Leclercq, The New Greek Papyri from Elephantine. The papyri discovered by Rubensohn at Elephantine in 1906, serve to establish the following facts: 1. Ptolemy Soter reckoned the years of his reign from the death of Alexander the Great. 2. His reign officially extended to the forty-first year. 3. When, two years before his death, he associated his son with him, he did not officially abdicate his throne. 4. It was he, not his son, that founded the cult of Alexander. 5. A special eponymous priestly office was instituted by him not later than 289-288 B. C.

Pp. 137-141. C. E. Ruelle, Palmscopy. This article is virtually a notice of "Beitraege zur Zuckungsliteratur des Okzidents und Orients. I. Die griechischen Zuckungsbücher (Melampus *περί παλμών*). Herausgegeben von H. Diels. Abh. der Kgl. Preuss. Akad. der Wiss. vom Jahre 1907, No. 4". In addition to a summary of the results of Diels' investigations, the author gives a French translation of a portion of the text of Melampus.

P. 142. C. E. Ruelle, A Proposed Correction of Aristides Quintilianus *περί μουσικῆς*, p. 117, l. 17 Mb. In *κάν τοῖς λοιποῖς δὲ τεταρτημορίοις τὰ δμοια μεταχειριούμεθα*, read *μορίοις* for *τεταρτημορίοις*.

Pp. 143-147. D. Serruys, Two Lexica Attributed to Theophylactus of Bulgaria. From a study of the contents of the Parisinus MS, suppl. gr., 676, and a comparison of some of the fragments with their sources, the author concludes that about the opening of the tenth century there was compiled a lexicon, whose authorship may, with some degree of probability, be attributed to Arethas, whereas Theophylactus of Bulgaria, who, in the above-mentioned MS, is credited with some of the material found in the conjectural lexicon, was most probably the author of a volume of classical anecdotes and reminiscences, in which were incorporated, among other things, selections, usually in an abridged form, from the aforesaid lexicon.

Pp. 147-148. D. Serruys, Firmicus Maternus, IV, prooem. § 5. Serruys rejects Teuffel's *Mercurius et Hanubius* and Reitzenstein's *Mercurius et Chnubis*, and proposes to read *Mercurius et Hermanubius* for the MS *Mercurius einhnusuix*.

Pp. 149-157. B. Haussoullier and R. Dareste, An Inscription from Amorgos: A Law of Aigiale Relating to a Foundation. Haussoullier republishes the Greek text of an IS from Amorgos, and appends a French translation by R. Dareste. The IS, which constitutes No. 515 of *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Vol. XII, consists of 134 lines, averaging about ten words each, and embodies a law containing detailed regulations regarding the institution of an annual festival upon a foundation of Critolaus, a citizen of the town of Aigiale. The most conspicuous features of this festival were a free public banquet and gymnastic contests.

Pp. 158-160. D. Serruys, *Koipavides*. The name *Koipavides*, which is the title of certain Hermetic writings, published by Ruelle in Vol. II of Mély and Ruelle's *Les Lapidaires de l'Antiquité*, is derived from *koipavos*, the constant epithet of the gods of the Hermetic cycle. The *Koipavides* (this would really be the proper spelling) are naught else than "the revelations of the sovereign gods", or, if one choose, "the sovereign revelations".

Pp. 161-174. Reviews and Book Notices.

C. W. E. MILLER.

HERMES XLII.

Fascicle 3.

Die Oekonomie der Rede Ciceros für den Dichter Archias (W. Sternkopf). The *Pro Archia*, always a favorite (Quintilian quotes it nine times), has not been regarded as one of Cicero's great speeches (cf. Tacit. *Dial. de or.* 37), and even attacks on its genuineness had to be repelled in modern times. There still remain adverse criticisms: Halm considers the legal argument merely a sketch of that actually delivered, Teuffel-Schwabe find

it too declamatory, while Schmalz misses a careful disposition of the subject matter. All these blemishes seem to yield to Sternkopf's careful analysis. The case of Archias was strong (Drumann, IV 203, says 'weak') and Cicero's very brevity is effective; but C.'s real interest lay in espousing the cause of literature and Greek culture, as he does especially in 12-16, which part furnishes a fitting background to set off the merits of the poet. S. shows the logical coherence and careful articulation of the various parts, much of which has been commonly overlooked, and particularly points out the skill with which C. does justice to Lucullus without giving cause for irritation to Pompey and his party. Archias' proposition to glorify Cicero's deeds is discreetly admitted. S. adds some interesting textual and exegetical notes.

Der Anonymus Argentinensis (U. Wilcken). B. Keil published in elaborate form (Trübner, 1902) a Strassburg papyrus containing on the verso, written about 100 A. D., ten paragraphs, mostly introduced by *ἐν*, in twenty-six fragmentary lines, which seemed to be chronologically arranged extracts from an unknown history of Athens. The appointment of a building commission 457 B. C., and the removal of the Delian treasure to Athens 450 B. C., were among the startling novelties. W. shows that these papyrus notes are brief extracts from an excellent commentary to Demosthenes' speech against Androtion (594, 26-599, 26). On this basis, with the aid of a mirror and powerful magnifying glass, W. has made important corrections in Keil's text. The results are still valuable, but not revolutionary as those of Keil. Most important, according to W., is the corroboration and supplementing of Thucydides II 24, which is due to the use of the same Attic decrees, possibly in Craterus' collection. W. has hastened his publication; further investigation is needed.

Herodotstudien, besonders zur spartanischen Geschichte (B. Niese). N. thinks it possible to detach the oral variations or additions that Herodotus owed to native *λόγοι*, whom he met on his travels, from the main outline of his history [Bury, *The Anc. Gk. Hist.*, p. 69, and Busolt II³, p. 609, n. 3], the Hellenic parts of which he had obtained, also orally for the most part, from Ionic predecessors, who, after the manner of poets and sophists, were professional narrators of history. These variations of Athenians, Aeginetans, etc., show a reaction against the older Hellenic version of the outline (*ὡς δὲ ὁ πολλὰς λόγος Ἑλλήνων* I 75, 10; cf. VI 75, 18; VII 150, 2; 189, 4-5), are conjectural, more recent and less reliable. Accordingly by means of elimination and reasoning N. reconstructs the original story of Dorieus, rehabilitates Lycurgus by expunging the fictitious royal genealogy and adhering to his connection with the subjugation of Tegea, whereby L.'s date falls below 700 B. C., to which period

must be assigned the disk of Iphitus, a reliable monument of Lycurgus' importance in the growth of Spartan power. As a step in this expansion must be regarded the founding of the six Triphylian cities. The part the Alcmaeonidae are said to have played in the expulsion of the tyrants is an Athenian exaggeration, told to lessen the importance of the Spartan assistance. The double banishment and return of Pisistratus is not an historical doublet as Beloch and Meyer think.

Die Ciris und das römische Epyllion (S. Sudhaus). The dependence of the Ciris on Vergil has been proved by Leo (cf. A. J. P. XXX, p. 459); but, while that was a tribute to Vergil's fame soon after 19 B. C., we must look to the cantores Euphori-onis for its natural and chief sources. The frequency of voces Graecae, diminutives, spondaic lines, parentheses, caesural rhymes (128 cases), etc., are significant. Not only was Catullus drawn upon more intensely, relatively, than Vergil; but still more important as sources were the Io of Licinius Calvus (passim and especially vv. 142-162), to which Skutsch has attributed certain verses, and particularly the Smyrna of C. Helvius Cinna (cf. Carme with the nurse in Ovid Met. X 362 ff.). The Ciris is a mosaic, in which every other verse shows traces of borrowing, full of contaminations, and combinations of incongruous matter; but, as whole blocks of verses were incorporated, viz., 93-98, 340-348 (cf. 538-541 with Verg. Georg. I 406-409), it is valuable in giving us a better idea of Calvus and Cinna. The style, self-characterized (v. 20) as: *gracilem molli pede claudere versum* is that of the circle of Valerius Cato, and deserves a close comparison with that of Catullus. The "belated neoteric" had a fellow imitator in Valgius Rufus, consul 12 B. C. (cf. Schol. Ver. to Ecl. 7, 22), who helped to verify the prophecy of Catullus 95: *Smyrnam cana diu saecula peruolunt*.

Miscellen.—Otto Seeck reaffirms his view (Rh. M. 56, p. 631) that M. Brutus was born 78 B. C. (Vell. II 72, 1), and that the passage in Cic. Brut. 324 is corrupt, against Groebe (cf. A. J. P. XXX 464). Aur. Vict. de vir. ill. 82, 3 does not prove that Brutus was quaestor 53 B. C. [But cf. Leo's reading *id* for *is*, Hermes 42, p. 314, n. 2; p. 507, n. 1.] Moreover Cicero calls him *princeps iuventutis* 50 B. C. (Ad Fam. III 11, 3), which implies that he had not yet held the quaestorship, as this office removed one from the *iuventus* to the senate. Hence in 50 B. C. he was not yet 31 years old. His praetorship 44 B. C., that is to say in his 34th year, could be due to Caesar's disregard of the *leges annales*. His birth in 78 B. C. would accord with the gossip that Caesar was his father.—C. Robert restores v. 6 of the Hesiod-Meleager fragm. (Berl. Klass. Texte, Heft 5): *τοῦ καὶ ἀρ' ὀφ[θαλμῶν ἀπελάμπετο θεσπιδαῖς πῦρ* (cf. Aspis 72), v. 7 may have read *γοργῶν ὑψηλ* . . ; he also suggests that as the four *δραί* of the second Euphoriion fragm. (p. 58) agree in their progress from moun-

tain and Skiron's cliff to Tainaron and Hades with the journey of Heracles, they were directed against him by Eurystheus. The happy return of H. is described on the other side of the papyrus.—L. Schmidt believes, with others, that it was Ariovistus, who, according to Mela III 45 and Pliny hist. nat. II 170, made the proconsul of Gaul Q. Caecilius Metellus a present of a lot of people from India, who had been stranded on the coast of Germany. But, while Pliny says rex Sueborum, Mela has rex Botorum (an unknown tribe, hence a crux). S. suggests that Nepos, their common source, had written: rex Tribocorum Sueborum (or Trib. et Sueb.).—U. Wilcken reports the work done on the Sossylus papyrus (cf. A. J. P. XXVIII, p. 469): Ibscher, the conservator of the Berlin museum has skillfully joined the fragments and, among the improvements on W's text, has joined the ~~or~~ of III 1 (cf. Hermes XLI, p. 107) to IV 1, corroborating K. Fuhr's conjecture (Berl. Ph. W. 1906, 154); Seymour de Ricci (Revue Celtique XXVII (1906), p. 129 ff.) has recognized in certain prefixed dots a stichometric division of the lines into groups of ten, which substantiates W's conjecture that only a single column preceded column I. Fr. Rühl (Rh. Mus. LXI (1906), p. 358/9) has offered some good interpretations; but W. rejects his suggestion that the Artemisium where Heraclides employed his naval stratagem was on the Carian coast.

Fascicle 4.

Zur griechischen Sagenchronographie (R. Laqueur). The ancient chronographers did not base their computations of mythical dates on the last year of this or that Spartan king (viz. Sosibius on Demaratus, Ephorus on Pausanias, Eratosthenes on Leonidas), as Meyer (Forsch. I 179) thinks; but upon the first Olympiad, which marked the close of the spatium mythicum. The variations were due to the basic year being either 777 or 776; to the number of *γενηαί* added; to the rounding off of $33\frac{1}{2}$ now to 33 now to 34; to the *γενηαί* being estimated throughout at $33\frac{1}{2}$ (also at 30), or only back to the Ionian migration, from here on the periods of 30 and 40 years being substituted (cf. Thuc. I 12, Strabo XIII 582). Thus the dates for the Fall of Troy can be analysed as follows: The 1209 of the Marmor Par. = 776 (but Ol. 1, 1 is not mentioned) + 433 (i.e. $13 \times 33\frac{1}{2}$); the famous 1184 of Eratosthenes-Apollodorus = 777 + 267 + 60 + 80; the 1171 of Sosibius = 777 + 334 + 60; the 1270 of Pseudo-Herodotus = 776 + 434 + 60; the 1290 of Eretes (Crates?) = 776 + 434 + 80, etc. The simplicity of this method has been obscured by the contamination of different systems. The irregular interval of 127 years between the Fall of Troy and the Ionian migration (Philostratus, Heroic. II 194 Kayser) is the difference between Sosibius' Trojan date 1171 and 1044, Eratosthenes' date for the latter. The addition of 80, /7 and 60 respectively to 1069, Ephorus' date for the Return

of the Heraclidae (Clement. Alex. Strom. I 139), reveals the origin of the Trojan eras 1149, 1135 and 1129, from which in turn were evolved by a change of interval, the new Heraclidean eras 1089 (Diod. XVI 76, 5), 1075, and 1049 (Phainias in Clement. Alex. l. c.). The interval between 1075 and Ol. 1, 1 harmonizes with the lists of the Spartan Agiads, and the Corinthian kings, both of which lack 30/1 years of attaining to the Eratosth.—Apollod. interval of 328 years (Diod. 1, 5, 1), which solves a perplexing problem. These and other details are given with an excursus on the chronology of Pythagoras. Only two Trojan dates do not conform to the formula Ol. 1, 1 + n generations; the round numbers in Herodotus (II 145) and Duris (Clem. Alex. Strom. I 139).

Eine neue Schrift des Alexander von Tralles (M. Wellmann). The Escorial library in Spain contains a parchment MS of the XI century: codex Scorialensis gr. R. III 3 (E) in which from fol. 141^v on is a list of medical prescriptions for wounds, etc., which must have been taken by some physician from books 13, 14, 15 of the Tetrabiblon of Aetius in reverse order. E was revised in the XIV century with the aid of a MS that bore the name Alexander according to two marginal notes; undoubtedly the famous Alex. of Tralles who himself stated that he had borrowed from Aetius (I 437 ed. Puschmann). This discovery throws light on the literary activity of this overrated physician, and is valuable for the textual criticism of Aetius. W. adds a note from another MS (cod. Scorial. gr. α I 8), which corroborates Puschmann's conjecture that Alexander was a Christian.

Methana und Hypata (W. Dittenberger(†)) Stahl-Hude read in Thucydides IV 45, 2 and V 18, 7 *Μέθανα*, following Strabo VIII 6, 15, p. 374, who says however: *παρὰ Θουκυδίδη δὲ ἐν τισιν ἀντιγράφοις Μεθώνη* (so all extant Thuc. MSS). It should be (δ) *Μεθάνα* according to the epichoric inscriptions. The feminine is demanded by the apposition *τὴν μεταξὺ* in Thuc. IV 45, 2. The accent in Strabo is of no consequence. The neuter plural form in Pausanias II 34, 2. 3. 4 must be his mistake (cf. his *Ἀλική* for *Ἀλικίς*, Hermes 42, 3/4). Hence Thucydides wrote here, as was his custom, the local form, which was gradually crowded out by *Μεθώνη*, the form in common use, as in many other instances (cf. Niese Hermes XIV 1879, p. 423 ff.). Similarly *Ὑπάτα* occurs in Lucian Lucius s. Asinus 1 (the only certain instance of the neut. pl.). Here there is abundant proof, inscriptional and literary, that δ *Ὑπάτα* was the only correct form.

Zwei Identificationen (B. Keil). I Aquila: The Neoplatonist Syrian (V century A. D.) in his work on *στάσεις*, after introductory matter from Hermogenes, turns to more recent authorities, the philosophers Euagoras and Aquila, *τοὺς τὴν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας ἐπιστήμην τῇ ῥητόρῳ συμμίζαντας τέχνη* (a vindication of Isocrates' doctrine). While Syrian mentions the two together a number of

times, he cites Aquila alone for details, who furthermore, alone of the two, is mentioned by Syrian's contemporaries, Nilus and Georgios Monos in their commentaries on Hermogenes. This shows that Syrian had the *τέχνη* of Aquila, from which he obtained his knowledge of Euagoras. While both belonged to a former generation (cf. 128, 23 *μέχρι τῶν Εὐαγόρου καὶ Ἀκύλου χρόνων*), Euagoras is the earlier, and once is considered alone (II 3, 23 *ἐπὶ τῶν Εὐαγόρου τοῦ φιλοσόφου χρόνων*), where he is credited with the statement that there was at Athens a σοφιστής who persisted in harping on the proverb: *τό λαλεῖν ἐκ τοῦ λαλεῖν*. This was the maxim of a certain Phrynichus (cf. Rh. Gr. V. 610, 15 ff. W.), whom Himerius (or. 24) also had heard in Athens in his youth. Keil shows that Himerius lived 300–380 A. D. (the usual dates are 315–385); hence Phrynichus, and consequently Euagoras, must be placed early in the IV century, and Aquila a generation later. Both were Neoplatonists, and Aquila must be identical with the commentator mentioned by Syrian's pupil Proclus (in Tim. 319 E), as well as with the Ἀκύλας in Suidas. II Mesomedes: K. sees in Pseudo-Lucian *Ἐγκώμιον Δημοσθένους* 27: ΟΤΤΑΑΑΝ ΑΙΙCΟΔΗΜΟΥ τοῦ ΤΡΟΙΖΗΝΙΟΥ a majusculan corruption and reads: *ὁ παῖς* (conj. Bergk) *Μεσομήδου* [should be *Μεσομήδους* according to Suidas] τοῦ Ἐξηνηίου (Crete), which adds a paean to Asclepius to the works of Hadrian's freedman, the well-known lyric poet, and designates his native town.

Selbstcitate in den Biographien Plutarchs (J. Mewaldt). Plutarch like Galen, was fond of citing his own works (cf. *Moralia*); but the cross references in the biographies have been mostly discredited, on the tacit assumption that each pair of lives was published separately (cf. Michaelis, dissert. de ordine vit. paral. Plut. Berl. 1875). The difficulty vanishes when we assume that the lives were composed and edited in groups, determined mainly by their common sources. Thus we find united by these very cross references the following: Dio–Brutus, Timoleon–Aemilius Paulus, Alexander–Caesar, Agesilaus–Pompeius; the first pair of which alone is numbered (i. e. XII), and the Dio alone is addressed to his friend Sosius Senecio, which address makes the *σοι* in Timoleon I 23 intelligible. A second group is: Theseus–Romulus, Lycurgus–Numa, Themistocles–Camillus. Here again Sosius Senecio is addressed but once (i. e. Thes. 1, 1). A third group would include at least: Coriolanus–Alcibiades, and Nicias–Crassus. M. gives a tentative order of all the biographies with a complete list of citations as proof. Some of the citations are too closely interwoven with their context to allow elimination; others tell what Plut. alone could know, as the projected life of Metellus (cf. Marius 29, 50). The rich variety in form argues against the theory of marginal notes.

Die Überlieferung des interpolierten Textes von Senecas Tragödien II (Th. Düring). The interpolated edition (cf. A. J. P.

XXX 460) originated in the IV century from the pure text represented by E (cf. Richter Krit. Unters. zu Senec. Trag. Jena 1899, p. 6 ff.); but A, the archetype of the more than eighty MSS, belonged to the XIII century. D. traces to this a number of errors, some of which, as well as the lacunae, were due to the defective source of A, some to the misreading of abbreviations, some existed in the source itself as ancient excerpts prove. Toward the close of the XIII century, when interest in Sen. trag. awoke, only A and E and copies of them existed. Lovato de Lovati, born circa 1240, owned a copy of A, and drew the attention of Albertino Mussato, the father of the Renaissance tragedy to Seneca. A little later Nic. Treveth, with a poor copy of A wrote his commentary in response to an (extant) letter from cardinal Niccolo Albertini di Prato (cf. Peiper De Sen. trag. lect. vulg., p. 36). To the authority of this commentary was due the multiplication of the A class, as well as many superficial conjectures. It is strange that there are no direct copies of E extant; only M and N derive from such a one (Σ), now lost. But the influence of E, directly and indirectly, on the A class was very great, though held in check by the authority of the commentary. The value of the commentary (complete in Vatic. 1650), the oldest tradition of A, is lessened by conjectures of Treveth, that of Laurent. 37, 6 (1368 A. D.), the oldest representative, through contamination with E; hence the best representatives are Laurent. 24 sin. 4 (1371 A. D.) and Neapol. IV D 47 (1376 A. D.).

Textkritische Bemerkungen zu Marc Aurel (K. Fr. W. Schmidt). A valuable critical and exegetical commentary on thirty passages from I 16 to XII 31, calling attention to proposed emendations from Gataker to Stich, viz.: I 16 (Stich², p. 6, 25; 7, 1 f.) ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ 'προαπέστη κτλ. is unnecessarily changed by Stich to οὐτοι προαπέστη. It is an abbreviation of ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ λεγόμενον ὅτι προαπέστη. Both the long and short form of citation occur in V 8 (Stich², p. 51, 4 f.); III 5 (Stich², p. 24, 17 ff.), ἐν δὲ τὸ φαιδρὸν κτλ. = ἐνεσσι δὲ κτλ. (cf. Rh. Mus. 1907, p. 320 f.); V 1 (Stich², p. 47, 10 f.), πρὸς τὸ ἡδεσθαι οὐ γέγονας; ὅλως δὲ σὺ (MSS οὐ) πρὸς πείσιν ἢ πρὸς ἐνέργειαν; in Marcus πείσεις is regularly the verbal substantive of πάσχω, and introduced by ὅλως, expresses the general idea in contrast with the special ἡδεσθαι. This passage has been commonly misunderstood; even Wilamowitz alters it (Gr. Leseb. II, p. 315). X 34 (Stich², p. 140 f.), τῷ δεδηγμένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀληθῶν δογμάτων shows that Marcus knew his Plato (cf. Symp. 218a). Gataker proposed δευδαγμένῳ, Schultz and Stich τεθηγμένῳ. X 17 (Stich², p. 149, 21) αὐτοὺς changed to ἀνθρώπους (Morus, Stich); but the personal pronoun often refers to people in Marcus. XII 3 (Stich², p. 157, 21) δ' ἐάν = quodsi. The Latinisms in Marcus deserve investigation, viz., omission of the article, dative of reference, πῶς = quam (cf. πῶς ὡμὸν ἐστί), μία καὶ ἥριστον ἐνέργεια = unaquaeque virtus (XII 23), etc.

Nachprüfung der Berliner Reste der Hesiodischen Kataloge (W. Crönert). We have here the results of a renewed examination of the fragments of the Meleager and of Helen's Suitors made at the request of Schubart. Further examination is recommended. Several conjectures are disproved; but the ἀποφθ[ιμί-
voto in line 6 and the note to line 7 of the Meleag. fgmt. do not seem to invalidate Robert's suggestions in the Miscellen above.

Xenokrates aus Aphrodisias (M. Wellmann). Some conception of the extensive medical literature subsequent to the Hippocratican corpus is supplied by Celsus, Galen and the elder Pliny. Books XXVIII-XXX of the latter's nat. hist. are filled with remedies obtained from animals (exclusive of fishes), and is one of the most important sources for our knowledge of ancient superstition. That Pliny's source was a Greek physician is shown by parallels from Ps. Democritus, Serapion and Archigenes. Further the array of spurious, obscure and late sponsors, even women, for the superstitions and magic remedies, suggest an encyclopaedic work of a younger contemporary. All this points to the physician Xenocrates of Aphrodisias, who wrote about 70 A. D. *περὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῶν ζῴων ὠφελείας* (Galen XII 248, 250, 252, 261). His remedies from the human body are denounced by Galen, who, further, characterizes him as *ἄνθρωπος τὰλλα περίεργος ἱκανῶς καὶ γοητείας οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένος*. Pliny likewise condemns, while citing, such remedies. His is the only available name in the index to these books, and the four definitely known extracts from his magic pharmacology in Galen and Alexander of Tralles all appear in nat. hist. Books XXVIII and XXX; besides, the matter from the Theban midwife Olympias is clearly from him. These and other considerations establish the identification of this source, though Sextius Niger, an opponent of magic remedies, was also drawn upon. Wellmann enumerates five of his works besides ascribing to him a work on gems quoted in Pliny XXXVII 37, which Oehmichen attributed to the Xen. Ephesius mentioned in Pliny XXXVII 25 and in the index to XII, 13 (cf. A. J. P. X, p. 109).

Zu Xenophons Oikonomikos (Th. Thalheim). In twelve of the eighteen passages (I 10-XX 20) discussed, remedies are sought through emendation; in the rest some hundred lines of interpolations are assumed with more or less positiveness. The interpolator seems to have been prone to introduce his additions with the conjunction of the original text, before which the insertion is made; thus the rare *ἀτάρ* (XVII 14) seems to have been mechanically adopted from *Ἀτάρ οὖν* (XVIII 1). Th. (p. 639) approves Lincke's large excision of III 1-VI 11; but instead of athetizing, with Lincke XIV 4-7, and XV 4-9, he would eliminate continuously XIV 1-XV 1-4. Neither do the rest of his supposed interpolations coincide with those of Lincke (cf. A. J. P. I, p. 169 ff.; also K. Joel Der echte u. d. Xen. Socr. I¹, p. 30 f.).

Miscellen: J. Stroux finds two glosses in Photius, p. 147, 25f. (Reitzenstein); I. The passive 'Αντιδικουμένου και αντιδικούμενον in Lysias *περὶ Δι<και>ογένους κλήρου πρὸς Γλαύκωνα*, II. *ἀντιδικούμεν* Θουγενίδης Δικασταῖς (cf. Photius et Suidas sub. v. *τριαχθῆναι*) with the verse: *τί ὡγάθ' ἀντιδικούμεν ἀλλήλοις ἔτι* (the dative suggested by Wilamowitz in *Ber. Berl. Akad.* 1907, p. 13).—P. Stengel reasserts his explanation of *βοῦς ἱβδομος* (cf. A. J. P. XXV, p. 471) against Roscher, even though N. G. Politis and Wilhelm have pointed out that *πετεινός* meant cock in Byzantine and modern Greek, for *πετεινός* in Diogenian. III 50, p. 224 must have displaced *βοῦς* in the original text (cf. Suidas *βοῦς ἱβδομος* and *θύσον*).—Sudhaus strengthens his identification of Metrodorus' *Περὶ πλούτου* in Philodemus' tract *Περὶ κακιῶν κ. τ. λ.* (cf. A. J. P. XXVIII, p. 468) by means of conjectures based chiefly on better readings furnished by Chr. Jensen in Kiel, who has now published the whole document.—K. Praechter in support of Diels' explanation of *μόρυχος* as equivalent to *σκοτεινός* cites Hermias, p. 18, 12 ff. (Couvreur) to Plato *Phaedr.* 227 B, where meaning is extracted from the three names *Ἐπικράτης*, *Μόρυχος* and *Φαῖδρος*: *ὡς κρατουμένου τοῦ σκοτεινοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἐνύλου ὑπὸ τοῦ λαμπροῦ τοῦ Φαίδρου*.

HERMAN LOUIS EBELING.

BRIEF MENTION.

Some years ago a certain American Karion—πιστότατος (4/ΠΙ) καὶ κλεψίστατος—made a raid on my library and converted some of my 'Pegaseum nectar' into κρήνης οἶνος. Among the books thus lost was my copy of SHOREY'S *Horace*, my favorite among all the editions of the Odes, an edition of which Professor Postgate has well said (C. R. XV 230), 'Dr. SHOREY'S book cannot fail to stimulate in its every reader a fuller, a deeper and a more vivid appreciation of the poetry of Horace'. 'If I were limited', he adds, 'to three editions of the Odes, this would be one'. Of course the book was not out of print and could in a sense be replaced, but my marginalia are gone and I have not the same ready means of comparing the first edition with the second, which has just appeared (Boston, Benj. H. Sanborn). The bulk is very slightly increased, 512 pp. against 487. The notes have been revised chiefly by the associate editor of the new edition (Professor GORDON J. LAING) with a view to increasing the usefulness of the book in the classroom. A few of the 'more remote and cumulative parallel passages' have been omitted and these omissions—few though they be—will serve to keep the old edition side by side with the new in the scholar's library. For it is these parallel passages that lend a peculiar charm and a peculiar value to SHOREY'S *Horace*. It is easy enough by the aid of what old Burton calls 'polyanthean helps' to multiply illustrations from a variety of literatures and languages and I have sometimes been tempted to expose the machinery of certain pretentious editions, in which the appositeness of the citations is by no means in keeping with their number. It has been my fortune to prepare sundry editions myself and I have had to face the question of parallel passages. In my Persius and in my Justin Martyr I studied the congeneric literature of my authors and have thus been enabled to add something to the stores of my predecessors. In my Pindar, however, I subjected myself to a self-denying ordinance, not because I was disgusted with the farrago of Tafel's *Dilucidationes Pindaricae*, but because Pindar is an author that can best be understood by his own light. For illumination rather than illustration, Πίνδαρον ἐκ Πινδαρου σαφηνίζειν, to adapt the principle of Aristarchos, is the only safe way. Those who have imitated Pindar have usually misunderstood him and nothing has been more misleading than Horace's own characteristic of the poet. But with Horace the case is very different. Horace is the gainer by the sincere flattery of imitation and it is a sheer delight to breathe the atmosphere with

which Professor SHOREY has invested his author. For once one may forgive the banishment of the notes to the back of the book, for one needs the text less than in any classical author. Almost every line is a household word. There are jewels enough in Vergil that have not been appropriated by the moderns. There is not one in Horace that has not been imitated or reset. Whatever political meaning has been read into Horace by recent students of the poet such as Dr. Verrall (*A. J. P.* VI 497), such as Mr. Garnsey, who rebel against the victory of form over content and find the glorification of the commonplace a poor business, for the world at large it is the felicity of expression that has made Horace what he is and ever will be; and that felicity has been won through an incessant struggle with his Greek originals, so that it is fitting that a Grecian like Professor SHOREY should be the interpreter of Horace. Every new find, be it Archilochos, be it Bakchylides, brings to light some new source of Horace's inspiration; and if Greek studies are to decline, the Hellenist can comfort himself by the thought that the honey of the Matinian bee was gathered from the flowers of Greek poetry. How true his '*operosa carmina fingo*' is, Professor SHOREY has shown in his admirable Introduction. In view of Cicero's unconscionable brag about the wealth of the Latin language, it is pitiful to read how many debts one poor Latin word must pay, and yet despite that poverty Horace's '*curiosa felicitas*' displays itself even here (*A. J. P.* XXXI 360). Nay, the very meagreness of his vocabulary leads to triumphs of ingenuity that one does not hesitate to call triumphs of genius. No merciless analysis of the processes by which Horace achieves his results—and Professor SHOREY is almost merciless at times—avails to break the charm he has for those who read him and learned him by heart in their youth. The poet in three-fourths of us is dead (*A. J. P.* VI 523), we are told, but the memory of the enjoyment we had in Horace during the days when we too were poets is not dead, and to the man that survives Horace seems to be brought nearer by the lapse of years. And yet there are strange reactions and in an access of disillusionment one is tempted to vilipend the Venusian. Copies of verses are his poems, not songs, and ashes of roses not roses and orris root instead of violets, cubes of loaf-sugar, not honey of Hymettus. His sweethearts are sequences of Greek syllables, trochaic Pyrrhas, iambic Chloes, dactylic Lydias, spondaic Lydes, anapaestic Lalages, choriambic Asteries and Leuconoes, the whole baggage of them not worth one Rose Aylmer (*A. J. P.* XVIII 122). The dactyls have no fingers to grip the heartstrings withal, the spondees pour out no wine of life, the anapaestic girl does not march nor the choriambic maid whirl. One rebels against the Philistine moralizing. One resents the climax that leads up to the divine Augustus (*Pind. O.* 2, 2). One refuses to wax enthusiastic over the performances of the Neros. Tyrrell is right as to the poet and Swinburne is right

as to the man. Why this change of mood? Is it a lover's quarrel that only means love's renewal? 'Sic de ambitione quomodo de amica queruntur', says Seneca. There is jealousy at the bottom of the 'criminosi iambi', for he who loves Horace needs all his magnanimity when he finds that another understands the poet better than he does, and how many will have to say that of Professor SHOREY.

Dr. CARL NEWELL JACKSON's paper in the Twentieth Volume of *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* has set me to reading *Browning's Aristophanes' Apology* again. Of course, when the poem first appeared I attacked it with the professional interest of a student of Aristophanes, so that even before reading Dr. JACKSON's diligent paper, I was prepared to admit the truth of what he has said of Browning's intimate knowledge of the plays of Aristophanes and Euripides and of his immediate acquaintance with the subsidiary literature such as the scholia and the ancient lives of the Greek dramatic poets. And a like knowledge is postulated of anyone who will read *Aristophanes' Apology* with full intelligence now. In all real poetry the surface meaning is always worth while; and though the enjoyment is indefinitely enhanced by the knowledge of the background, the basis, the circumstances, much can be got out of such poetry as Pindar's, rooted as it is in actuality that we can never reach, much out of satire that is supposed to be nothing if not personal, so that the scholiast only tells one what can be gathered from the context. In the speech of Strattis we read:

Suddenly who but Aristophanes
 Prompt to the rescue puts forth solemn hand,
 Singles us out the tragic tree's best branch
 Persuades it downward and at tip appends
 For votive vision, Faun's goat-grinning face,
 Back it flies evermore with jest a-top
 And we recover the true mood and laugh.

In passages like this the enjoyment, such as it is, needs for its completeness an acquaintance with the original. But even one who does not know the famous description of the end of Pentheus in the *Bacchae* will understand the comparison after a fashion, and the same thing is true of the translations, semi-translations and adaptations in which the *Apology* abounds. But point after point, false point and real, will be hopelessly lost to all but the Greek scholar. Even the Greek scholar need not take shame to himself for not remembering 'Mullus' or recalling 'Eruxis' whom Browning has dubb'd 'dogfaced', and who but a student of Aristophanes could recognize in 'camel-rest' the comic poet's *πρωκτός καμήλου*? The poem is a manner of Aristophanic quiz, and the lover of Aristophanes might be tempted to supplement

Dr. JACKSON's labors. Indeed, I plead guilty to having numbered the lines of the Apology with some such purpose in view. Of course one exposes himself to the mortification of being foiled by Browning's blunders as well as by his erudition. Only one has the consolation that Browning himself after a time could not have furnished the key to his own puzzles. But I soon desisted for the thirty years old impression abode and I came back to my first conclusion. The gain is for the student of Browning, not for the student of Aristophanes.

Dr. JACKSON says that he leaves to others the ungracious task of pointing out Browning's 'lapses from the habits of accurate scholarship and meticulous attention to details that are usually so noticeable in the poem'. But even Dr. JACKSON does not follow Browning in his Boeotian transliteration of *v* by *u*; and the frequent false quantities must have been a torture to a man trained in the fastidious Harvard school. Schoolmasterly criticism, if you will, but these little things are a perpetual annoyance, and are actually more offensive than the lapse as to the sex of St. Praxed, which smudges one of the poet's most famous pieces. But quite apart from blunders, little and big, Browning's learning does not help us to a vision of the times with which he deals. Periklean Athens, Renaissance, Late Seventeenth Century Life—it is all Browning. The poet himself is alive, but the coating with which he emerges from the vat in which he has soaked himself is not alive nor are the spangles that have stuck to his skin from the texts that he has thrown into his bath. Nothing to my feeling is more un-Greek than Aristophanes' Apology. The stereotypical method carried out afterwards with unmerciful prolixity in the Ring and the Book becomes wearisome by the repetition that it involves and there is no saving sense of dramatic propriety.

But the word 'propriety' prompts me to say a word or two about the strongest impression that remains with me after rereading the poem and that is its indecency. True, Browning does not often indulge in such words as 'chaunoprockt' and 'immortally immerded', and the indecencies are veiled to the eyes of those who do not know Greek, but there is nothing more obscene than an obscene conundrum, and erotic and skatologic riddles play an important part in that region of folklore. The charge may seem strange in view of Aristophanes' own license, and I have not been at the pains to count the naughty winks in the Apology and the wicked leers in Aristophanes himself. My statistics stop at syntax. But what Browning calls with undeni-

able elegance 'the homelier symbol of asserted sense' has an irresistible fascination for him, as for the scholiasts, who see *doubles ententes* everywhere, to the disgust of certain interpreters of Aristophanes. This is not the place to discuss how far they were justifiable in their assumption. I have just emerged from reading *Kuba-Kybele* by EISLER in *Philologus*, 1909, and the dictionary seems to be a welter of indecencies. It is a comfort to learn that I was right in admitting the ellipsis *πηγῆς* in Herondas, I 25 (A. J. P. XXV 229), but I have added to my vocabulary a number of words that I can never think of without blushing. *πεδῖον*, however, is not a new acquisition. *ψαλλοι πεδῖονδε* is a favorite with Browning and in one place he renders it 'A-field, ye cribb'd of cape' with full knowledge of the meaning. Whether he understood *κύνα δέρειν δεδορμένην* doth not yet appear. But why he should have allowed Balaustion, wife of 'Euthukles', to quote 'the unintelligible Komos-cry', 'Raw flesh red, no cap upon its head', passes my understanding as a problem of dramatic propriety or any other propriety. 'A Rhodian wife and still so ignorant!' *γελῶσιν, ὥς ὄρῃς, τὰ παιδία*, quoth Eupolis. Those who are curious in such matters will find material enough in Dr. JACKSON's paper.

But before leaving Browning and Dr. JACKSON, the word 'chaunoprockt', with its intrusive *c*, reminds me of the grosser name that liberal shepherds in England give the medlar. There is no better translation of *χαυνόπρωκτος*, and I venture to add another example to those cited in the Oxford Dictionary. In Chapman Bussy D'Ambois 3, 2, 256 we read:

CHARLOTTE. We are no windfalls, my lord; ye must gather us with the ladder of matrimony, we'll hang till we be rotten.

MONSIEUR. Indeed that is the way to make ye right *openaries*.

To be sure, I have never heard the word in America, nor even the full form of the old saying 'Kettle calls Pot black'. We are too mealy-mouthed for close translations of *μελῶμπυγος* and *καλλιπυγος*, and even the French prefer 'impasse' to 'cul-de-sac'. By the way, in the same piece Chapman translates Pindar's *σκιᾶς ὄναρ ἀνθρώπου* twice, once 1, 1, 18: Man is a dreame but of a shadow, and again we have 5, 4, 87: a dreame but of a shade. Indeed, the whole play is full of classical allusions, most of which the latest editor, Professor BOAS, in the D. C. Heath Co.'s attractive *Belles-Lettres Series* has not seen fit to point out. Old Chapman knew his Greek better than Browning did and would not have been guilty of saying: Lo! that Euripidean laurel-tree, Struck to the heart by lightning. 'The stony birth of clouds', says Chapman, 'will touch no lawrell' (5, 1, 17). (Cf. A. J. P.

XXXI 295.) Nor has Professor BOAS pointed out the source of one of Lowell's most famous similes (Bussy D'Ambois 4, 1, 49):

Like a calme,
Before a tempest when the silent ayre
Layes her soft eare close to the earth to hearken,
For that she feares steals on to ravish her.

Surely the passage must have lingered in Lowell's brain when he wrote:

Then Heaven tries the earth if it be in tune,
And over it softly her warm ear lays.

VAN LEEUWEN's *Prolegomena ad Aristophanem*, now two years old, did not appear in time for utilization in my Aristophanic course, which was closed in 1907, so that I have only just now been moved to take it up for closer study. That part of the book which deals with the life and works of the poet is not only by far the longest but by far the most interesting and wins my sympathy by its departure from the conventional treatment which one expects in what is professedly a work of erudition. It does not bristle with references to the literature of the subject. It has no *chevaux de frise* of prooftexts, and the style is that of a Latin feuilletoniste—clear, sparkling, defiant. I dare not comment it too highly for I remember that some years ago a Dutch Latinist published in the *Mnemosyne* a letter purporting to come from David Ruhnken in which the Latinity of Cobet himself is humorously assailed and perhaps VAN LEEUWEN's language would fare even worse at the hands of the critics. But if there is to be a revival of Latin as a medium of international communication, we cannot insist on such mastery as is displayed by Vahlen and we must resign ourselves to a *supra grammaticam* vitality. Who even among the strictest sect would insist nowadays on curbing the future participle by the strict rules that once obtained? Who does not love to see it wave its long tail in defiance of Cicero and challenge triumphantly the Greek participle with *ἄν*? And the new rules must go the way of the old rules. Since the promulgation of the laws of the clausula some scholars whose business takes them into the sphere of academic oratory have been revising their periods with fear and trembling. No such anxious thought haunts VAN LEEUWEN and he bids the clausula go hang its own way. There is no sobriety in the style. I remember how the guides of my youth warned us against figurative language and not so long ago I was indiscreet enough to count among the advantages of Latin the impossibility of such audacities as I myself am guilty of in *Brief Mention*. 'Latin', I said (A. J. P. XXVIII 232), 'any

kind of Latin, would check the hypertrophy of psychological syntax and make the antics of *Brief Mention* next to impossible'. But VAN LEEUWEN'S Latin kicks the fool's cap off any sentence that figures in the rigadon that brings up the learned procession of the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY. The treatise reads for all the world like a popular lecture and those who do not command Dutch will be glad to have VAN LEEUWEN'S conception of the period and the poet in the more familiar idiom of modern Latin. His description of the Persian hydra, the Persian polypus, is as vivid as Victor Hugo's famous chapter on the *pieuvre* in *Les Travailleurs de la Mer*. The spear conquers the bow at Marathon. The barbaric wave breaks into innocuous bubbles against the wooden walls of Athens and the oar overcomes the sword at Salamis. The host of the Persians fall as fell the innumerable ears under the sickles of the reaper and we see Xerxes returning in the old Juvenalian style *nempe una nave*. But the hydra was scotched, not killed. To defeat the monster a united Greece would have been necessary. Athens aspired to put herself at the head. The caterpillar turned into the butterfly, but the great plans of Themistokles came to naught, and as Sparta could not be suppressed, there was in his eyes nothing left but to make terms with the *pieuvre*. Cimon's effort to bring about concerted action between Sparta and Athens failed. The two bulls would not pull together; and no wonder, for one of the bulls has suffered a sea-change. 'Non capiebat', says VAN LEEUWEN, 'unum iugum taurum doricum et equum marinum, non eadem erant itinera bigarum Neptuniarum atque boum pedes tarde trahentium'. The offensive warfare against Persia was a farce. 'In batrachomyomachiam verterat epos'. The Persian hydra became a stork and watched its chance to devour both combatants. These were the times to which Aristophanes was born, the time when Cimon had departed this life and Pericles reigned an uncrowned king, Aristophanes, a country lad who grew up among the fields and vineyards of his father Philippus. Aristophanes a country lad? True, this is the view of M. Maurice Croiset also, but while M. Croiset gives a reason for the faith that is in him, VAN LEEUWEN simply draws an attractive picture of the boy Aristophanes making the acquaintance of bees and beasts, of cicadae and butterflies, and of the various species of birds and creeping things, during those happy days which he afterwards recalled in the Acharnians. Of course, there is not a tittle of evidence that Aristophanes was brought up in the country. It was not far from Kydathenaion to the country and Father Philippus may have lived under the shadow of the Parthenon and gone out to his fields as did that unlucky husband in the First Oration of Lysias and Aristophanidion might have gone with him at times, when he was not engaged in a backgate squabble with that big blackguard Kleon. It is the cit that is enthusiastic about country sights and sounds and after

all Aristophanes' enthusiasm for nature is tinged with mockery of Euripides. (See A. J. P. XXVII 384.) But I am afraid to trust myself further in the discussion of the *Prolegomena* lest I allow myself and the present number of the Journal to be absorbed in the review of a book to which I owe much of the pleasure of the long vacation.

After my trivial remarks in the last *Brief Mention* had gone to swell the sum of my misdeeds, I suddenly anticipated the chorus of well deserved objugation with which my criticisms of Mr. MURRAY's *Iphigenia* would be received by those who had expended all their treasures of appreciation on the wonderful rendering. I had apologized, it is true, but my apology can hardly have sufficed. The very passage I cited has been quoted by an enthusiastic admirer as an unapproachable model and I asked myself: Why should I have disturbed any one's enjoyment by insisting that the chariot should have been more distinctly indicated? Why make so much ado about the gender of *θοαῖος ἵππος*? See Jebb on Bacchyl. 3, 3. What real ground had I for saying that 'steeds do not work so well in harness'? The *φειδύγιος ἵππος* of Ibykos is a stallion and recalcitrates simply by reason of age. I was really inconsolable over my lack of taste when some merciful chance brought under my eye a paragraph from a sporting journal and somehow it comforted me for a time:

Pittsburg, Sept. 9 (1910). Red Wilkes, a famous old stallion, once the pride of the late Capt. Sam Brown, horse king, was killed yesterday afternoon, being dashed to death over a cliff 200 feet high. Circumstances surrounding the death of the old pensioner, who since the death of his master had lived in luxury on the farm of James Ward, nephew of the horse king, indicate that the once racer, disgraced by being coupled to a cart, resented it by jumping over the cliff, committing suicide.

Nor is the report from the New York Horse Show Nov. 12, 1910 inapposite:

Horsemen generally expected the famous Austrian-bred trotting stallion Willy (2.07½) to win hands down, but he proved to be a disappointment and finally got the gate in disgrace after rearing and breaking his check.

But candor compels me to add that the very next day Willy was victorious over all his competitors.

The elusiveness of typographical errors and the persistence of blunders are two topics about which I shall doubtless make my moan until my labors have an end. How, for instance, 'Epi-grammes' in the first No. of the current volume (A. J. P. XXXI 105) could have escaped at least three pairs of watchful eyes passes my understanding, but I have fallen back on the theory

that the elongated spelling is a silent protest against the 'program' spelling which has sensibly affected the pronunciation of 'programme'. Some months ago I paid six dollars out of my own pocket—out of whose else?—for the elimination of a certain heterophrasys of mine, and as I paid it I ruefully thought that a similar fine for every one of my negligences and ignorances would long since have put me in the order of the ἀνάρργοι, the existence of which the learned Cobet once tried to do away with by an emendation (A. J. P. VII 536). Some of my slips either of the eye or pen or brain have persisted for a generation and grin at me from the margin of my hand-copies; and while not a few of the worst have been removed from the plates of my Pindar I am still confronted by 'laurelled' for 'garlanded' (p. 182, l. 5 from bottom) and Ζεύς for Πολυδ. (p. 200, l. 5 from bottom). P. 335, l. 7 from bottom read 'him whom a Naiad bore'. Of course all the dates of the Pythiads have to be changed (A. J. P. XXI 470 [where for 1890 read 1900] and Christ, *Gesch. G. L.*⁴, p. 174), but that is a *Q'ri perpetuum* due to the inevitable progress of doctrine. That others are under the same condemnation is no comfort to me. Quisque suos patimur Manes. Every man has his own mania and my mania is akin to Whitney's (A. J. P. XIV 138, XXIII 234). There is company enough if I wanted it, STAHL, for instance, who (p. 780, 3) repeats Kühner's blunder about οὐχ ὅπως in Lys. XIX 31 (A. J. P. XXII 228) and in treating πρίν sets down as positive (p. 467, 4) the very clauses that I shewed to be virtually negative nearly thirty years ago (A. J. P. II [1881], 468).

My hatred of a blank space at the bottom of a page and that alone prompts me to add another illustration to those just given. Some weeks ago as I was gathering up some old marginal notes on Mr. A. C. PEARSON'S *Phoenissae* I was arrested by the appearance of WALTER HEADLAM'S posthumous *Agamemnon* (Cambridge University Press) under Mr. PEARSON'S editorship. Mr. PEARSON'S competence has been sufficiently shown by his Euripidean work and in his adoration of Mr. HEADLAM he has excellent company (A. J. P. XXX 108). But in the excess of his admiration he has every now and then copied blindly the lapses of that rare genius such as he made when like some Ζεύς καταβάτης he sifted down contempt upon what he had not taken the trouble to read (A. J. P. XXVIII 107). μένει κοφθησομένην (v. 1277) still abides and even if the lines of the future participle have been too closely drawn, as Mr. PEARSON urges in his *Phoenissae*, οὐθ' ὑποκαίων οὐθ' ἐπιλείβων <τῆς Γραμματικῆς> ὄργας ἀνεύς παραδέλξει (A. J. P. XXVIII 111). Whether HEADLAM had the right to smuggle ἄταν (v. 1227) into the text of Pindar (P. 2, 82) is another matter (A. J. P. XXVIII 109; XXX 358) and the blank space is filled.

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